

Selected Writings of Daniel David Luckenbill

Daniel David Luckenbill (1881-1927) was an American Assyriologist and professor at the University of Chicago who made important contributions to understanding the history and culture of the ancient Middle East. The books and studies below were published between the years 1907 and 1927.

[A Study of the Temple Documents from the Cassite Period](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Jul., 1907), pp. 280-322.

[The Temples of Babylonia and Assyria](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Jul., 1908), pp. 291-322.

[A Neo-Babylonian Catalogue of Hymns](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Oct., 1909), pp. 27-32.

[Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Jan., 1910), pp. 96-104.

[The Early Religion of Palestine](#), from *The Biblical World*, Vol. 35, No. 6 (Jun., 1910), pp. 368-379.

[Inscriptions of Early Assyrian Rulers](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Apr., 1912), pp. 153-203.

[The Ancient History of the Near East with Remarks on Western Asia](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Jan., 1914), pp. 125-137.

[Two Inscriptions of Mesilim, King of Kish](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Apr., 1914), pp. 219-223.

[Notes on Some Texts from the Cassite Period](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Oct., 1914), pp. 79-87.

[The Hittites](#), from *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan., 1914), pp. 24-58.

[Old Babylonian Letters from Bismya](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Jul., 1916), pp. 270-292.

[The Temple Women of the Code of Hammurabi](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Oct., 1917), pp. 1-12.

[On the Reading of the Names of Some Babylonian Gods](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Oct., 1918), pp. 55-61.

[On Israel's Origins](#), from *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Jan., 1918), pp. 24-53.

[Possible Babylonian Contributions to the So-Called Phoenician Alphabet](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Oct., 1919), pp. 27-39.

[The "Wandering Aramaean"](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Apr., 1920), pp. 244-245.

[Hittite Treaties and Letters](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Apr., 1921), pp. 161-211.

[The Ashur Version of the Seven Tablets of Creation](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Oct., 1921), pp. 12-35.

[Shût-Abni, "Those of Stone"](#), short article about a detail in the Gilgamesh story, from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Jan., 1922), pp. 97-102.

[Assyriological Notes](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Oct., 1922), pp. 56-65.

[Akkadian Origins](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Oct., 1923), pp. 1-13.

[An Early Version of the Atra-Hasis Epic](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Apr., 1923), pp. 153-160.

[The Egyptian Earth-God in Cuneiform](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Jul., 1924), pp. 288-292.

[The Annals of Sennacherib](#) (Chicago, 1924), in 214 pdf pages. *Oriental Institute Publications*, volume 2, at the University of Chicago.

[Azariah of Judah](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Jul., 1925), pp. 217-232.

[The Black Stone of Esarhaddon](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Apr., 1925), pp. 165-173.

[Notes on the Assyrian Historical Texts](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Apr., 1927), pp. 208-225.

Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, two volumes of texts and translations by Daniel David Luckenbill (Chicago, 1926-1927): [volume 1](#), and [volume 2](#), at Internet Archive.

[Additional writings of D. D. Luckenbill](#), at Internet Archive.

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A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE DOCUMENTS FROM THE CASSITE PERIOD*

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E-KUR of Nippur was one of the oldest and most famous temples of Babylonia. When the poet wished to impress upon the mind of his hearer the great antiquity of the world, he spoke of the creation and what went before as of the time when

Nippur had not been built, E-KUR had not been erected;
Erech had not been built, E-ANNA had not been erected.

The fact that the name of this temple became the ordinary term for temple is significant. It is not possible, however, to conclude from this that E-KUR was the oldest sanctuary in Babylonia.† In fact, it is always dangerous to be speculating about “the oldest” in history. Edward Meyer‡ has drawn a more plausible conclusion, namely, that E-KUR, as its name “mountain-house” indicates, was the first ziggurat-temple, and became the type after which the other temples were modeled.

It is not necessary here to go into the history of Nippur and E-KUR. For this, cf. Hommel, *Geographie*, pp. 348 f. If Nippur ever did play an important part politically, it was before the time of Hammurabi. The period from which the documents under discussion come lies more than half a millennium after this time. If we start with 555 B. C., the date of Nabûnâ'id, and add to this date 800 years, we get 1355 B. C. as the date of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. Adding to this a minimum of 103 years (Burna-Buriaš 25, Kuri-galzu 23, Nazimaruttas 24, Kadašman-Turgu 16, Kadašman-Bêl 9), we get 1458 B. C. as the date of Burna-Buriaš (II), the contemporary of Amenophis IV. But the date of Amenophis IV has been fixed at 1375–1350 B. C.** Historians have given up the attempt to use the dates furnished by Nabûnâ'id. Here we have another instance where the date he has given us cannot be recon-

*The documents discussed are found in *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*, Vols. XIV and XV of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by A. T. Clay.

†Cf. Hilprecht, *BE*, XX, Part 1, p. vii and elsewhere.

‡*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, pp. 32 f.

**Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, p. 43.

ciled with the dates obtained from other sources.* Taking the date of Amenophis IV as our starting-point, we may date these documents c. 1375–1250 B. C.

For the length of the reigns, and the order of succession of the Cassite kings mentioned in these documents, see Clay, *TAN*, XIV, p. 3.† Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 39, mentions Kurigalzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, and Nazimaruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu. From the “Synchronous History” (cf. *KB*, I, p. 197) we get the order: Burna-Buriaš; the “young” (ṣiḫru) Kurigalzu, his son; Nazimaruttaš, father not mentioned. Weissbach (*Babylonische Miscellen*, pp. 5 f.) tries to locate Kurigalzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, in the Third Dynasty, by identifying Kadašman-Ḫarbe and Kadašman-Bêl (Kallima-Sin), not accepting the identification of Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, with the “young” Kurigalzu. But there is no ground for making Kadašman-Ḫarbe identical with Kadašman-Bêl. Hilprecht (*BE*, XX, Part 1, p. 52) makes the Kurigalzu of these texts the son of Burna-Buriaš, but fails to assign any reasons. It may be merely by chance that none of the persons mentioned in the documents dated in the reign of Burna-Buriaš are mentioned in those dated in the reign of Kurigalzu; but this fact, in connection with what follows, is significant.

In the document mentioned above, XIV, 39, one of the witnesses, Ekur-nâdin-šum, testifies that Ninib-nâdin-aḫḫi gave certain lands to his father; that his family held the land “from the time of Kurigalzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, to the time of Nazimaruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu.” Now, this Ninib-nâdin-aḫḫi appears as the next witness. It is therefore extremely probable that the reigns here referred to are consecutive. This will not allow the identification of the young (ṣiḫru) Kurigalzu, son of Burna-Buriaš, of the “Synchronous History,” with the Kurigalzu of these documents, unless, as is possible, the author of the “Synchronous History” was mistaken in calling Kurigalzu the son of Burna-Buriaš. The contemporary evidence of these documents is of greater value for us than that of the later “Synchronous History.” The Kurigalzu of these documents is not the son of Burna-Buriaš, and their reigns are perhaps to be separated by a considerable number of years.

* Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

† The length of the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš should be 12 instead of 22 years; see the date of XIV, 139.

Just what were the means employed by the Cassite kings to keep in touch with Nippur and its temple is not clear. Perhaps we have in Innannu, Martuku, and others the civil officials of Nippur, to be compared with Sin-Iddinam of the Hammurabi Dynasty (cf. King, *LIH*). No title was ever given this official in the letters he received from Hammurabi, but from the contents of these letters Mr. King drew the conclusion, doubtless correct, that he was a powerful official with a large circuit. The fact that some of the payments made to Innannu were made at places other than Nippur tends to strengthen the comparison with Sin-Iddinam. The *kaššû* (see p. 304) were perhaps the officials who looked after the king's interests in the flocks and herds connected with the temple. The other officials will be discussed as they occur in the texts. For lists of officials, etc., cf. "Names of Professions, etc.," in the introductions to the two volumes.

The large flocks and herds belonging to the high-priestess and inferior priestesses indicate that these were important ecclesiastical personages.* The kings of Assyria and Babylonia frequently called themselves the high-priests, *šangû rabû*, of the god. Doubtless they did in some instances perform the functions of high-priest, but in most cases the title meant perhaps as much as the title "Defender of the Faith" of English sovereigns. The *bârû*, *âšipu*, and *zammeru* priests are mentioned in these texts, but no *šangû*. Perhaps the kings themselves held this office.

These documents represent the highest development in Babylonian bookkeeping. In the *Tempel-Urkunden* published by Reisner we have good examples of the bookkeeping of the old period. When the temple gave out grain, cattle, etc., for farming, the scribe wrote down the amount and kind of grain, or the number of cattle, and put under this the name of the recipient. A number of such entries were written one after the other in columns which usually covered the obverse of the tablet. On the reverse were such entries as would not go on the obverse, and the totals. The whole document may be compared with a few pages from a daybook combined with one from the ledger. The system was crude, and the scribe was no doubt compelled to use other tablets to put down his figures to find his totals. The scribe of the Cassite period had a much simpler way of recording business

*For the laws concerning priestesses, cf. R. F. Harper, *CH*, Index, under "Devotee."

transactions. He would have treated the business described above in this way: A large clay tablet would have been taken, a general heading written at the top, and columns ruled off. The columns would have been headed with the names of the grain or cattle; under these headings would appear the amounts received. In the last column on the right, headed "name-list," would be put the names of the recipients, and in the column immediately before this the total amount received by each person. Finally, at the bottom of the tablet the scribe would have put the totals of the different kinds of grain or cattle. (See below, p. 300, "The Flocks and Herds of the Temple.") The pay-rolls (see below) furnish us other good examples of accuracy and simplicity in bookkeeping. The notes which the scribe added to such lists and rolls are full of difficulties for us, but they were quite clear to the bookkeeper of that age. In "receipts" the word "received" is frequently omitted. Again, in lists of payments it is frequently not possible to decide whether the payments are to or by the temple. The system of "check-marks" (cf. p. 16 of the Introduction to Vol. XIV) helps us to determine this, but where these check-marks do not occur we are compelled to look for other evidence. This appears at times as imḥur, "received," placed after one or more names in the list. For example, XV, 4, is called a record of payment of salaries by Clay on p. 57. But this may equally well refer to grain, wine, etc., paid to the temple as tax; cf. also XV, 74, below, p. 312. Attention will be called to similar texts when they are discussed. Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 136, is interesting. It is a record of balances due. The ideogram IB-KID (see p. 296) is used to designate the remainder, or balance due. In XIV, 136, the word is riḥānu. LAL-NI (?) has a similar meaning.

How exactly the account of all the property of the temple was kept is seen from XIV, 108a, "1 PI of corn of the *x* KA tax, which Ištar-riāt stole."

The documents will be discussed under the following heads: I, "The Legal Documents;" II, "The Property and Income of the Temple;" III, "The Disbursements of the Temple;" IV, "Miscellaneous Documents."

I. THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS

For the nature of these documents and their relation to the archives of the temple see Clay, *TAN*, XIV, p. 2.

1. *Adoption*.—Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 40: For a translation of this document see Ungnad in *OLZ*, October, 1906.*

On adoption, cf. *MAP*, nos. 93–99; and Ranke, *BE*, VI, 1, pp. 27 f. On p. 15, Ranke gives a list of the adoption documents of the Hammurabi Dynasty, published in *CT*.

L. 4 = a-na ma-ru-ti ilki; cf. *MAP*, no. 95, 5. For ŠU-BA-AN-TI = ilteki, cf. *ibid.*, p. 101. L. 5: Ranke (*op. cit.*, p. 29) calls attention to the fact that “the adopted ones are slaves.” In this document we seem to have a reference to the purchase of the adopted girl, the seven shekels of gold being the purchase price; cf. no. 7 below, where a number of men and women, and a child, are sold, the price of the men being ten shekels of gold, that of the women seven, and that of the child three. Ll. 6, 7: If mutim were not written with mimmation, one would be tempted to read muti[ša] and refer to *CH*, §§ 144, 146. Read ḥarimuta, as suggested by Professor R. Campbell Thompson. L. 12: Palāḥu, “fear, respect, obey;” cf. Prince, *Daniel*, p. 215. L. 15: Here we have the motive for the adoption. As in the case of other peoples, the Egyptians and Greeks for example, the Babylonian made provision for the hereafter. His children would perform the necessary funeral rites, and make the customary offerings to or for the dead. If he had no children, he legally adopted one or more; cf. *ZA*, XVI, p. 178, ll. 24, 25. Ll. 16–20: The usual formula used in adoption; cf. the cases in *MAP* and Ranke, *BE*; cf. further §§ 185–93 in *Code of Hammurabi*. A-mu-ut-sa. This determines the reading of the abstract noun from amtu, “maid-servant.” It occurs in *Str. Cyr.*, 307, 9, as AMAT-ú-tu, and is usually read amtūtu; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, and Delitzsch, *HWB*. Delitzsch reads it so with a question mark. In ll. 8 and 9 above we have AMAT-sa, which I have transliterated as amūtsa. L. 24: UR-BI = mithāriš, “together, übereinstimmend.” IN-PÁ-NE-EŠ = itmū; written IN-PAD-DE-MEŠ, *CT*, II, 40, *Bu.* 91–5–9, 368; IN-PAD-DE-EŠ, *CT*, VI, 46, *Bu.* 91–5–9, 2477 A; IN-PAD, *CT*, IV, 49, *Bu.* 88–5–12, 721; it-mu-u, *CT*, VI, 49, *Bu.* 91–5–9, 2518, and *CT*, VIII, 45, *Bu.* 91–5–9, 2173; cf. *DAR*, nos. 18, 21.

Bēl, Ninib, and Nusku, the patron gods of Nippur, are regularly invoked in the oath of these documents. In the documents from Sippar the gods invoked are Šamaš, Aa, and Marduk; cf.

*My translation, which agrees in practically every respect with that of Ungnad, was made a year ago. I have concluded that it is not necessary to add it here.

Ranke, *BE*, VI, 1. In *OBI* we have votive inscriptions of the kings of the Cassite Dynasty. No. 62: "To Bêl, his lord, Kadašman-Turgu presented (this) for his life." No. 61: "For Ninib, his lord, Kadašman-Turgu, the son of Nazimaruttaš, made this bright lapislazuli disk, and presented it for his life." No. 58: An inscription, similar to no. 61, to Nusku, by Nazimaruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu.

The name Ina-Uruk-rišat should perhaps be read Ina-Uruk-ri-mat. I follow Clay's readings of the proper names, except where changes are necessary.

2. *Slavery*.—On slavery cf. *MAP*, pp. 6 f.; *DAR*, pp. 8 f.; Ranke, *BE*, VI, 1, pp. 14, 19; Kohler and Peiser, *BR*, I; Johns, *ADD*, III, cap. vii; E. T. Kretschmann, *The Slave Trade in the Time of Nabonidus* (an unpublished thesis in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania).*

The statement made by Meissner and Daiches that the number of slaves in ancient Babylonia was not large, needs modification. Meissner draws this conclusion from the fact that relatively few slave-contracts have come down to us. This cannot decide the question. We do not have very many dowry documents, and yet we do not conclude that there were few marriages in Babylonia. The numerous laws referring to slavery in the *Code of Hammurabi* (cf. "Index of Subjects," "Maid-servant" and "Slave") would argue for the opposite. It is probable that in Babylonia, as in Egypt, a large portion of the population were slaves, or, better, serfs attached to the soil. We have no means of determining their number. In Egypt, in the time of Ramses III (1198–1167 B. C.) the temples owned 107,000 slaves—that is, one person to every fifty to eighty of the entire population; cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 491. It is not probable that conditions in ancient Babylonia were any better than in later Babylonia, when the number of slaves or serfs was certainly large. In the documents published by Clay, *Murašû*, X, the overseers (*ḥaṭri*) of different classes of serfs are frequently mentioned. Most of these serfs, as their names indicate, were foreigners. They were, doubtless, the captives or descendants of the captives taken in the campaigns of the Babylonian kings. That similar conditions existed as early as the Hammurabi Dynasty is shown by King (*LIH*, III, p. 111),

*An interesting parallel to the Babylonian slave-contracts is found on p. 47, K, of the *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan*, edited by Sayce and Cowley.

who calls attention to "the public slaves, whose ranks were supplied from prisoners of war, and also probably from men of the native population who had been condemned to various periods of hard labor in the king's service." The *Code of Hammurabi*, § 117, shows us another way in which undoubtedly many persons were reduced to temporary slavery.

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 2:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹*Tu-kul-ti-^dNIN-IB.* ²*Al-si-šu-ab-lu-uṭ.* ³*Ki-di-in-^dGu-la.* ⁴*I-la-nu-u-tum AMA-A-NI-MEŠ.* ⁵*Be-el-tu-tum aššat* ^m*Al-si-š-ab-lu-uṭ.* ⁶*V NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL.* ⁷*ardu ša* ^{m^d}*Bêl-ki-di-ni.* ⁸*i-na bit* ^{m^d}*Bêl-kid-i-ni ka-lu-ma.* ⁹*m^d NIN-IB-ba-ni mâr* ^m*Ilu-ip-pa-aš-ra.* ¹⁰*u* ^m*Ba-il-^dNabû SES-A-NI.* ¹¹*a-na šu-ši-i NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL.* ¹²*ša* ^{m^d}*Bêl-ki-di-ni iz-zi-zu.* ¹³*u a-ka-an-na iḫ-bu-u.* ¹⁴*NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL li-ši li-ru-ub.* ¹⁵*a-na ḥa-la-ki pu-ut-ni.* ¹⁶*ni-te-mi-id* ¹⁷*NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL lu i-ḥal-li-[iḫ]* ¹⁸*. . . . NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL* ¹⁹*. . . . a-na* ^{m^d}*Bêl-ki-di-ni.* ²⁰*[i-nam-] din.* [Witnesses, date and seals].

TRANSLATION: Tukulti-Ninib, Alsīšu-abluṭ, Kidin-Gula, Ilanūtum, their mother, Beltutum, the wife of Alsīš-abluṭ; five persons, the servants of Bêl-kidini, were held in the house of Bêl-kidini, and Ninib-bānī, son of Ilu-ippašra, and Bā'il-Nabû, his brother, have proposed to bring forth (hire) the slaves of Bêl-kidini and have spoken as follows: "Let them come forth, let them enter (our service). We will be responsible (?) that they do not escape from us. If a person (one) is lost, or, recompense shall be made to Bêl-kidini."

Owing to the condition of the text the translation of ll. 16 f. is conjectural. L. 7: ardu, singular appositive; cf. *DG*², §167. Bêl-kidini, a slave-dealer; cf. XIV, 1, 7, 8. kalû; note a different meaning in *CH*, VIII, 71. For the ideogram NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL, Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 166, is interesting:

Beltum, one of her sons, two of her daughters, total IV (written III by mistake) persons (GIŠGAL) belonging to Mārattāe; Kidin-Ninib, son of Attabuni, four of his brothers, five of his sisters, total X persons (GIŠGAL) belonging to Kidin-Marduk; Bunna-Marduk, son of bāuti, Rabāša-Gula, his brother, the daughter of Banāša-Marduk, one of her sons, total IV persons (GIŠGAL) belonging to Mār-Ḫiluni; Dilbat-bāni, four of his sisters, total V persons (GIŠGAL) ḫurat (cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 342) of Belani; the daughter of Gubbuḫi, one of her daughters, total II persons (GIŠGAL) ditto; etum, ... rika, his brother, total II in the power of (ina līt) Idin-Nergal; grand total XXVI persons, (NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL) in the city Ḫal(?).

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 7:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹*KAL* ^m*I-ba-aš-ši-ilu šimu 10 šiklu ḫurāši.* ²*KAL* ^m*E-la-mu-u šimu 10 šiklu ḫurāši.* ³*SAL* *Bur-bu-ru-uk-tum šimu 7 šiklu*

ḫurāši. ⁴SAL ^dSin-a-bu-ša šīmu 7 šīklu ḫurāši. ⁵SAL Ši-i-kab-ta-at
 šīmu 7 šīklu ḫurāši. ⁶SAL Nu-ḫi-ma-tum šīmu 7 šīklu ḫurāši. ⁷SAL
 Ṭi-pa-ar-ša-nam-rat šīmu 7 šīklu ḫurāši. ⁸TUR-SAL-GAB I-na-Ni-si-in-ra-
 bat šīmu 3 šīklu ḫurāši. ⁹napharu VIII NAM-MULU-GIŠGAL šīmu $\frac{5}{8}$
 mana 8 šīklu ḫurāši. ¹⁰SAG-AMAT-ARAD-NE-NE ša m ^dNIN-IB-na-šir. ¹¹u
 m ^dNIN-IB-nādin-šum. ¹²itti m ^dNIN-IB-nāšir m ^dNIN-IB-nādin-šum mārē
 m Amēl ^dMarduk. ¹³LUGAL-E-NE-NE. ¹⁴m ^dBēl-ki-di-ni mār m ^dNIN-IB-
 nādin-aḫē. ¹⁵IN-ŠI-ŠAM ŠAM-TIL-LA-NE-NE[-ŠU]. ¹⁶120 ŠE-GUR šīmu
 ¹⁷m ^dSin-nādin-aḫē mār ¹⁸5 birum [šīmu x
 šīklu ḫurāši]. ¹⁹m Uballiṣu-^d. . . . ²⁰5 imērē p¹. . . . [šīmu x šīklu
 ḫurāši]. ²¹m Iz-kur-^dNergal mār m Nūr-ili-šu ²²1 biltu 20 ma-
 na šipātu šīmu 5 [šīklu ḫurāši]. ²³m Ib-ni-^dAmurru mār m ^dSin-karābi-
 iš[me] ²⁴napharu $\frac{5}{8}$ mana 8 šīklu ḫurāši IN-NA-AN[-LAL].
²⁵UD-ME-DA UD-A-GA-BI-ŠU m ^dNIN-IB-nāšir mār m Amēl-^dMarduk. ²⁶SES-
 NE-NE u TUR-UŠ-NE-NE a-na ME-A-BI. ²⁷a-na m I-ba-aš-ši-ilu u TUR-NE-NE
 INIM NU-MAL-MAL. ²⁸INIM NU-GI-GI-DA-AŠ MU ^dBēl ^dNIN-IB ^dNusku.
²⁹u Bur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL-E. ³⁰UR-BI IN-PÁ-NE-EŠ. [Witnesses,
 date, and seals.]

TRANSLATION: A man, Ibašši-ilu, at (lit. price) 10 shekels of gold;
 a man, Elamû, at 10 shekels of gold; 5 women, Burburuktum, Sin-abuša,
 Ši-kabtat, Nuḫimatum, Ṭiparša-namrat, each at 7 shekels of gold; a girl,
 an infant in arms, at 3 shekels of gold. Total eight persons, the slaves
 of Ninib-nāšir and Ninib-nādin-šum, at the price of $\frac{5}{8}$ of a mana and
 8 shekels of gold. From Ninib-nāšir and Ninib-nādin-šum, sons of
 Amēl-Marduk, their master(s), Bēl-kidini, son of Ninib-nādin-aḫē, bought
 (them) at their full price. 120 GUR of grain [at x shekels of gold] Sin-
 nādin-aḫē, son of [paid (?)]; 5 young oxen [at x shekels of gold]
 Uballiṣu-Marduk [son of paid (?)]; 5 asses [at x shekels of gold]
 Izkur-Nergal, son of Nūr-ilišu [paid (?)]; 1 talent 20 mana of wool at 5
 [shekels of gold (?)] Ibni-Amurru, son of Sin-karābi-išme [paid(?)].
 Total, $\frac{5}{8}$ of a mana 8 shekels of gold [they] paid. Never in future days
 shall Ninib-nāšir, son of Amēl-Marduk, his (lit. their) brother(s), or his
 (lit. their) son(s), for any reason have any claim or appeal against Ibašši-
 ilu and his sons. By Bēl, Ninib, Nusku and Burnaburiaš the king they
 have taken oath.

For the price of slaves cf. XIV, 40, l. 5, above. L. 8:
 mārāt irti, "child at the breast;" cf. Ranke, *BE*, p. 28.
 L. 10: SAG-AMAT-ARAD(URU); cf. King, *LIH*, III, p. 133. King
 suggests that URU is "employed as a general word for slave, while
 AMAT indicates the gender." A more probable explanation is that
 it means male and female slave, as one word; cf. LID-GUD, equal
 to "cattle." L. 13: LUGAL-E-NE-NE; cf. LUGAL-A-NI-IR, her master,
CT, II, 25, *Bu.* 91-5-9, 331; *DAR*, p. 81; *MAP*, p. 119; Ranke,
BE, p. 19 = bēlišu. In *CT*, VIII, 27, *Bu.* 91-5-9, 320, we
 have the parallel be-el sag amtim, the master of the slave.

Ll. 15 f.: The tablet is broken, but enough is left to give us the probable meaning. Bêl-kidini is a dealer who buys the slaves for others, who pay the different commodities mentioned. L. 25: The usual introductory term is U(D)KUR-KU. Here we have UD-ME-DA = matima, "at any time, whenever," and UD-A-GA-BI = ūmu arkišu. The meaning is clearly the same as that of the usual formula. SES-NE-NE, TUR-NE-NE. It is to be noticed that only one of the owners of the slaves is mentioned in the formula. Both are thought of, and consequently the plural SES-NE-NE, etc. For the whole phrase we may compare, man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-ti-ma i-za-ku-pa-a-ni igarruni (u-ni) lu nišê an-nu-te lu-u aplê-šu-nu lu aḫê-šu-nu ša itti ^mLu-ku u aplê-šu u aḫê-šu di-nu dabābu ub-ta-u-ni, Stevenson, *ABC*, no. 7. L. 26: a-na ME-A-BI. Probably to be connected with ekiam; cf. *DG*², §106, and translated "for any reason."

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 1:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹[1 ši-ḫi-rum] U-TU ^{māt}Ka-ra-du-ni-ia-a-aš. ²[x ammatu] la-an-šu. ^{3m}Tak-la-ku-a-na-Ka-mu-ul-la MU-NI. ⁴itti ^mĀ-da-gal-pa-an-ili tamkaru. ⁵mār Bābili^{ki} ša Lu-ku-du^{ki}. ^{6m}dBêl-ki-di-ni. ⁷mār ^mdNIN-IB-na-din-aḫê. ⁸IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM. ⁹ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠU. ¹⁰20 ŠE-GUR GIŠ-BAR 5 ḫa. ¹¹šīmu 5 šīḫlu ḫurāši. ^{12m}I-na-E-ku-r-ra-bi id-di-in. ¹³UKUR-KU [MULU-MULU-RA]. ^{14m}Ā-da-gal[-pân-ili]. ¹⁵TUR-UŠ[NE-NE a-na ME-A-]BI. ¹⁶INIM NU[-MAL-MAL-DA?]-EŠ. ¹⁷INIM NU-GI-GI-?-EŠ. ¹⁸MU dBêl [^dNIN-IB] dNusku. ¹⁹u Bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL. ²⁰UR-BI IN-PAD-DA-E-MEŠ. [Witnesses, date, and seals].

TRANSLATION: One child (minor?), a native of Karduniaš, *x* cubits in height(?), Taklaku-ana-Kamulla by name (his name), Bêl-kidini, son of Ninib-nādin-aḫê, bought at his full price from Adagal-pân-ili, the merchant, a Babylonian of the city Lukudu. Ina-Ekur-rabî paid 20 GUR of grain of the 5 ḫa tax, the equivalent of 5 shekels of gold. In the future, man against man, Adagal-pân-ili or his sons, shall have no claim nor appeal for any reason. By Bêl, Ninib, etc.

L. 1: Restored from XIV, 128^a. L. 3: Kamulla; cf. Hommel, *Geographie*, p. 36. L. 6: Bêl-kidini, slave-dealer; cf. above; here probably acting as agent for Ina-Ekur-rabî. L. 10: GIŠ-BAR 5 ḫa; cf. Clay, *TAN*, XIV, p. 5. It is hardly possible to translate GIŠ-BAR here as "tax;" cf. below under "Taxes," p. 294. Ll. 13 ff.: cf. no. 7, above. MULU-MULU-RA, "one against the other." Usually the parties included in this term are to be supplied from the preceding text; here the first party is mentioned,

namely, Adagal-pân-ili or his sons, but the second party, Bêl-kidini, is to be supplied.

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 128^a:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹l fši-ḫi-ir-tum u-tu mâtKa-ra-^dDu-ni-ia-aš.
² $\frac{1}{2}$ ammatu la-an-ša f^dSukal-u-a MU-UN-NE(?). ³itti mKu-ri-i mâr
 mBa-bi-la-a-i. ⁴SES-A-NI-ša u itti fAp-pa-ri-ti. ⁵AMA-A-NI-ša u
 itti fLa-lu-ti. ⁶fIa-u-tum mâr mRaba-ša ⁷IN-ŠE-ŠAM.
⁸a-na ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠU. ⁹1 šubat kab-rum k[i-i] 2 šiklu kaspi.
¹⁰1 šubat a-di-lum ki-i 2 šiklu kaspi. ¹¹1 šubat UD-DU-TIK-NE ki-i 2 šiklu
 kaspi. ¹²1 šubat ū ki-i 2 šiklu kaspi. ¹³6 qa šamnu ki-i 1 šiklu
 kaspi. ¹⁴napharu 9 šiklu kaspi fIa-u-tum. ¹⁵a-na mKu-ri-i u fAp-
 pa-ri-ti. ¹⁶u fLa-lu-ti a-na šimi-[ša]. ¹⁷id-di-[in]. ¹⁸fši-ḫi-ir-
 tum ib ¹⁹2 fši-ḫi-ri-ti m[Ku-ri-i] ²⁰fIa-u-ta
 [Witnesses, date, and seals].

TRANSLATION: One little girl, a native of Karduniaš, $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit in height (her height), Sukalua by name, Iautum, daughter (written son) of Raba-ša bought from Kuri, son of Babilai, her brother, and from Appariti, her mother, and from Laluti. 1 kabrum garment at 2 shekels of silver, 1 adilum garment at 2 shekels of silver, 1 UD-DU-TIK-NE garment at 2 shekels of silver, 1 ditto at 2 shekels of silver, 6 qa of oil at 1 shekel of silver; total 9 shekels of silver Iautum paid to Kuri, Appariti, and Laluti as her full price. If the child 2 children Kuri Iautum

L. 1: šiḫirtum; cf. l. 1, XIV, 1. This is the word used in the *Code of Hammurabi* for "minor." Cf. also kal-la-tu ši-ḫir-[tu], *ZA*, XVI, p. 174, l. 39; also, *CT*, XVIII, pl. 15, K. 10089 (*MVAG*, 1905, 4, p. 4). u-tu = aladu. If l. 2 contains no mistake on the part of the scribe, we have a very small child.* Unfortunately the parallel text is broken here, and consequently we can derive no help from that source. The word lānu used in connection with slaves is discussed by Johns, *ADD*, pp. 519 f., and *ADB*, p. 80. In the latter place Johns translates lānu as "perhaps stature." It is used in connection with rûṭu, which Johns finally makes approximately equivalent to our "foot." Ll. 4, 5: A-NI-ša, Sumerian and Semitic relative; just as in l. 8 a-na is repeated in šu. Ll. 9-13: For these garments cf. XIV, 157, where kabrum occurs, l. 84. Ll. 18-20 no doubt contained the conditions of the sale. It is to be noticed that in both cases, XIV, 1, and here, the slaves were natives of Karduniaš. For Karduniaš = Babylonia in Cassite times cf.

*The tablet clearly reads as copied. Of course we cannot be sure about the "cubit" meant.

Hommel, *Geographie*, pp. 257, 289. Perhaps these cases come under the three-year law (*CH*, § 117; cf. also §§ 280, 281). For the price, cf. XIV, 7. Ll. 26 ff.: Thumb-nail marks of Kurî, Appariti, and Laluti, instead of their seals. It is of interest to notice that each person made five nail-impressions.

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 8:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹*m* Dâ'an-^d Marduk mâr ^m Ap-pa-a-a-i. ²*m* Ar-ka-ša-ilu a-na mi-is-su-ti. ³ša ^m d-Adad-ri-ša-šu mâr amēl^{NI-SUR}. ⁴il-ga-šu-um-ma. ⁵*m* Dâ'an-^d Marduk i-ša-lu-ma. ⁶šu-um a-bi-šu ki-me(?) šu-um a-bi-šu ul i-di. ⁷šu-um a-ḥi-šu i-ša-lu-šu-ma šu-um. ⁸a-ḥi-šu ia-a-nu-um-mi iḫ-bi. ⁹a-na pa-an ^m d Sin-nâdin-šum mâr ^m Adi-mati-^d Marduk. ¹⁰a-ka-am-ma iḫ-bi a-na te-ru-ub-ti-a. ¹¹te-bu-ku-ma a-ma-ti ul lu-um-mu-da-ku. ¹²mâr ^m Gu-ub-bu-ḥi mâr ^m U-bar-ri il-li-kam-ma. ¹³a-ka-an-na iḫ-bi. ¹⁴*m* Nûr-bêlit-A-GA-DE ^{ki} SES-A-NI a-bi-šu. ¹⁵i-na Dûr-^d NIN-IB ^{ki} mi-it-ma ḳi-bi-ir. ¹⁶u ^m Iḳiša-^d Adad a-bu-šu. ¹⁷i-na Dûr-^d NIN-IB ^{ki} u-ši-ib. ¹⁸u ^m d Adad-ri-ša-šu a-ḥu-šu ¹⁹. . . . u-a-a-li-id. ²⁰. . . . sa-a i-ša-lu-ma ul i-di-mi iḫ-bi. ²¹*m* d Adad-ri-ša-šu ^m Arka-ša-ilu u-mi-is-si-ma. ²²[a]-na ^m d Bêl-ki-di-ni id-di-in. ²³ul i-ta-ar-ma. ²⁴*m* Ar-ka-ša-ilu aš-šum ^m d Adad-ri-ša-šu. ²⁵a-na-^m d Bêl-ki-di-ni ul i-ra-ag-gu-um.

TRANSLATION: Dâ'an-Marduk, son of Appai, took Arka-ša-ilu to be cleansed by Adad-rišašu, son of the NI-SUR; and they questioned Dâ'an-Marduk, and the name of his father as well as the name of *his* father he did not know. They asked him the name of his brother, and the name of his brother he did not tell. Before Sin-nâdin-šum, son of Adi-mati-Marduk, he spoke as follows: "I objected to my entrance; I was not consulted at all." Mâr-Gubbuḥi, son of Ubarri, came and spoke as follows: "Nûr-bêlit-Agade, his uncle, died and was buried in Dûr-Ninib, and Iḳiša-Adad, his father, dwelt in Dûr-Ninib, and Adad-rišašu, his brother, . . . was born, . . . they questioned, and he said: "I do not know." Adad-rišašu has cleansed Arka-ša-ilu, and has given (him) to Bêl-kidini. He shall not appeal the case. Arka-ša-ilu shall have no claim against Bêl-kidini, because of Adad-rišašu. [Seal of Arka-ša ilu.]

The noun *missuti*, l. 2, and the verb *umissi*, l. 21, seem to indicate some ceremony of cleansing. L. 6: *ki-me*, a variant of *kima*; cf. *TA* forms. L. 10: *terubtu* perhaps refers to entering into the service of some man; cf. XIV, 2, l. 14. L. 23 is perhaps to be taken more literally, "he shall not return." Adad-rišašu evidently had some claim on Arka-ša-ilu which he relinquished in favor of Bêl-kidini. Arka-ša-ilu was then in the power of Bêl-kidini, who, as we have seen above, was a slave-dealer.

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 127:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹NAM-MULU [GIŠGAL] ša ^mTa-ri-bi mâr ^mTi-sa. ²i-na ^{al}Eš-ši aš-bu-ma. ³Amêl-d Marduk ^mArdu-nu-bat-ti is-pur-ma ⁴u-še-lam-ma i-na ^{al}Dûr-d Bêlê ki. ⁵u-še-ši-im-ma ^mArdu-nu-bat-ti ⁶bu-us-su im-ḥa-aš-ma im-ḥur. ⁷m Ta-ri-bu ištu ^{al}Dûr-d Bêlê ki. ⁸uṣ-ši-ma A-TAR ša-nim-ma. ⁹il-la-ak-ma uš-šam-ma. ¹⁰m Ardu-nu-bat-ti is-sa-an-ni-iḫ.

TRANSLATION: The slaves of Taribu, the son of Tisa, were dwelling in the town of Ešši. Amêl-Marduk sent Ardu-nubatti to bring (them) up and make (them) reside in the town of Dûr-Bêlê. Ardu-nubatti arranged the transaction and made the agreement with him. If Taribu goes forth from Dûr-Bêlê, goes to another place and dwells there, Ardu-nubatti shall be held (responsible?).

L. 6: cf. maḥiṣ putišu, *Nbk.*, 134. 4; cf. Tallquist, *SN*, p. 92. L. 8: A-TAR, cf. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 42 aḥaztu (?) . Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 129:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹ištu bâbu ša ^mKi-din-d Gu-la. ²adi mu-tir-ti. ³ka-ab-li-i-ti. ⁴maṣṣartu ša ^mTa-ri-bi. ⁵amêl pitû ša mu-tir-ti. ⁶ša ki-li a-na mu-te-ir-ti. ⁷uṣ-ša-am-ma. ⁸it-ti ša-ni-im-ma. ⁹id-da-ab-bu-ub-ma. ¹⁰Ta-ri-bu. ¹¹. . . . da in-ni

TRANSLATION: The "watch" of Taribu is from the gate of Kidin-Gula to the middle-doors. (If) the keeper of the doors of the prison shall go forth and speak with another, Taribu shall

L. 2: Mutirti=mutirêti, feminine plural of mutirru, sc. dalâti, 'doorwings.' Taribu (cf. preceding text) is the responsible party of this document. This is shown by the fact that his nail-marks instead of his seal are attached. He was probably a slave-master who had charge of the slaves of different owners.

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 126:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹m d Adad-ba-ni mâr ^md Adad-šum-lišir. ²f Ša-lit-tum mârât ^mKi-din-UL-MAŠ. ³AMA-A-NI. ⁴KAL ^mMan-nu-ib-ba-ak-dini-šu SES-A-NI. ⁵Mârat ^mKar-zi-ban. ⁶E-GE-A. ⁷napharu 4 ḫin-ni ^mIlu-ba-ni. ⁸mâr ^mIa-u-ki. ⁹m Am-mar-ša-d Adad. ¹⁰u-ma-as-si. ¹¹i-na ^{alu}Gu-zal-lum-ša-ilu. ¹²a-ši-ib.

TRANSLATION: Adad-bani, son of Adad-šum-lišir; Šalittum, daughter of Kidin-Ulmaš, his mother; a grown person, Mannu-ibak-dinišu, his brother; the daughter of Karziban, a bride; total 4, the family-servants of Ilu-bani, son of Iauki. These Ammar-ša-Adad shall free. In the town of Guzallum-ša-ilu they shall dwell.

L. 4: KAL, cf. XIV, 7, 1. L. 7: Ḫin-ni, "family;" cf. ḫinatâti of Clay, *Murašû*, X, 115, and others; also XIV, 60, p. 35, of the Introduction to XIV. L. 10: U-ma-as-si, cf. XIV, 8. The document refers to a transfer of servants.

3. *A case at law.*—Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 39:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹Di-nu ša ^mU-zi-šu TIG-EN-NA Nippur ki.
²m ^dNIN-IB mâr ^md ^{NIN-IB}kîn-pî-šu. ³u ^mE-KUR-nâdin-šum
 [m] Iz-kur-^dNIN-IB i-di-nu. ⁴m ^{E-KUR}nâdin-šum a-na dânu ki-a-am iḫ-
 bi. ⁵50 še zêr i-na ugaru alu Ša-ir-ri-e ki. ⁶m ^dNIN-IB-nâdin-aḫ-ḫi
 mâr ^mE-til-pu. ⁷a-na a-bi-ia ^mIlurabi a-ḫi-šu i-ta-din. ⁸iš-tu Ku-
 ri-gal-zu mâr Ka-da-aš-man-Ḥar-be. ⁹a-di Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš mâr
 Ku-ri-gal-zu. ¹⁰ab-bu-u-a i-te-tir-ri-šu u ma-am-ma ul iš-bu-uš.
¹¹m ^dNIN-IB-kîn-pî-šu mâr ^md Bêl-ni-šu. ¹²i-na Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš
 ekli ša-a-šu. ¹³i-ta-bal dânu ^md ^{NIN-IB}nâdin-aḫ-ḫi i-šal-ma ^md ^{NIN-IB}-
 nâdin-aḫ-ḫi a-na dânu ki-a-am iḫ-bi. ¹⁵ekli itti ir-ri-šu-ti ^md ^{NIN-IB}-
 ni-šu. ¹⁶a-ḫi a-bi-šu it-ti aḫ-ḫi-e-šu e-ri-iš. ¹⁷ul itti ekli bur-ku-ti
 na-ad-na-aš-šu. ¹⁸m Di-maḫ-di-^dUraš a-ḫi a-bi-ia. ¹⁹ša i-na Na-zi-
 ma-ru-ut-ta-aš ekli ša-a-šu. ²⁰iš-bu-šu li-ša-lu-šu. ²¹dânu ^mDi-maḫ-
 di-^dUraš i-šal-ma. ²²m Di-maḫ-di-^dUraš a-na dânu ki-a-am iḫ-bi.

TRANSLATION: The decision which Uzišu the TIG-EN-NA of Nip-
 pur rendered Ninib son of Ninib-kîn-pîšu and Ekur-nâdin-šum
 Izkur-Ninib. Ekur-nâdin-šum spoke to the judge as follows: "50
 acres of land in the fields of the city Ša-irre, Ninib-nâdin-aḫḫi, son of
 Etilpu, gave to my father, Ilurabi, his brother. From the time of Kuri-
 galzu, the son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe, to the time of Nazimaruttaš, the son
 of Kurigalzu, my fathers cultivated (the land), and no one collected the
 šibšu-tax. Ninib-kîn-pîšu, son of Bêl-nišu, took possession of that field
 in the reign of Nazimaruttaš." The judge questioned Ninib-nâdin-aḫḫi,
 and Ninib-nâdin-aḫḫi spoke to the judge as follows: "Ninib-nišu, his
 uncle, cultivated the field in partnership with his brothers. The
 burkuti was not given him with the field. Dimahdi-Uraš, my uncle,
 who collected the šibšu-tax in the time of Nazimaruttaš, let them ques-
 tion him." The judge questioned Dimahdi-Uraš, and Dimahdi-Uraš
 spoke to the judge as follows:

For some reason the rest of the suit was not recorded on our
 tablet. Owing to the fact that the text is not complete, it is not
 possible to restore the connection between the persons in the
 first three lines. Ll. 10, 20: šabāšu. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*,
 p. 1006, quoting *KB*, IV, p. 145, translates la išabbaš "soll nicht
 geheischt werden." The translation offered in *KB* is not this,
 but "korn steuer soll nicht eingetrieben werden"—shall
 not be collected. The translation in *KB* follows *BA*, II, p. 569.
 The word is no doubt to be connected with šibšu; cf. p. 296,
 below. L. 15: literally, "cultivate with cultivation." L. 17:
 burkuti. For this word I would, with much reserve, offer some
 such meaning as 'deed.' For the kings mentioned in this docu-
 ment cf. above, p. 281.

4. *Contracts*.—Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 42:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹dup-pi ri-ki-iš-ti. ²ša m In-na-an-nu. ³a-na amêl riḫḫê pl. ⁴u KA-ZID-DA. ⁵ir-ku-su. ⁶kurunnu ul ṭa-am-ma. ⁷GAR (akālu) ul ba-ni-ma. ⁸i-na ba-lu m Rabâ-ša-d Nergal. ⁹GAR šikaru u me-ri-iš-tum. ¹⁰i-nam-di-in-ma. ¹¹i-na-du-u. ¹²i-ba-ka-nu. ¹³nap-ḫa-ar. ¹⁴ši-ka-ri. ¹⁵ša iš-tu arḫu Araḫšamna. ¹⁶ša šatti 1 kan. ¹⁷a-na ka-ab-ri. ¹⁸i-ka-na-ak.

[Date and seals of the riḫḫu and KA-ZID-DA officers.]

TRANSLATION: The tablet of contract which Innannu drew up with the riḫḫu and KA-ZID-DA officers. In case the wine is not good and the bread is not clean, without (the consent of?) Rabâ-ša-Nergal, he (Innannu) shall give bread, wine and new-wine, and they shall deliver them, they shall . . . All of the wine from the month Araḫšamna of the year one, shall be sealed for the kabri.

L. 9: Me-ri-iš-tum, the usual meaning is "planting." Here perhaps an *m*-formation from the root of מִרְיָשׁ; cf. the Soudanese *marīsa*, "date-wine" (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 629).

L. 12: Do we here have a verb corresponding to *bukanu*?

L. 17: Kabri, cf. kapri, 'cup' (Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 423).

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 123:

TRANSLITERATION: ¹1 alpu ri-it-ti ki-i [2 šiklu ḫurāši]. ²1 imêru ki-i 2 šiklu ḫurāši. ³it-ti m Ṭāb-šil-li mār m Ab-ta-a-na-ilu m d NIN-ŠAR-muraššû-rêmu. ⁵IN-ŠI-ŠAM. ⁶a-na ŠAM TIL-LA-BI-ŠÛ. ⁷60 til-li-e šamni ra-bu-ti. ⁸ki-i 4 [šiklu ḫurāši] i-di-in. ⁹ul i-tar-ma m Ṭāb-šil-lum. ¹⁰aš-šum alpu imêru ul i-ra-gu-um. ¹¹u m d NIN-ŠAR-muraššû-rêmu. ¹²aš-šum 60 til-li-e [šamni ra-bu]-ti. ¹³a-na m Ṭāb-[šil-li mār m Ab-ta-a-na-ilu]. ¹⁴ul i-[ra-gu-um].

TRANSLATION: One pasture-ox at 2 shekels of gold, one ass at 2 shekels of gold, NIN-ŠAR-muraššû-rêmu bought from Ṭāb-šilli, son of Abta-ana-ilu, at their full price. Sixty large vessels of oil, valued at 4 shekels of gold, he paid. He shall not have recourse ("Er soll den Kauf nicht rückgängig machen"). Ṭāb-šilli shall bring no claim for (concerning) the ox and the ass; and NIN-ŠAR-muraššû-rêmu shall bring no claim against Ṭāb-šilli for the 60 large vessels of oil.

L. 7: Til-li-e, perhaps to be read tal-li-e, plural of tallu, "vessel;" cf. XIV, 163, below.

Clay, *TAN*, XIV, 106:

TRANSLATION: 30 GUR of grain of the 12 KA tax, the portion of the city Šarmaš, which Bêl-mukîn-aplu received from Bêl-šululi, son of Belani, Mutakkil-Marduk, the scribe, son of Ilu-rabî, Amêl-Sin, son of Adad-rizûa. 30 GUR 108 KA of grain of the 12 KA tax they shall pay, and their seals they may break. [Date and seals of Amêl-Sin, Bêl-šululi, and Mutakkil-Marduk. Note stating that this is a duplicate tablet.]

Other contracts are: XV, 43: "3 GUR of grain, at interest, out of the wages tax (GIŠ-BAR-ŠE-BA) Pû-Adad, son of Ikkari, received. On the day of harvest he shall repay it." XV, 82: "14 GUR 72 KA, the portion of the full tax remaining unpaid out of all that he paid and delivered. On the day of harvest Reštušu shall pay it." (Reštušu owed the temple a certain amount of grain, part of which he paid, the unpaid part becoming the amount on a note to be paid on the day of harvest.) XV, 142: "90 KA of AŠ-AN-NA grain of the full tax, with interest to the amount of 66 KA of corn, was received by Likdišir. On the day of harvest he shall repay it." XIV, 11: Takalti-Adad agrees (bu-us-su im-ḥa-aṣ) to deliver a cow in payment at a certain time. In case of non-delivery he is to repay two cows. The beginning of the document has to do with a detained slave, ik-la-šu. XIV, 38: "Cattle to the number of 5, for (?a-na, we should expect from) Sin-etilli son of Zabrum, Šelibi received and tended (ib-ḳi?-id). Šelibu shall take and deliver the cattle to Innannu. If he does not deliver them, he shall repay (i-ta-na-pal) *x* cattle." XIV, 49: "2 GUR 162(?) KA of grain of the full tax, together with 2 GUR 24 KA, his share, which paid and delivered. On the day of harvest Sukal-aḥu-ērīš shall pay to Martuki." XIV, 98: Receipt of grain, which is to be repaid on the day of harvest and the debtor's seal (tablet) broken. XIV, 41a: A promissory note, for arrears in interest (IB-KID HAR-BA) to be paid on the day of harvest. XIV, 119: Cattle contract. L. 3, a-pa-ar, "meadow." The end of the contract gives the number of cattle to be repaid, i-ta-na-ap-pal, in case of losses, ḥa-li-iḳ-ti.

II. THE PROPERTY AND INCOME OF THE TEMPLE

1. *The income designated as* GIŠ-BAR, GAL, 5 KA, 6 KA, *etc.*—This is discussed by Clay, Vol. XIV, p. 5. Under this head only those documents will be noted which clearly have to do with income. There are a number of documents, such as XV, 4, which may be statements of taxes paid to the temple, but which may equally well be taken as payments of salaries; cf. "Babylonian Bookkeeping," above, p. 282.

XV, 10: "Grain of the full tax, in the form of BAR-grain (^{se}BAR), flour, etc." L. 4, col. 2, shows that flour was due, but not paid (LAL-NI). The revenues were received from the town of

Zarat-IM, the neighborhood of the city (Nippur?), the soldiers (šaḇē) of Nippur; and as interest (ru-ub-bi-e) accruing from grain of the tab-ki tax; cf. XV, 29, 5, from which it seems that tabki, "poured out," must refer to some use to which the grain is put, not to storing it. XV, 48: "Grain of the full tax, which Kiṣaḥbut received (mi-taḥ-ḫu-ru Perm. I, 2) from three persons." The total is designated as salary for the riḫḫu officer. XV, 54: Taxes received from certain towns. XV, 58: "xGUR of grain of the full tax, xGUR, wagon-hire, out of the grain of Bel-mukīn-aplu, Ninib-muballiṭ, and Banā-ša-Sukal brought from the town of Dār-Nusku." L. 3, i-na libbi še'um ša. This is the full formula; frequently še'um is omitted. XV, 61: L. 5 shows that the tax came to the temple through Innannu. XV, 102: A list of towns and the revenues they paid to the temple. L. 7, a note, "In addition, 224 GUR which (for?) ki-mu šikaru^{pl} (BI-MEŠ) iṣ dal-tu." Ll. 34 ff., perhaps payments "up to the year 19." XV, 149: Taxes in the form of flour, wine, and sheep paid to the temple by certain persons and towns. L. 144 gives the amount still due (IB-KID). XV, 159c: A list of towns and their revenues. XIV, 18: Payments of grain from certain towns. For the heading of the column of towns, cf. XV, 132, and perhaps XIV, 166, 25. XIV, 24: L. 16, "besides 28 GUR delivered as support for the temple (kurmat bit ili)." XIV, 26: "1 GUR 96 KA, unpaid interest on the full tax, which Kiditi and Eribi (owed and now paid?), together with 1 GUR which was paid (on time?), and 1 PR which Abiauti delivered" (šul ū, the regular word for paying or delivering tribute or tax). XIV, 68: Receipt of sheepwool. XIV, 112 and 114 show how careful was the record of tax-collections. The names of the towns from which the taxes came, the local agents who collected them, and in some cases the date of collection (no doubt when it was not the tax for the year mentioned in the note at the end) are given; finally the totals, the agent of the temple who received the revenues (mi-taḥ-ḫu-rum), and the date.

2. *Other kinds of revenues.*—XIV, 31: "Year 19 of Kuri-galzu." Six columns headed re-eš buši, šib-šum, zittu u-du-u, ki-iṣ-rum, napḫaru, MU-BI-IM. The reverse had a similar heading. Reš-buši, literally "first or best of property," here means "first-fruits," and is to be considered as a regular kind of tax; cf. Heb. ראשית. Zittu (ḫA-LA) ud ū, perhaps a tax on house-

hold goods, personal property in contrast to one on real estate; cf. lexicons under *zittu* and *udû*. For *udû* cf. XIV, 51, 124, 146; XV, 130, 181, and the following. *Kišru*, "rent" or "hire;" cf. XV, 90, 48; 157, 27; XIV, 128. *Šibšu*; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*. A more definite meaning than "tax" cannot be determined from these texts. Other references to *šibšu* are found in the following texts: XIV, 125: [*šum*] *maḥ-ru-ma i-na Dûr-^dSin tab-ku*, *šatti* 13^{kan} *Ku[-ri-gal-zu?]*, "grain received and 'poured out' in Dûr-Sin, the thirteenth year of Kurigalzu (?)." * The grain is classified as *šibšu* and *AŠ-AN-NA*. For *miksu*, l. 14, see *DAL*, p. 538. L. 15, "in addition, 24 *KA* from the town *Pa-tir* (?)." XIV, 37: "Year 22 of Kurigalzu. Grain received and 'poured out' in *Karû-Bunna-Marduk*. *Šibšu*, seed-grain and *AŠ-AN-NA*, paid by the patesis of *Erba-Nergal*." XV, 166: A list of grains, no doubt collected as revenue, including *šib-šum*, *kišrum*, *AŠ-AN-NA*, *TIG-TUR*, *TIG-GAL*, and *siḥlu*. L. 19, *miksu*; see XIV, 125, l. 14. XV, 47; see below, p. 317. L. 14, "1 *GUR* 114 *KA*, the *šibšu* of the town *Nûr-Adad*." XV, 115; see below, p. 298. XV, 131: "Revenue (full tax) from the town *Zarat-dûr-Gula*, for the year 22. First-fruits, *šibšu*, *kipātu*, *AŠ-AN-NA*, *šibšu*, *TIG-GAL*, *MU-BI-IM*." XIV, 32: "Tax (telitum) of the year 19 of Kurigalzu. *Rêš-buši*, *šibšum*, *AŠ-AN-NA*, *TIG-GAL*, and *ZAG-ĜI*." The word *telitum* has a more general meaning than "crop." These documents make it evident that the word means "tax," "revenue;" cf. *šulû*. The above text then reads: "Revenue for the year 19 of Kurigalzu, paid as first-fruits, etc." XIV, 31, above, is the same kind of list with *telitum* implied as a heading. XIV, 33: [*Telitum*] *šatti* 20^{kan} *Kurigalzu*. *šum*(?)*šibšum pa-rim-ma-tum*(?), *maḥru*, *IB-KID*. This text is important because from it we can determine the meaning of the frequently occurring ideogram *IB-KID*. We have three columns, the first giving the amount of grain due as *šibšum*, the second the amount received, and the third the amount still due, that is, not received. That this is the correct interpretation is seen from the fact that the amounts in column 2 subtracted from those in column 1 give those in column 3. The transcription of *parimmatum* is conjectural, but it does not affect the correctness of the conclusion drawn. For the ideogram *IB-KID* cf. XIV, 26, 5; 33, 2; 92, 1; 99, 49; 113, 5; 121, 4; 41a 1; 117a 9; XV, 6, 8; 19, 19; 30, 2;

*Cf. *Introd. to Vol. XIV*, p. 3.

46, 11; 64, 10; 68, 2; 82, 1; 106, 9; 122, 7; 141, 8; 155, 21; 173, 6; 182, 9. XIV, 100: "The revenue classified as full tax from the town of *Ḥamri* for the year 12, in the form of first-fruits and *šibšum*." XIV, 141: ". . . . 10 *ḳa* tax, revenue (*te-lit*) from the town of . . . , as first-fruits, *šibšum kišru* and *na-aḫ-ḫu-ḫu*." *Naḫḫuḫu* occurs here only; no doubt it is a form of revenue. XIV, 144: "*x* GUR of grain of the full tax, classed as first-fruits, the salary of 4 *riḫḫu* officers for the year 5. *x* GUR as salary (*aklum*), 10 GUR 'poured out' (*tu-bu-uk-ku-u*; cf. *tabku*) for 1 GUR, 1 PI, 5 GUR wagon-hire, *x* GUR salary, *x* GUR unpaid (*LAL-NI*)." *Tubuku ina* 1 GUR, 1 PI; cf. above, p. 295. XV, 10. Here again it is evident that *tabāku* is some business transaction. XIV, 146: "First-fruits, *šibšum*, *udû*, and *kišrum*." XIV, 79: "Grain classed as full tax which was paid by *Martuku* out of the revenue of the sowing of the year 22 on the estate of *Ninib-aplu-iddina*. 72 *ḳa* as wages of the potter, 72 *ḳa* as salary of *Adagal-pān-Marduk*, the gardener. XIV, 118: "Wagon (loads of grain), the revenue from *Dûr-bêlê*, year 5 of *Kudur-Bêl*." That *ṣumbi* here is to be translated as "wagon-loads of grain" follows from l. 24, where *šezêr*, "seed-grain," is inserted. For the meaning of *ḫarbu*, l. 9, cf. p. 308. This is the revenue from *Dûr-bêlê* from the 10th of the 3d month to the 5th of the 4th month, year 5 of *Kudur-Bêl*. XV, 5: A receipt given by *Amêl-banî* for certain grain of the revenue classed as full tax, from the town of *Zarat-dûr-Gula*. For l. 2 see below. The meaning of *mu-is-ri* of l. 1 is not clear. XV, 59: "*šehar-ra*, *tumru*, prepared grain as full tax," etc. L. 2, end, the *giš*-sign takes the place of the usual *MU-BI-IM*; cf. *Br.* 5707. L. 10, together with 48 *ḳa*, instead of the *ru-(šup)ga* of the year 5. *Ki-mu* here and in cases like XV, III, 14; 132, 5 seems to be a variant of *kima*; cf. XIV, 8, 6, *kime*. In XV, 196, 16 it is probably to be translated as "flour," and in XV, 135, 7 either translation is possible; cf. below, p. 319. The reverse deals with taxes, *telitu*.

XV, 91: Like XIV, 118, with additional lists. The tablet is too badly rubbed to determine the headings of columns 2 and 3. *ZAG-ḪI-LI-ŠAR* (written also *ZAG-ḪI-LI* and *ZAG-ḪI*), *siḫlu*; cf. Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 71; there translated as "a prickly plant;" cf. references to *Maklû* 5, 32, etc.; cf. also *Labartu* (*ZA*, XVI), II, 34; III, 56. In the latter instance it is written out

siḫ-lu-u. The word also occurs in the historical texts; see Muss-Arnolt's *DAL*. The word is translated as "thorn" by Myhrman and others. This may be a correct meaning of the word, but from the passages quoted below it seems clear that ZAG-ḪI-LI-ŠAR in these texts is a plant of value. As Tallquist has shown (p. 140 of *Maklū*), the plants there mentioned are chosen because of the likeness of their radicals to those of the verbs used; cf. Zimmern, *BBR*, p. 223. The ideogram occurs also in the following texts: XIV, 18, in connection with AŠ-AN-NA, etc., in a revenue list; XIV, 21, in a payment of flour, wine, onions, etc.; XIV, 24, similar to 18. L. 13 contains a note, ḫar-šu-u; cf. *Br.* 5990; Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 293; Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 341. The root has such varied meanings that one cannot assign any meaning here, in view of the context. L. 16, cf. above, p. 295. XIV, 34, like 18 and 24; XIV, 88, l. 6; XV, 5, 2; 9, 2; 12, 4; 29, 2; 70, 5; 91, 2; 117, 2; 157, 1; 166, 1; 170, 1. AŠ-AN-NA, see Vol. XIV, p. 31, note. Ziemer (*BA*, III, p. 484) thinks it is equivalent to *asnê*, but his argument is by no means convincing, and we are no nearer a solution with this equation; cf. Zimmern, *BBR*, p. 220. The connection between AŠ-AN-NA and bututtu is seen from XIV, 77; 1 GUR 30 QA AŠ-AN-NA GIŠ-BAR 6 QA ša i-na libbi ša ^{a1}Za-rat-dûr-^dGu-la a-na bu-tu-ut-ti ha-aš-la-ma a-na a-bi nadnu (nu): "1 GUR 30 QA of AŠ-AN-NA out of the 6 QA tax from Zarat-dûr-Gula, was ground into bututtu and given to the abi;" cf. XV, 35, 7. Bututtu is therefore a variety of flour ground from AŠ-AN-NA; cf. XV, 53: AŠ-AN-NA of the full tax of Zarat-IM, paid to certain persons. For ll. 5 and 6 cf. p. 312. A note is added after the date, accounting for 90 QA of flour (kime) made from AŠ-AN-NA grain of the full tax, which the "house of the seal" (bît-kunukki) sent to Nippur; 4 PI of flour (kime), 1 PI of flour (bututtum) received by Sin-napšira. Here we clearly have two kinds of flour made from AŠ-AN-NA. For other kinds of flour see below, p. 300. AŠ-AN-NA is a grain, and is a regular kind of revenue paid into the temple.

^se BAL. XV, 115: "55 GUR of BAL grain, of the tax 'poured out' (tab-ki) in the town of Taribatam. Innannu received it from the hand of Bêšunu by order of Luššu-ana-nûr-Bêl." Out of it were paid amounts to certain persons. The grain is classified under three headings: Tabki, "poured out," salary tax,

and 10 KA tax. The only amount under the first head is 3 GUR, which was paid to the house of Innannu at Nippur. There are three entries under the second head: 7 GUR paid to Allia, son of Luššu-ana-nûrišu, received by Ia-e(?) -a (as agent for the first); 1 GUR as wages (zêr?) of 2 patesis of Sin-issahra; 1 GUR of HAR-RA grain (or perhaps interest) paid to Hunnubu. Belanu received 25(?) GUR of the 10 KA tax grain, and a note states that he received 8 GUR 144 KA additional by order of Luššu-ana-nûr-Bêl. L. 11 probably belongs to the same note, and gives the explanation of the extra grain paid. It was paid from the šibšu tax of the god of the zakiri. L. 13, "6 KA to Innannu for fodder for his horse." L. 14, "x GUR for the measurer (ma-an-di-du)." L. 16, "6 GUR to Takišu, fodder for an ass, and for wine." L. 18, perhaps the same as l. 11: "out of the šibšu of the god in the zakiri." Ll. 19, 20, "an amount paid out of the portion of Innannu." L. 21, "90 KA paid out of the portion of Martuku." Or the ditto may refer to the portion of Innannu, and is to be translated, "Martuku paid out of the portion of Innannu." L. 24, "3 GUR 78 KA of AŠ-AN-NA, the šibšu-tax of the zakiri of the shepherd, Aḫidutum and Išemutum(?) brought to the storehouse and gave it to Innannu (ušamḫarum)." The meaning of ¹³zakiri is not clear; perhaps it is a wooden shrine. ^{se}BAL also occurs in XV, 144, l. 6, with ^{se}zêr, "seed-grain" and KI-MU. BAL with grain occurs in Reisner, *TU*, in the sense of "aufspeichern."

Other grains given to the temple as revenue are the following: TIG-GAL; cf. above, *passim*; cf. also Clay, *Murašû*, X, sign-list, No. 179. This grain is also referred to in the *Ritualtafel*n, Zimmern, *BBR*, p. 225. TIG-TUR; cf. the same references; cf. XIV, 3a, 3, ^{se}ma-ti; XV, 133, 2, and 150, 4, ^{se}NE and ^{se}BE.

XV, 97: Date. "The grain which was brought from the town of Taḫlaš and put into the large gate (abulli) of the god Šulmu." The grain was brought by the parties named. The large gates seem to have been used as granaries in Babylonia, just as they were in Europe in the times when cities were walled in. XV, 141: Grain brought from Dûr-Nusku and perhaps paid out. L. 15, "flour which was brought from the open steppe(?)" (ša ištu pa-an šêri(?) na-ša-a). The total received was 2 GUR, 18 KA; 24 KA were still due (LAL-NI). XV, 17: Probably a list of payments to the temple. L. 16, šu-la-aš-šum

= "delivered it for him." XV 173: Grain received by Innannu from two towns for the temple. In addition there is a payment, not belonging to the list, from another. L. 5 gives the total amount received, l. 6 the amount unpaid; perhaps not turned over by Innannu. XV, 174, 175: It is not clear whether these are payments to or by the temple. The absence of the check-marks is in favor of the former. XV, 182: Payments from certain towns. Ll. 8 f., amount received, amount still due (IB-KID), and wages. XV, 196: Lists of grains received or still due (LAL-NI).

Besides the bututtum flour mentioned above, p. 298, the following are found in these texts: XIV, 47: ši-ḥi-rum, cf. XIV, 117a, 1; ši-ni-tum, cf. XIV, 117a, 5, and XV, 181, 8; ki-patu(?) flour, cf. XV, 181, 6; pa-ḥi-du, cf. XIV, 117a, 2; XV, 181, 5; šI-GAR-TAK, cf. XIV, 117a, 3; ri-du, cf. XIV, 117a, 6; XV, 181, 3; SU-AD-E(?), cf. XV, 181, 4; ši-ib-ri flour, cf. XV, 181, 7. For šibru, a grain, cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 1005, and *BA*, IV, p. 305. To translate KIN, šipru (cf. *Br.* 10753) and connect it with שִׁבְרִי is rather a case of juggling with ideograms. That שִׁבְרִי and šibru are to be connected is more probable.

The connection of MUN, XV, 181, 9 (cf. XV, 16, 8; 44, 20; 64, 7; 147, 6; 169, 3), with these different kinds of flour makes it unlikely that it is to be translated "salt" (ṭabtu). For doubt as to whether it ever means "salt," see Muss-Arnolt's *Dictionary*. Here it probably represents some member of the vegetable kingdom.

3. *The flocks and herds of the temple.*—XIV, 44: A list of persons and the sheep which they presented to (?) the temple. XIV, 52: The meadow (?) ZA-KUR; date. List of 1 bull, 34 full-grown cows, 4 three-year-old cows, etc. Total, 77 cattle (LID-GUD-SUN) . . . ? and a quantity of butter. The cattle are in the hands of Gubbuḫi, and belong to the district (piḫat) over which Nunakte has charge. This is no doubt a single herd of cattle, a number of which made up the larger herds of the temple. A list like that represented in XIV, 99a (see below) was made up of smaller lists like this one. The quantity of butter recorded corresponds to the amounts recorded in the last column of such a text as 99a. XIV, 137: This tablet is badly broken, but enough of the text remains to show that it was an

inventory of a herd of 20 cattle, the butter due, and the names of the nâḫidu, ḥazannu, and kaššû (see below). The seal of Amēl-Marduk is attached, which shows that he is the person who "took out" (i-ti-iḫ(?)) the herd. He is to pay over the hides (taḥsa), etc. (i-na 10 mašku (?) i-nam-din, i-na i-na 100 ša it-te-iḫ, i-na 150 ḥimētu i-na 170 ḥa-za-an-nu a-na šu LID-GUD-SUN i-man-nu, ḥa-za-an-nu a-na šu ul in amēl-rê'u u-pa(?) -ka(?) -ru-ma(?) LAL-NI ḥa-za-an-nu iṣ-ši-rum). The latter part of the document is the contract with the temple. A man took out a certain number of cattle, was allowed a certain percentage for losses by death, etc., but was also expected to return a certain percentage by way of increase, and for the dead he was to return the hides, bones, etc. Cf. Clay, *Murašû*, X, pp. 23 ff., and *Introd. to Vol. XIV*, p. 26. XIV, 162 is another herd similar to XIV, 52.

XV, 199: Lists of cattle with the names of the herdsmen in charge. The totals do not include the numbers after TA, unless those numbers are included in the numbers before it. These insertions are perhaps to be considered as notes, and refer to cattle which the man holds, but are accounted for in some other list. It is to be noticed that there are two sets of totals. In column 9 the totals of the herds in charge of the different men are given; and in l. 14 the grand total of all the cattle, got by adding up the totals of column 9. Besides this there is a separate total of all the cows. The percentage of increase in flocks and herds is based on the number of potential females—cf. above. L. 15, cf. XIV, 99a, 5, below.

TRANSLITERATION: ²⁶napharu 719 birum na-kam-tum adi 2 ša Mâr-^mAḥ-li-u u-ak-ki-ra adi 140(?) ša Bâb-mi-ni adi 185 ša tamtim ²⁷ištu tamtim u Dûr-ku-ri-gal-zu il-ga-am-ma id-di-na adi 21 ša ^mAmēl-Marduk im-^dḥu-ru-[ma] a-na ²⁸^md Marduk-nâsir is-si-ir-šu itti 60 ša Mâr ^mLa-ki-it-zi-e(?) -la [im-ḥu]-ru-u-ma a-na ^hikkarê^{pl} u-za-'i-zu itti 30(?) ²⁹itti 30 ša a-na šimu a-me-lu-ti na-ad-nu itti 69 ša pa-te-si be bil^{pl} na-ad-nu itti 4 ša a-na ^mBêl-u-za ³⁰itti 13 bu-ul-lu-kutu e-li zi-kar u a-ra-ad šar-ri itti 1 ša a-na niḫ^d Istar pa-al ³¹u 29 mašku šu-lu-u kât ^md Marduk-nâsir 2 LAL-NI mašku ša nâḫidê^{pl} itti 5 ša i-na šatti 14^{kan} na-ad-nu šu-lu-u. ³²1 pi-iḫ-du ^mTa-ri-bi-ilu 1 pi-iḫ-du ^mḤu-za-lum itti 3 ša i-na šatti 12^{kan} na-ad-nu šu-lu-u napharu(?) 4 a-na e-si-ri-šu. ³³26 birum ša i-na šatti 7 ^{kan}ištu tamtim il-ku-ni kât ^md Marduk-nâsir duppi šu-ma-ti ma-ḥi-ir is-si-ra-am-mâ a-na mu-uḥ ³⁴itti 19 ša ^mAmēl-^dMarduk a-na mu-uḥ ša ^{alu}Ardu-Belit ^{ki}ru-ud-du-u

[itti] 8 (?) ša ^{m d}Nin-ib-mu-bal-liṭ i-na li'u-šu ³⁵itti 12 ša ^mIddina-^dNergal a-na mu-uḫ-šu ru-ud-du-u itti ša 20 birum 160 gur šeum ša 1 alpu 8 gur šeum ša ^mIb-ni-^dKUR iddina (na) a-na ³⁶25 birum ša Dûr-ku-ri-gal-zu ša i-na šatti 17 ^{kan}a-na e-ri-ši u tu-ur-ri na-ad-nu itti 24 ša a-na ir-ri-ši ša ^{al}Ardu-Bêlit ³⁷i-na duppi ša ^{al}Ardu-Bêlit ^{ki}ša-aṭ-ru šu-lu-u kât ^mAmêl-^dMarduk duppi šu-ma-ti ma-ḫi-ir is-si-ra-am-ma a-na ^{m d}Marduk-nâšir i-nam-din (in). ³⁸30 birum ša ištu tâmtim il-ḫu-ni (?) a-na Mâr-^mki-lam-da-ku ka-an-gu a-na e-ri-ši u tu-ur-ri na-ad-nu duppi šu-ma-ti [ma-ḫi-ir]. ³⁹is-si-ra-am-ma a-na ^{m d}Marduk-nâšir i-nam-din(in) 1 alpu Mâr-^mAdad-ša-kim-ta itti-šu i-nam-din(in) a-na ^{m d}Nin-ib-iddina(na). ⁴⁰birum ša i-na šatti 15 ^{kan}ištu tâmtim il-ḫu-ni itti ša 67 birum 536 gur šeum ša 1 alpu 8 gur šeum ša ^mDišpu-E-kur i-si-ru ⁴¹ša šatti 10 a-na ^{m d}Marduk-nâšir ru-ud-du u 30 birum ša a-na ri-mu-ti na-ad-nu šu-lu-u. ⁴²alpu ^{coll}šû-^{gi} ša i-na kât ^{amêl}pa-te-si^{pl} maḫ-ru-u-ma a-na la-ta-ki pa-aḫ-du 2 ^{m d}Marduk-nâšir 2 ^{m d}Nin-ib-mu-bal-li-ṭ. ⁴³1 ^mAmêl-^dMarduk 1 ^mḪa-an-bu 1 ^mMu-kal-lim naḫḫaru 7 alpu^{coll} šû-^{gi} a-na la-ta-ki pa-aḫ-du u-kab (?) -ba? ⁴⁴15 birum ša a-na pa-te-si^{pl} u ḫa-za-na-ti i-na šatti 5^[kan] ipru a-na e-ri-ši u tu-ur-ri maḫ-rum duppi šu-ma-ti-šu-nu ^mAḫ-iddina (na)-^dMarduk [ma-ḫi-ir]. ⁴⁵is-si-ra-am-ma i-nam-din.

TRANSLATION: Total, 719 young oxen [or perhaps to be read simply "cattle" in all cases], the property [literally "treasure"] of the temple(?). In addition, 2 which Mâr-Aḫliu bought(?); in addition, 140 belonging to Bâb-mini (Gate of numbering [x] from the sea (country) and Dûr-Kurigalzu brought and gave ; in addition, 21 which Amêl-Marduk received and gave to [x] which Marduk-nâšir collected for him(?); together with 60 which Mâr-Lakitzia(?) received and distributed among the farmers; together with 30 together with 30 which were given for the purchase of men; together with 69 which the patesis of gave; in addition, 4 which to Bêl-uza ; in addition, 13, apportioned among(?) the men and servants of the king; together with 1, an offering to Ištar and 29 hides delivered by Marduk-nâšir (2 hides short), the hides due from the herdsmen, together with 5 which were paid and delivered in the year 14 [cf. XIV, 136, 14, 27]. One herd(?), Tarîbi-ilu; 1 herd, Huzalum; in addition, 3 which were given and delivered in the year 12. Total(?) 5(?) for gathering(?) by? Twenty-six young oxen which were brought from the sea (country) by Marduk-nâšir in the year 7; when he receives the tablet with the names, he shall inclose it(?) [or perhaps, "check it up"] and to In addition, 19 which Amêl-Marduk drove to the city of Ardu-Bêlit In addition, 8(?) which Ninib-muballit wrote on his tablet [that is, made an inventory of them on his tablet] In addition, 12 which Iddina-Nergal drove to him (to Ninib-muballit?), taking, in addition, 160 gur of grain for 20 oxen, 8 gur per ox, which Ibni-kur gave for 25 young oxen, belonging to the town of Dûr-Kurigalzu, which were given in the year 17 for farming and turri. Together with 24 [given] for the farming of the town of Ardu-Bêlit, ... on the tablet of Ardu-Bêlit

the account of them is written, they were delivered by Amêl-Marduk. When he receives the tablet with the names, he shall inclose it(?) [or perhaps, as above] and give it to Marduk-nâšir. Thirty young oxen which were brought from the sea (country) and given to Mâr-Kilamdaku, the notary, for farming and turri. When he receives the tablet with the names, he shall inclose it(?) [or perhaps, as above] and give it to Marduk-nâšir: One ox Mâr-Adad-šakimta [gave] . . . with it he shall give to Ninib-iddina. The young oxen which were brought from the sea (country) in the year 15, together with these 67 oxen 536 gur of grain, 8 gur per ox, the grain Dišpu-Ekur gathered . . . [x young oxen] of the year 10, driven to Marduk-nâšir, and 30 young oxen which were paid and delivered, for salaries. Old oxen which were received from the patesis and kept for . . . (?) 2, Marduk-nâšir; 2, Ninib-muballit; 1, Amêl-Marduk; 1, Hanbu; 1, Mukallim; total, 7 old oxen kept for . . . (?). Fifteen young oxen which were received in the year 5, for the patesis and hazannu, as wages for farming and turri. When Aḥ-iddina-Marduk receives the tablet with their names, he shall inclose it(?) [or perhaps, as above] and give it over.

The reverse of this tablet gives the sources from which the temple received its herds, and the disposal made of them. Most of the large herds owned by the temple no doubt were received in payment of taxes, or as gifts. These herds were then hired out and brought in a large revenue.

The rendering of isiramma is uncertain. "Inclose it" was given in view of esiri ša duppi; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, and Delitzsch, *HWB*. On the other hand, it seems as though the alternative translation offered would fit the context better; cf. XIV, 99, which follows.

XIV, 99: "The numbering of large and small cattle which? Bêl" (mi-nu LID-GUD-SUN u šênu ša ^md Bêl . . .). Then follow the lists of bulls, cows, etc., and at the right-hand side no doubt stood the names of the herdsmen in charge. Occasionally we find a line where no numbers are recorded, but the words ul i-ti-iḫ, "he did not take out," are inserted. This means that the herdsman did not take out any cattle at that time. L. 16, "In the year 11 of Kadašman-Turgu, in addition, his large cattle inspected (? it-ta-an-ba or ma-ar) at Nippur." This note may be incomplete and is consequently more obscure than such notes usually are. L. 23, "In addition, 3 full-grown cows and 1 three-year-old cow, belonging to Ilu-maḥḥi. In addition, 1 full grown cow and 12 calves belonging to x." Notes like these seem to bear out the translation of adi as 'in addition.'

At the head of this tablet stands the name of Bêl . . . , who had charge of the flocks and herds. To the side belong the names of the herdsmen who tended the herds. The numbers after adi perhaps represent the cattle or sheep belonging to another overseer, but at the time of counting in the care of these herdsmen. L. 31, ^mGi-mil-lum i-si-ra dup-pi šu-ma-a-ti i-na GI GUR-IM-MA kam-sa-at; cf. below, p. 308.

Rv. ³⁵In addition, 19 which he took out; in addition, 4 cows; in addition, 87 three-year-old oxen, etc. ³⁶Driven [to some town] and sold [literally, business conducted, nikasu ipšu], together with 4 which were taken to Nippur, and received by Irimšu-Ninib; together with . . . ³⁷and 50 hides, as many as he received, he delivered (50 mašku ma-la il-ka-a šu-lu-u). ³⁸In addition, 19, which he took out; in addition, 4 cows, together with 40 young oxen, which through Ištar-nisu in the year 12 were . . . ⁴⁰were taken and received by Irimšu-Ninib, together with 20 which were overdue (LAL) and collected (is-ru; cf. XV, 199 above) in the year 13 and to . . . ⁴¹11 four-year-old oxen, 13 three-year-old-oxen, etc., total 32. ⁴²In addition, 24 which he took out; in addition, 8 cows, together with 11 which were due from the year 13 (itti 11 ša i-na šatti 13 LAL ma), these he gathered and drove to the district of . . . (is-ru-ma a-na pi-ḥa[-at () ru-ud-du-u]) [cf. l. 40 above]. ⁴³42 young oxen, which were received from Ištar-nisu in the year 12, and (driven) to Nippur. ⁴⁴42 oxen, šA(B)-GUD of 6 fields (ḥar-be, cf. below, p. 308) of the city of Tukulti-Bêlit. ⁴⁵48 oxen, šA(B)-GUD of 9 fields (ḥar-be) of the patesis of the new-land(?) around the towns of Kâr-Bêl and . . . ⁴⁶43 oxen, šA(B)-GUD of 7 fields (ḥar-be), together with 5, which Gimillum received in the year 13. ⁴⁷6 oxen, šA(B)-GUD for ḥadali, in the possession of Gimilli; in addition, 1 which Subarû received from . . . ⁴⁸. . . and 1 two-year-old cow, a small one (? ta-ḥu-u) ša ši-ma-at uz-ni pa-al-tu. ⁴⁹4 young oxen, still due as per contract (? IB-KID ri-ik-si), through Ninib-nâdin-šum they shall be . . . on the 5th of the 12th month.

L. 50: From here on we have the accounts of the small cattle. Ll. 51-54 state that no flocks were taken out since the fourth year of Kadašman-Turgu. L. 65, " . . . small cattle of the increase (ši-bi-ti) of the town of Tukulti-Bêl and . . . " L. 65 . . . the tablet with the names i-na GI GUR-IM-MA; cf. above.

XIV, 99a: This document gives a list of the cattle in the hands of certain herdsmen, nâkidu, ḥazannu, and kaššû. The nâkidu (𒌒𒍪) was the actual herdsman. The ḥazannu was of higher rank and had charge of a number of nâkidu; cf. XV, 90, 109, 128, 199; XIV, 99a, 123, 137; and Godbey, *Officials*, p. 34. The kaššû was probably the royal overseer. That they were the

representatives of the Cassite kings is perhaps to be seen in their names, Kilamdu, Šadbarḫu (XV, 6, 3), etc. L. 4: Totals, summing up the number of cattle in the pi-ḫat of Ilu-aḫu-iddina. The piḫat was, no doubt, the district of which Ilu-aḫu-iddina had charge. This does not conflict with the explanation of the office of the kaššû. The Cassite Dynasty left the local government in the hands of Babylonians, naturally such as were loyal to them. But this does not exclude the possibility that they had men of their own nationality stationed over the country, who would look after their interests and see that the taxes were properly paid. We have a parallel to this in Egyptian history; cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 162; cf. also p. 494 for the herds of the temple. The meaning of lam-ma-nu, l. 5, is not clear; cf. XV, 199, 21, 22, below.

The second series of totals, l. 7, make up the pi-ḫat of Šamaš-nādin-aḫê. Ll. 8 and 9, "besides 3, which he took out;" cf. XIV, 99. ul i-ti-iḫ, cf. *ibid.* "In addition, 1 tab-kir-ti," see p. 306, below. "In addition, 15 two-year-old oxen from Bābmini, year 11. In addition, 2 cows, and 5 ZI-GA (taken away?). Hides, as many as he received, he delivered." L. 11: "10 six-year-old oxen, for carrying the salary (in grain, etc.) of the riḫḫu and KA-ZID-DA officials. They are in the care of Šamaš-nādin-aḫê." L. 12: "14 ditto, in the charge of Ilu-aḫu-iddina." L. 13: "Total, 329, (the herd of) the high-priestess." Ll. 17 ff. contain notes to the preceding lists: "16 six-year-old oxen, etc.; total, 83 young oxen, the property (na-kam-tum; cf. above) of Mār-Dini(ni)-Šamaš, in the hand of Bēl-bēl-nišēšu." The preceding totals make up the piḫat of Bēl-bēl-nišēšu. "In addition, 55 which he took out; 11 cows; 15 two-year-old oxen from Bābmini, year 11; 24 one-year-old oxen and 1 cow, which were examined (inspected, counted?) in Kār-Bēl-matāti" (bu-uk-ku-ra baḫāru; cf. Aramaic בָּחַר, and XIV, 168, l. 55, XIV, 128, l. 2, 𐎶𐎠𐎫. If taken from paḫāru, it would have to be translated "reclaimed"). L. 19: "together with 16 hides of the dead-cattle (RI-RI-GA = mikittu; cf. Clay, Vol. X, p. 23), as many as he received, he delivered." L. 20: "12 oxen šA(B)-GUD; in addition, 4 which Bēl-mukīn-aplu gave to Nūr-Šamaš in the 10th year of Kadašman-Turgu. They are in the hand of Bēl-bēl-nišēšu." Cf. l. 17 above. ŠA(B)-GUD occurs in Reisner, *TU*; see *Wörterverzeichnis*, and cf. XIV, 99, 44 ff. The reverse contains lists of

small cattle, the totals making up the piḥat of Šamaš-nādin-aḫē and Bēl-bēl-nišēšu. The last two columns contain the number of talents, mana, etc., of wool (?) from the sheep; cf. Clay, Vol. X, p. 23, from which we see that wool, hides, sinews, etc., were the regular products from flocks and herds. L. 30: "28 (za-bit-ti, cf. above), the increase of the year 11, together with 68 . . . and ZI-GA (cf. above). (Total) 28 delivered for salary (ak-lu), up to the 28th of Araḫšamna. In addition, 16 the increase (za-bit-ti) of the year 11, together with 6 (paid) as salary and ZI-GA; and 3 hides, as many as he received, he delivered." L. 32: ". . . . 202 of the increase (ši-be-e-ti) of the years 10 and 11," that is, which are the increase of these years. The translation of ši-bit-ti, za-bit-ti, and ši-be-e-ti as "increase" is offered with reserve. L. 33: "Totals, the flocks of the high-priestess." Ll. 35 ff.: Similar lists, making the piḥat of Bēl-bēl-nišēšu. "In addition 21, the increase of the year 11, together with 16 ki-is-bu" (perhaps to be read, "less* 16, which were killed?"). L. 46: "The numbering of the large and small cattle of the priestesses, for the year 11 of Kadašman-Turgu."†

XIV, 168: A list similar to the foregoing. The heading is broken off, but the three lists of names are doubtless those of the nāḫidu, the ḫazannu, and the kaššû. As in 99a, obverse, there is a list of GUR and KA of butter. L. 15, end of a note: ". . . . which (is) at the disposal of (before) the piḥati of the young oxen; . . . in addition, 5 as a peace-offering (?) šul-ma-ni." Perhaps 99a, l. 5, should be read šul-ma-ni. L. 15, right, presents (peace-offerings, šul-ma-na-tum) from the year 6 to the year 9." L. 16, right: tab-ki-ir-tum ša ma-du-tu u-pa-ak-ki-ru-ni, "the herd which many (a multitude?) herded (??), [cf. bukkura, above] and large cattle which belong to Ina-Ekur-balātu," duppi šumati (MU-MEŠ) i-na GI GUR-IM-MA ka-am-sa-at; cf. below, p. 308. L. 18: "the herd (tab-ki-ir-tum) of (from) the sea-country." L. 20 begins a new list with nāḫidu only, in charge. L. 21, "Total, 60 cattle the property (na-kam-tum) of Zabru." L. 22, notes: "6, which he took out; in addition,

*One would naturally expect EN=a di to mean "thereto," "added," and TA=ištu, "therefrom," "subtracted." But after taking all the passages into consideration it was decided that a di should provisionally be translated "in addition," and TA=itti, "together with."

†Cf. XIV, 89, a list of flocks belonging to the high-priestess (NIN-DINGIR-GAL) and the inferior priestess (NIN-DINGIR-TUR), with the names of the men in charge. The column of names is headed za-kár(?) - tum. Do we here have the Semitic equivalent for MU-BI-IM?

51 from Bâb-mini, year 11; in addition, 3, the herd (tab-kir-tum) of Mâr-Ina-Ekur-balâtu, from the sea-country, together with the cows brought(?) from the city Suri [reading ištu ^{a1}Su-ri li-ku-nim]. Cows for Ibnuti, for the district (pi-ḥa-[at]) [duppi] šu-ma-a-ti” Cf. below. L. 23: “7 large cows, etc., which are at the disposal of the piḥâti of the young oxen [accounted for] in the account-tablet for the year 1, driven to the of the town of Kâr-banûti,” (ša i-na pa-an pi-ḥa-ti ša birum i-na[dup-]ša-ra(?) ša šatti 1 ^{ka}m a-na mu-uḥ mu(?) -ri-šu ša ^{a1}Kar-ba-nu-ti ru-ud-du-u). L. 24: i-na bu-di a-na šarri nadnu (nu) itti 3 birum a-na mu-uḥ (?) ru-ud-du-u itti 1 ak-lu u 8 mašku ma-la il-ḡa-a šu-lu-u: “Given to the king as per contract (?) [some number to be supplied at the beginning of the line], together with 3 which were driven to (?); together with 1 for salary; and 8 skins, as many as he received, he delivered.” L. 25: “7 cows, (ceremonially) clean (? ellitu, AZAG-GA), Nergal-aḡu-iddina KI-MU [see l. 44] Mâr-za-ki-ri, etc.” L. 26: “These make up the piḥat of the governors, ḡazanâti.” L. 33: “1 three-year-old ox (?) belonging to Ninib-Bâni, together with x(?) which were accounted for in the account-tablet for the year 10. One two-year-old cow belonging to Taribi, ditto, which is in the account-tablet, ditto. These are in the hand of Ḥumbanapir at Bâb-mini in the year 12.” L. 34: “3 large cows which were accounted for in the account-tablet of the year 10, under the name [i. e., as belonging to] (? MU) Hunnuni and given in the charge of Nuskunâdin-šum (a-na ^{md}Nusku-nâdin-šum pa-aḡ-da); in the year 11 he did not take them out for esiri. Iamu received them from Lultamruti.” L. 36: “In addition, 10, which he took out; 1 calf (? išten a-lit); in addition, 7 two-year-old oxen, at Bâb-mini, year 11; together with 11, which Irimšu-Ninib divided with his partner, (a-na šu-ta-pi-e u-za-i-zu) in the year 11; and 4 skins, as many as he received, he delivered.” L. 37: “20 oxen šA(B)-GUD of 5 fields (ḡar-be, see below) of the patesis. They are in the possession of Irimšu-Ninib.” L. 37: “6 ditto belonging to (his) partner, in the possession of ditto.” L. 38: “19 young oxen; in addition, 10 from Bunna-Gula, and 6 from Rabâ-ša-Nergal, Irimšu-Ninib received in the year 11 for himself and partner; they are in the hands of ditto (Irimšu-Ninib), of the house, estate (bît) of Ninib-aplu-iddina” (cf. XIV, 131, 17). L. 43:

"5 (two-year-old) oxen; in addition, 1 e-si-ir-ti; 3 (cows); in addition, 1 ditto (esirti), etc., which were accounted for in the account-tablet for the year *x*, under the name [cf. above, l. 34] of Nusku-zêr-iddina." L. 44: "The herd (tabkirtu ?) of Zabru, KI-MU [cf. l. 25], Ninib-mušallim, in the hand of Bunna-[Gula]." L. 45, like l. 36. L. 51: "Totals, making up the piḫat of Rabā-ša-Nergal." L. 52: lists of asses, 3, 2, 1, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1-year-olds; harnesses, (? tillu) nâkidu, ḫazannu, and kaššû. L. 55: " . . . which were inspected (bu-uk-ku-ra [cf. XIV, 99a, l. 17 above]) in the year 1. The tablet of the names with" This note shows that the phrase i-na GI GUR-IM-MA (cf. above, p. 304) consists of the preposition *ina* and perhaps the word *ḫânu*, "reed," with a verb. One would expect the overseers to receive tablets from the temple occasionally, giving the number of cattle which were let out and the names of the men in charge. The overseer would receive such a tablet, check it up after going over the flocks and herds, and return it to the temple. This may be what the phrase implies. It is offered merely as a suggestion; cf. the following: L. 58: . . . a-na ma-ḫa-ri-e bu-uk-ku-du duppi šu-ma-a-ti i-na ḫât(?)u-di-e ša ḫar-râni kam-sa-at. None of the meanings assigned to *kamâsu* seems to fit in this phrase. *Udê ša ḫarrâni*, "utensil for the road," "traveling-bag(?)," or some such meaning, must be assigned. The word *dup-ša-ra* is new. It is related to *DUB-ŠAR* just as *mušaru* is to *MU-ŠAR*. Its meaning is clear. The word *esirti* gives difficulty. We have *esiri* in the documents which have to do with cattle. XIV, 131 perhaps gives the explanation of the word. This document gives a list of lambs and kids which make up the e-sir-tum of the high-priestess. This may mean the "flock," but it is more likely that it refers to the increase, lambs and kids, from the flock. *Ana esiri* may then mean "for breeding." *Ḫarbu* and *KI-MU*: For these words the following is significant: XV, 144: "AŠ-AN-NA grain, the full tax, which Martuku received for seed (^{se}zêr), sowing, in Dûr-Nusku, from Marduk-nâdin-šum, son of Irîmšu-Ninib. It was disposed of as follows: 10 GUR for the KI-MU of Mâr-Airi, 5 GUR for the KI-MU of Ibni-Uruk, 4 and 10 GUR for ^{se}BAL of Etil-pî-Ninib, 2 GUR for the sowing of 2 ḪAR-BU of Martuku, 2 GUR for the sowing of Nusku-ibni, 18 GUR for 9 ḪAR-BU of Bêl-mukin-aplu, 90 KA seed-grain which Libur-nadinšu received in Zarat-IM." In XIV,

56a we have a series of payments of salaries, wages, etc. L. 4, "for fodder for 50 oxen." L. 6, "for the seed-grain (i. e., sowing) of 10 ĦAR-BU of the patesis." In view of these passages, as well as XV, 144; XIV, 56, and XIV, 99, it would seem as though Ħarbu must mean a field of some kind; cf. XIV, 118, above; also Ħarbûti, used of fields, Johns, *ADD*, III, p. 131. Johns translates the word "waste," or "cropped," stubble-land. In the *Labartu* texts (*ZA*, XVI, p. 176) we have a reference to this word in an oath by the kak-ki Ħar-bi Ħašbi zêri, the implements of the field and the seed-pot. If l. 45 of 99 above is correctly translated, the li-me-ti eš-še-ti might point to a meaning like "newly reclaimed land." The more general word "field" has been used in the above translations. The use of KI-MU in XV, 144 and XIV, 99, l. 28; 168, l. 25, and the above passages, points to a similar meaning of "field" or "estate." On the other hand, XV, 196, 16 and 135, 7, must contain a different word.

XIV, 132: "[The numbering] of small cattle which Marduk, the king's chief officer (^{amēl}šAG šarri), witnessed, (u-kin-nu) in the year 6 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, and in the year 7 ša-pî-ki-ni [The break comes at the beginning of l. 3 and makes a translation impossible]; and the dead (RI-RI-GA = mi-kittu; cf. XIV, 99a, 19) the shepherds reported before the god." (a-na maḥri ili iš-bu-ru; the meaning of this is clear from § 266 of the *Code of Hammurabi*.) The columns are headed: ša a-na e-si-ri kun-nu (?), which were inspected with reference to the increase; ša a-na maḥ-ri ili šab-ru, which were reported before the god—that is, dead or missing. Over the names stands "the shepherds of the god." L. 10: IM-BE = siru = "hedge," here, perhaps, "shepherd's lodge." The same word occurs in ll. 24, 36, 41, 44, 46, 47, 51. With it occurs GAL-IA-TI. That they do not belong together as one ideogram is seen from ll. 16, 46. Ll. 12, 16, 17 are similar. L. 16: "With Ilu-kidini, son of Badani, the shepherd of Bit-Malaḥi u-kam-šu" (cf. kamsat, above). Ll. 43, 53, GAR MAT U-pi-i; cf. ^{a1}Upî = Opis. L. 48, e-sir-tum; cf. above.

XIV, 136: "The balance-sheet of the accounts of the priestesses which Amēl-Marduk, the TIG-EN-NA of Nippur, audited before in the month Abu, of the year 9 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš." (ri-ḥa-nu ša DUB-ŠAR-MEŠ ša NIN-DINGIR-MEŠ ša ^mAmēl-^dMarduk TIG-EN-NA EN-LIL-[KI] i-na ^{arab}Aibi ša šatti

9^{kan} Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šur-ia-aš i-na muḥḥi u-kin-nu.) This heading is followed by columns headed, "grain of the 10 qa tax," "sesame," "butter," "wool," and another product that was measured by weight. Some of the figures are broken, but enough remain to justify the interpretation given. Taking the wool account, col. 4, it reads:

	Talents	Mana	Names of Persons
	5	41	
	51	16 $\frac{1}{3}$	
	48	49	
	68	42	
Total	174	28 $\frac{1}{3}$	Balance due (LAL-NI) from the shepherds.

XIV, 117b: The first line is probably to be read immeru paḡ-du; cf. l. 11. "Total 4, intrusted to (paḡ-du) Kudurani." XV, 78: "The hides for the years 16 and 17, received at Nippur in Nisan of the year 18." The obverse is taken up with an account of skins of sheep, ewes, lambs, etc., together with the names of the shepherds who were responsible for their delivery to the temple (šulû, to be understood). The columns are headed KÁ and NU. The meaning of the first is not clear. The second, of course, negatives the statement contained in KÁ. KÁ is used parallel to KI-LAL in XIV, 123a. L. 9 gives the totals and grand totals of the hides due from the piḥat of Rabâ-ša-Nergal. The reverse gives a list of taḥ-sa received and not received, together with the names of the herdsmen, as above. The taḥsa are weighed by the mana, etc. The word is perhaps to be translated as "leather;" cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, under gabšu and taḥšu, for references. For the value of skins in exchange, cf. XV, 21, 29, from which we see that 16 sheep-skins are worth 2 qa of oil.

XIV, 104: "Butter, of the 6 qa tax, year *x* 3 GUR 11 qa paid by Rabâ-ša-[Nergal]. Total 3 GUR 11 qa (paid for the [high]-priestess); this (which) Irîmšu-Ninib received in the year 13 of Kadašman-Turgu, brought it (caused it to enter) to the 'house of the seal' (bit^{abân} DUB), and sold (?) it for 4 vessels of wine (BI-UŠ?)." Ša-pi-ik, cf. Tallquist, *Sprache Nabonidus*, abâku; a permansive Shaphel? XIV, 116: See under receipts. XV, 167, is perhaps a list of payments of sheep to the temple. XIV, 10: Cattle let out (?) by, or given to the

temple. The columns have no headings. The notes must refer to some such transfer of tablets as is mentioned in the notes to XIV, 168, etc., above. XIV, 94: "Sheep-wool which was received from the shepherds on the 13th of Ulul of the year 7 of Kadašman-Turgu. The wool is from the years 6 and 7. Total, 1 talent, 2 mana received by Rabâ-ša-Nergal. Two garments [cf. XIV, 157] belonging to Mār-Abienši, Rabâ-ša-Nergal received this day (in payment of?) arrears in sheep-wool." Sheep, etc., are paid as salary in XV, 1, 2, 9, 21, 23, 65, 79.

III. THE DISBURSEMENTS OF THE TEMPLE

1. *The documents relating to salaries.*

a) Receipts for aklum.

(1) Innannu.—This official is first mentioned in a document dated in the thirteenth year of Kurigalzu (XIV, 23). But, as Professor Clay has pointed out (XV, p. 2) all the tablets (with one exception) of Innannu belong to the reign of Kurigalzu, so that the aklum, and other texts with the name of Innannu on them, are to be dated in this reign. If we had all the tablets of the temple archives, we should probably have a much larger list of aklum tablets, covering the salary payments of the entire term of office of Innannu, Martuku, and the other officials. XV, 8 and 9 are consecutive. They state that on the 27th of the 3d month, year 2 of Kurigalzu, Innannu received as salary, 24 GUR 71 KA of grain. This was due him for the period from the 13th day of the 2d month to the 27th day of the 3d month, that is, for 1 month and 14 days. The next tablet gives the salary for a period of 5 days, from the 27th of the 3d month to the 2d of the 4th month. The nature of the payments makes it impossible for us to estimate the yearly salary of an official. The text XV, 1 shows that under aklum is included kurmat sise, "horse-feed." Clay (XIV, p. 29) recognizes the fact that aklum is more general than our word "salary." Perhaps it would be best translated by our expression "salary and expenses;" cf. XV, 1, 2, 65, 137; XV, 48c, l. 3, ripsu u ba-za-za.

(2) Martuku, the successor of Innannu (XV, p. 2).—XV, 12: salary receipt, with date and place given. In many of these salary receipts we have the place mentioned. Either the salary was taken to him from Nippur, or, more probably, the official drew upon the local granary or "subtreasury" of the temple, at

that particular place. XV, 14; XV, 16, expenses for one year. XV, 17: "Paid at Šelibi." XV, 18: *aklum* omitted. XV, 23, 25: Consecutive. No. 23 gives the expenses for one year, from the 2d month of the 8th year to the 2d month of the 9th year; no. 25, from the 2d month of the 9th year to the 2d month of the 10th year. The amounts in 23 are broken, but those in 25 give us an opportunity for comparison with no. 16. No. 25 has a case which shows that these tablets are receipts; cf. XIV, p. 9.

(3) Other receipts.—XIV, 27, 55; XIV, 71 contains the seal of Rimuti, who acted as agent for Bêl-Ištar.^{al}Zabi. Of a similar nature are XIV, 78, 83. XIV, 82: seal of Rimuti; cf. XIV, 71, 80, 87a. XIV, 97, "through the hand of Šar-ri-ki(?)." XV, 60; XV, 70; XV, 79: ¹1 immeru, ²1 buḫadu, ³ak-lum, ⁴biti-nu, ⁵GAR ḫarrani, ⁶ŠIL-LI-ḪA. Date, and seal of Šušati: "1 sheep, 1 lamb, expenses, our house, food? for a journey? to? ŠIL-LI-ḪA." L. 4, bitinu; cf. XV, 36, 19; 71, 6; 38, 2; 127, 5, etc. L. 5, GAR = akâlu. Akum not in receipts, XV, 21, 1 (see below, p. 313). XV, 46: "Flour tax of . . . for year 4, . . . Sukal-aḫu-êriš paid. Payments of akum for the second Ulul, Tasritu, etc." The meaning of l. 9 is not clear: "Total, 1 GUR unpaid ḫargalî [IB-KID, see p. 296], 2 pi unpaid kipātu?, by Sukal-aḫi-êris," Date. XV, 74: "Sheep for akum" from(?) different places. In many of the shorter tablets it is impossible to tell whether the amounts mentioned are paid to or by the persons mentioned. When town-names take the place of those of persons, there is still more uncertainty. XV, 45, see p. 315; XV, 90; XIV, 61, see p. 314; XIV, 64; XIV, 133, see p. 320; XIV, 144; XIV, 56a, see p. 314. XIV, 167: "Grain paid for the expenses of the years 24 and 25. It was delivered to (u-še-lu-u) Bâ'il-Marduk." Then follow the amounts paid to certain individuals, ll. 3-7; l. 8, "158 GUR 72 KA, to the shrine of Bêl;" l. 9, "48 GUR, to the temple of Ištar;" l. 10, "144 GUR 132 KA, for the expenses of the palace; l. 11, "61 GUR for feeding fat oxen (alpê marûti; cf. alpu še, below, p. 318) paid to Aḫušina;" l. 12, "38 GUR, for feeding sheep;" l. 13, "83 GUR 119½ KA, as ḫargalû" (cf. XIV, p. 29); l. 21, "110 GUR 106 KA for feeding birds(?);" l. 22, "4 GUR, for the board of the arri" ("bird-catcher?"); l. 26, "12 GUR, for syrup (ṭa-ba-a-tum);" l. 27, "140 GUR, for the hire and feeding of oxen;" l. 30, "24

GUR, for building boats." XV, 21: "Oil, of the 6 $\text{\text{ka}}$ tax paid for expenses, from the month of the year 2 to the month Ulul of the year " L. 5, 6 $\text{\text{ka}}$, the price of two? ;" l. 7, "for the expenses of a boat;" l. 12, "for a lamb ;" l. 12, "for 'anointing' ($\text{\text{pašāši}}$) horses;" l. 28, "for 16 sheepskins;" l. 29, "1 $\text{\text{ka}}$ for 6 vessels" (used for incantations; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 710); l. 32, "for taking out (? $\text{\text{šuši}}$ [$\text{\text{ši}}$]);" l. 34, $\text{\text{mar-ḥa-šu}}$, from $\text{\text{ṽṽṽ}}$; l. 40, "for greasing 6 sheepskins of " (6 $\text{\text{mašku immeru ša ni}}(?)\text{-ra-ti pa-ša-ši}$).

A word similar in meaning to $\text{\text{aklum}}$ is $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$; cf. XIV, p. 28. XV, 3, cf. p. 18 of the introduction to the volume. XV, 19: Ll. 13 ff., $\text{\text{rimutum}}$, $\text{\text{KU-MUN}}$ (see below) and $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$ are included in the one term $\text{\text{rimutum}}$ (see below) in the total, l. 18. In XV, 21, 7, we have a reference to the $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$, "expenses," of a chariot. XV, 36, 4, 5; see p. 316. XV, 42: similar to 36. XV, 48: "Grain of the full tax which $\text{\text{Kišahbut}}$ received ($\text{\text{mi-taḥ-ḥu-ru permans}}$, I, 2, $\text{\text{maḥāru}}$). It was for the expenses ($\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$) of the $\text{\text{riḫḫu}}$ -officials." XV, 52: Ll. 19 ff., $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$ payments. XV, 62: payments of $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$, in the form of $\text{\text{ṣe BAR}}$ and $\text{\text{AŠ-AN-NA}}$. XV, 86: a receipt for 2 GUR of grain as $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$. XV, 114: ditto. XV, 122: an account, including an entry of $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$ of $\text{\text{Reštušu}}$, received for him by $\text{\text{Sin-issahra}}$. XV, 124: receipt of $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$. Ll. 7 f.: "The pay he shall receive and $\text{\text{GA TA}}$? return, $\text{\text{u-ta-ar}}$." XV, 126: ditto. XV, 129: ditto. XV, 135: payments, including $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$, l. 3. XV, 138: receipt of $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$. XV, 139: ditto. XIV, 17: receipt of $\text{\text{AŠ-AN-NA}}$ as $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$. XIV, 62: payments of wages, etc. XIV, 65: "Grain taken from $\text{\text{Duniāhi}}$, and paid for $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$, boat-rent, $\text{\text{KU-MUN}}$ (see below)," etc. XIV, 91: "Grain received as wages for grinding flour ($\text{\text{a-na KU-ḲAR ḥazāli kime}}$)." XIV, 92: L. 4, $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$ of a scribe. XIV, 46a: payments of $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$. XIV, 56a: "Grain of the full tax which was paid at the town of $\text{\text{Zarat-IM}}$ from the 7th month of the 12th year to the 1st month of the 13th year. It was taken out of the revenues of the 12th year of $\text{\text{Nazimaruttaš}}$." Ll. 4 and 6, cf. above, p. 308. L. 7, $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$ of a $\text{\text{riḫḫu}}$ -official. L. 8, ditto of a $\text{\text{KA-ZID-DA}}$ official. XIV, 99a: L. 11, "10 oxen for carrying the $\text{\text{KU-ḲAR}}$ of the $\text{\text{riḫḫu}}$ and $\text{\text{KA-ZID-DA}}$ officials." XIV, 114a: receipt.

KU-MUN seems to be another word for "salary;" cf. XV, 19, 16; XIV, 23, 1; XIV, 65, 13.

Rimûtu, literally "grace," then "present, gift;" in these texts a general term for "salary." The best example is in XV, 19, 13 ff.; cf. above, p. 313. XV, 128, 5, 6; XIV, 61, 3; XIV, 62, 16; XIV, 79, 7; XIV, 95; XIV, 56*a*, 29; XIV, 91*a*, 53; XIV, 154, 1.

Ipru, ŠE-BA, "wages." XIV, 91*a*: a long list of payments to artisans. XIV, 62: a similar list of payments to certain "families," *kin-ni*. Food for 5 kurku birds; rimûtum and KU-ĀAR. XV, 1: cf. *Introd.*, p. 20. XV, 2: cf. *ibid.*, p. 19. XV, 8: similar to 1. XV, 18: ditto. XV, 25: flour, etc., paid as salary (*aklu*) out of the tax levied for wages, *ipru*. XV, 79; XIV, 60: translated, p. 35. XIV, 79: cf. p. 296, under *telitum*.

The ideogram KIN-SIK is to be considered as similar in meaning to KU-ĀAR, ŠE-BA and the other words for "salary." XIV, 35: "4 GUR 90 *KA* of grain out of the KIN-SIK revenue (*GIŠ-BAR KIN-SIK*, cf. *GIŠ-BAR ŠE-BA*, etc.) Nusku-mâlik-ilâni received from Innannu at Kâr-Aštabbakantuk as fodder for the horses of Bêl-alšah. Date. On the day of harvest Nusku-mâlik-ilâni shall return (*šu-u-ta-a-ar*) the grain at Pi-nâri." XIV, 81: "120 *KA* (of flour), maintenance, KIN-SIK of Rimutum from the 4th (?) to the 8th day. 12 *KA*, Ardu-Marduk, the *šanû*. 12 *KA*, board, kurmatu, Erba-Šuġamuna." L. 7: "Total, 165 *KA* of flour, as *aklum*." XIV, 131: L. 21: "33 sheep for maintenance, KIN-SIK, for 3 days. In addition, 5, *šAR-KAL*(?)." XIV, 145: "5 GUR of grain out of the KIN-SIK revenue which Ilu-aġi-iddina received from Gula-ib(ni) at Pinâri and gave? his seal(ed document). 4 GUR 60 *KA* at . . . Mar-duk . . . for maintenance, KIN-SIK, shall . . . 120 *KA*, Ea-ibni son of Ezia at Šelibî with the 4 GUR 60 *KA* (mentioned above) shall . . . Total 5 GUR of grain out of the KIN-SIK revenue Ilu-aġi-iddina shall pay, and his seal(ed document) he shall take and destroy" (*ub-ta-aš-ša-ra*, literally "cut off;" that is, cut or break off the sealed envelope). XIV, 152: a list of payments. L. 1, KIN-SIK. L. 2, "to Hanbu." L. 3, "for presents(?)." Some noun from *damâku*. L. 4, *si-el-lum*; cf. *sellu*, Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 501, and XV, 154, 44. L. 5, *ši-im-ri-iš*. L. 6, *u-kul-tum*. L. 8, *si-a*, dir. L. 18: "Total 29(?) *KA*, *adi še-ri*, paid up to

the morning." L. 25: "For 3 *ḳadû* birds;" cf. *ḳadû* vessel or bird. L. 26: "Total *x* *ḳa* for the night, *ša mu-ši*. Grand total, for the 15th day."

2. *Simple receipts*.—XIV, 6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36; XIV, 74: " $\frac{1}{3}$ mana of ornaments for a bed." XIV, 76, 84, 90, 91, 96, 108, 114*b*, 114*a*, 147, 158, 160; XIV, 72: "1 talent of sheep-wool, the price of 4 GUR of be-'-ti, . . . 10 GUR of be-'-ta they returned to him." The connection is not clear. Be-'-tu is no doubt the Semitic reading of one of the many ideograms found in these texts. XIV, 165: "11 miskannu chairs [cf. XV, 6], which Pir'u-Sukal, son of Hanibi gave, u-ša-am-hi-ir-šu, Nûr-Ištar in payment of some debt" (a-na ga-ma-ri ^mNûr-Ištar). XV, 11: see below. XV, 22, 29; XV, 32: "150 *ḳa* of *ḫi-nu*" (*ḫenna*? cf. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, II, p. 170). XV, 35, 38, 45, 57, 86, 87, 88, 110, 114, 116, 117, 118, 121(?), 124, 125, 126, 129, 138, 139; XV, 161: "40 GUR of grain, the price of a chair overlaid (?) with gold (*aš-ši ḫurâši*) $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mana in weight." The chair may have been the seat of an idol in a shrine.

3. *The pay-rolls*.—XIV, 58: translated by Clay, pp. 32 f. XIV, 19: ". . . ^{ki} (city-name), year 13 of Kurigalzu." L. 2: ". . . gab MEŠ TUM, Adaru, Nisannu" (nine columns, the headings of the first three are broken away; the fourth and fifth are to be restored from XIV, 22). The meaning of the heading of column 8 is not clear. Perhaps it is to be read *ašâbu*, "in residence;" cf. *la ašabu*. The heading of column 9, MU-BI-IM, occurs very frequently in these texts; cf. Clay, XIV, p. 34, and also viii. In King, *CT*, V, pl. 3 (translated by Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung*, we have MU-BI-IM used to designate the "stanzas" of the incantation formulae, seventy-two in number. While MU-BI-IM no doubt refers to the "names" which come under it, it should perhaps be translated as "index or list of names;" cf. Egyptian 'imy rnf. XIV, 22: similar to 19. The month is the second Adar. XIV, 25; XIV, 57: For the heading cf. *Intro.*, p. 6. The grain was paid out as board, *kurmatu*, for oxen and the farmers who worked with them. From the arrangement of the list it seems that the farmers worked in groups of three. XIV, 62: payments of wages to men and their families. XIV, 65: salaries, rents, etc. XIV, 101, 102, 103 (101 and 103 may be payments to the temple); XIV, 105: monthly wages.

XIV, 110: From l. 9 we see that tablets of this kind are payments to, and not by, the persons named. XV, 96: cf. *Introd.* to Vol. XV, p. 21. XV, 111, l. 22: wages for the harvest. XV, 163: salaries for certain months, paid in corn. Most of the payments are to women. L. 28: wages of 8 women of the god (the *ḫadištu*), paid to the *Banû*. Ll. 52, 53: *duppi ša nu (ul) ša-aṭ-ra-at*: The meaning of this phrase is not clear. It is evident from the permansive feminine form of the verb that *duppi* is treated as a feminine noun; cf. *duppi . . . kamsat*, above. XV, 165: payments of wages to slaves? XV, 177 and 178 are fragments of pay-rolls. XV, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191, 194, 195, 198.

XV, 4: cf. above under "Income." XV, 33, 34: perhaps payments of salaries in flour, sheep, etc. The meaning of *e-li šarri* in the date of both tablets is not clear. XV, 36: "Grain of the full tax paid at the storehouse of *Aštābbakantuk*." L. 4: "10 GUR of corn as salary (*KU-ḲAR*), besides 1 GUR *ma-aḫ-ri-ti*." This refers, perhaps, to a GUR of grain due at some former time, but not paid at that time. Ll. 16 f.: a note concerning, "MU, 2 GUR of *AŠ-AN-NA* which *Reštušu* received in the month second *Adar*, and for which he gave a receipt (?) *ka-na-ḫi*." The latter may be a place-name; cf. *Pi-na-a-ri*. L. 17: "3 GUR of *AŠ-AN-NA* which *Kadi-da-bi-bi* received, *ma-[ḫi-ir]*. The sealed document of our house he took out (*šu-ṣi-i*)." For MU cf. XV, 152, 11. XIV, 14: payments to certain persons. XV, 37: cf. *Introd.* to XIV, p. 6. XV, 38c: "The *AŠ-AN-NA* which was paid at *Kar-Aštābbakantuk* as 5 *ḲA* revenue." From the check-marks and the note at the end it seems best to regard the persons mentioned as recipients. The note reads: "the *AŠ-AN-NA* grain which was received at a former time was paid to the royal family (*zēr-ékalli*)." L. 19: a note, "For their food in harvest-time he shall give it." XV, 39: "*AŠ-AN-NA* grain which was paid out of the grain of *Irimšu-Ninib* at *Kar-Aštābbakantuk* as 5 *ḲA* revenue." L. 5: "48 *ḲA* without interest (*ḫu-bu-ut-tu-tum*; cf. p. 318) by the hand of *Ibni-Ea-šarru*, *mār-RAT* (cf. p. 318)." L. 15: "*x ḲA* to *Mitliašu* for flour." Ll. 16 f., note: "In the transaction the flour was not given *šu-u-i-bal* (?)." XV, 40: L. 5, *maš-šar-ti*; cf. p. 318. XV, 41: L. 3, "for the wages of the servants of our house." XV, 42: cf. p. 313. L. 6, "In addition, 1 GUR *e-bi-ir-ta ša ḳāt amēl rikḳē pl*." L. 14, cf.

below. XV, 44: cf. p. 300. For ll. 18–22 cf. above, p. 299. XV, 46: cf. pp. 296, 312. XV, 47: “Grain of the full tax which was paid out of the 10 GUR maš-šar-ti [cf. p. 318] of the palace.” L. 5, “for the great expedition to Isin (?)” (a-na GA = alâku GAL ša I-si-in^{ki}). L. 7, cf. XV, 39, 15. L. 14, cf. šibšu above, p. 296. XV, 51: L. 15, “for 3 farmers who are with the oxen” (cf. XIV, 57). XV, 52: L. 7, “for wages of 3 piḫdi, herdsmen” (but cf. XIV, 199). XV, 53: see under AŠ-AN-NA, p. 298. XV, 56. XV, 64: L. 10, “6 GUR 60 KA still due the riḫḫu official.” XV, 69: “payment of salaries from the 1st to the 2d Ulul.” XV, 71: salary for the riḫḫu and KAZID-DA officials for certain months. L. 6, “for our house.” L. 7, “for the (our?) wages of our house, Rabā-ša-Nergal received.” L. 9, “ki-i ḫât=by order of.” XV, 73: cf. XIV, 57 and XV, 81. XV, 75: “Oil of the 10 KA tax taken away, ZI-GA. It belonged to Dišpu-Ekur.” This is not necessarily a pay-roll. The temple may have held oil belonging to this man and carried on business with it. XV, 80: Perhaps a pay-roll. L. 10, “Aḫi-bani u-še-en-ni II, šanû” (cf. XIV, 5, l. 2). L. 11, maš-šar-tum ša i-na ku-ri-e-ti tab-ku. For kurētu cf. II R., 60, 17. XV, 81: cf. 73. XV, 83: “Payments made by Reštušu, for the temple(?), through Sin-rēš.” XV, 90: ^{se} HAR-RA, some form of prepared grain, not “grain at interest.” L. 42, maš-šar-tum, see p. 318. XV, 92: payments, including “wages of 7 women,” l. 10. XV, 94: Hunubi receives grain for making payments, including some to soldiers. L. 2, ^{se} BAL, see p. 298. XV, 95; XV, 103: salaries, and l. 10, wagon-hire. XV, 105: see KU-ḲAR. XV, 119; XV, 122: payments of salary, interest, and for conducting the business of the storehouse, ni-ki-is kâri. Nikis seems to be a word similar in meaning to nikasu, “business;” cf. XV, 42, 14; 73, 17; 130, 8; 150, 14, etc. Ll. 6, 8, ^{se} GAL, a grain; cf. XV, 131, 7. XV, 127; XV, 130; XV, 132: L. 10, a-tak-na, meaning not clear. L. 11, “payment (kurmatu) for 10 ox hides, to the ^{a me}1 SA.” This is the dealer in hides, bones, sinews, etc. SA=buânu, gidatu. XV, 133: “payments to two patesis.” For the grains see above. XV, 135: “Payments made by Innannu at Kar-Adab to the riḫḫu official,” etc. L. 6: “for the house of Innannu at Nip-pur.” L. 7: “KI-MU HAR-RA for the storehouse of the palace Nunakte brought to Kar-Aštābbakantuk.” XV, 136; XV, 140:

payments of different kinds of flour to Erba-Marduk; cf. p. 300. "AŠ-AN-NA flour, white flour, mi-ir-ku flour." L. 9: IN-ŠAR "he wrote it (?);" cf. XIV, 156, 8; 159, 19. XV, 176; XV, 179; XIV, 59: payments of grain, rent, etc. XIV, 113: payments of salaries, horse-fodder, arrears in wages, etc.

It will be noticed that many of the above documents are not strictly pay-rolls. They were inserted here because they are in part such. They might equally well have been discussed under the following:

4. *Payments for miscellaneous purposes.*—XV, 6: "The grain of the 5 KA tax, which was brought from the town Mār-Ba'li and paid out at Bit-Ilanuti. 2 GUR, the price of an ass, to Šad-barḫu, the kaššû; 2 GUR, the price of a chair of miskanna wood; 60 KA for a pair of boots, šênu. 2 GUR, not paid, IB-KID. 66 KA by the hand of Piršati acting as agent (?)." For TUR-RAT, cf. XV, 19, 12; 39, 5; 135, 5; XIV, 95, 6. Perhaps it is a compound like mār-šipri. XV, 7: L. 2, li-te-iḫ-ku-u, permissive, I, 2. L. 5, "2 GUR by boat." XV, 19: "The grain of the 6 KA tax which was brought from Zarat-IM and returned free of interest (?), a-na ḫubuttati turru. The grain was paid for salary and wages, boat-hire, for the guard of the great-gate, ma-šar abulli." XV, 28: L. 6, "grain paid as wages for six soldiers who stood guard (?) before the gate in the months Airu and Siman (?)." XV, 66; XV, 67: Line. 4, "for maš-šartum." Here it seems to mean wages of some kind; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 612; but cf. XV, 76, "grain of the full tax which was paid out of the maššarti of the month Tebitu of the year 17." L. 4, "1 GUR, the price of a kabri garment;" cf. XIV, 157, 84. XV, 99; XV, 100: L. 4, "seed for sowing (?), zêr ir-šum, three fields, ḫar-bu (cf. p. 308). XV, 101; XV, 106: L. 7, "2 GUR 77 KA out of the 6 KA tax for ripsu, to Mannu-balu-Adad. 2 GUR 93 KA of ripsu, the unpaid ripsu, together with 1 GUR of ripsu paid and delivered by Mannu-balu-Adad." XV, 109: L. 3, "fodder for fattening oxen, alpu še (see p. 312). XV, 112; XV, 115; XV, 120; XV, 123; XV, 143; XV, 145; XV, 152: L. 7, "white oxen." L. 10, note concerning MU (cf. p. 316): "Nusku-idā-abul, the slave of Ninib-ḫarrad, who is detained, ka-lu-u in the city IM." L. 15, "for 8 months' wages of the 'palace-slave' ardu-ekalli, from Duzu to Šabatu" = 8 months inclusive. XV, 154: L. 41, "for the

šak-šup-par;” cf. XV, 13, 4. L. 44, si-il-lu-u; cf. p. 314. XV, 156: L. 2, “for provisions for a journey.” L. 10, ku-uk-ku; cf. Muss-Arnolt’s *Lexicon*. L. 22, “shepherd of the zu(?) -ra-ad.” L. 23, ib-sik. XV, 157; XV, 160; XV, 164; XV, 168: L. 22, A-AN is equivalent to mā and ki-i; cf. *Br.* 11391, ki-i takes the place of šīmu in some texts, cf. XIV, 128*a*. XV, 169. The heading of column 5 gives us the name of a grain, ḫa(?) -ar-za-na. XV, 170; XV, 187: “payments made out of the grain of Belani by Innannu.” This shows that many of these documents may be private instead of temple documents. XV, 192; XV, 192*a*; XV, 197: L. 4, “feed for 4 teams, GAR-LAL, brought from Šelibi, il-li-ku-ni.” L. 11, “feed for 2 teams for the plow(?), ^{iš} KAK-KA.” XIV, 21; XIV, 23; XIV, 50; XIV, 48*a*; XIV, 106*a*; XIV, 106*b*. XIV, 43: “Grain of the 6 KA tax, horse-feed for the month Tebitu. 95 KA for 5 GAR-GAL, teams, for the 10th day (18 KA per team).” For GAR-LAL cf. XIV, 56*a* and XIV, 12. Probably a synonym of LAL and ^{iš} LAL, šimittu. XIV, 92; XIV, 107: “For a pilgrimage to Parak-māri;” cf. XIV, 148: “2 KA for te-e-ni;” cf. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 698. XIV, 130: L. 2, “for light,” nu-ru. This is an account of oil “taken away,” ZI-GA; cf. XIV, 148 and XIV, 73, l. 14. XIV, 133: Probably a list of grain or sheep payments for sacrifices, ginū and niḫē, in different temples. L. 2 mentions Ekur; l. 7, Parak-māri, for the sacrifices there; cf. XIV, 148. XIV, 134: cf. Introduction to XIV, p. 3. XIV, 138; XV, 200. Mostly taken up with payments of salaries. Col. 6, l. 1, ki-is-bu u ri-im-ku, “for libations to the dead”(?).

XIV, 148: The first line is perhaps to be restored to GIŠ-BAR-ŠE-BA and translated “grain from the wages-tax, grain from the 5 KA tax, sesame, names.” Under these headings are put the amounts of grain given for the temples, etc., which make up the last column. These temples, or rather temple and shrines, are: E-KUR; E-KI-UR, cf. *Br.* 9739, and Zimmern, *BBR*, I, p. 8; E-ŠU-ME-DU; E-^dNusku; E-^dAdad; Mār-^mŠum-mu-ḫi (the persons whose names follow the temple names were no doubt the agents of these temples); E-^dSin; E-^dEa; E-^dGula; E-^dNIN-IB(?); E-^dKA-MA-NI-SU, cf. *Br.* 705, ^dKA-MA-NI-ZI; E-^dNergal; E-^dMar-duk; E-^dŠamaš; E-^dUN-GAL (of) Nippur (correctly given by Clay, XV, p. 56, under “Deities,” and not to be changed into KAR-GAL, as Hilprecht has attempted to do in *BE*, XX, Part 1,

p. 18). There is no context which would permit a translation of šu-bu-la-tum from wabālu of l. 16. Ll. 18 ff.: "for offerings in E-^dUN-GAL (of) Nippur [cf. above, l. 14] E-^dGula, E-^dAdad." Ll. 21-23, 25, 26 (?), 27: "for offerings to Ištar, Adad, Šamaš, Gula, NIN-ŠAR, Marduk, Nusku, and Sin." The meaning of U-RI after the names of these divinities is not clear; cf. perhaps, *Br.* 6046. L. 24 is not clear, but is not to be restored to niḫû, etc., unless the scribe made the mistake. The tablet clearly reads gu-ga-bi, etc. L. 28: "for offerings to Šamaš of Dûr-Ninib." L. 29: "for a kid." Ll. 31 ff.: "payments at Parak-mâri [cf. XIV, 133, 3, 6 and *Br.* 6900] to Mâr-Burra-Sali for a horse; to Mâr-Iluki for ditto." For ni-pi cf. ni-pi-šum(tak), a vessel used in incantations; XV, 21, 29 (p. 313, above). Ll. 36 ff., a note, "from the 21st of Šabatu to the 30th of Adar $\frac{1}{2}$ KA per day." L. 42, "for a horse of an udie;" cf. p. 308. L. 43, "of the siribišu of the king;" cf. XIV, 98, 11, for "siribi." L. 44, "for light(?), nu-ri" (cf. XIV, 73, 14) of the king. L. 45, "for light of our temple (house)." L. 46, "for the king." L. 47, "for our house." L. 48, "for šani of the smith a-ra-bi ki u sil(ki)." L. 49, "for šani of the smith a." L. 50, "for silki;" cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 763, Mangold? L. 51, "for honey, mu-ut-ta-ḫi." L. 52, "for ku(?) -ub-ri-ti." L. 53, "for mar-ṣu-ti." L. 54, Mârat-Na'suti.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

XIV, 4: an omen-tablet; cf. Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 312. XIV, 12: From such words as GAR-LAL (cf. above, p. 319) and piḫat this obscure document seems to have to do with sheep or cattle. The personal names are Cassite. XIV, 73: L. 2, "for the ab-ta-rum," an official (?); l. 3, "for the ki-du-u," another official (?). XIV, 120: A list of men and their occupations: L. 23 gives the total of the foregoing amêl-ḫaṭṭi, "spear-bearers" (?); in addition, 6 NU-ŠI. Perhaps "the man of the front," pânu, maḫru; cf. NU-AB, nisakku, *Br.* 1979, and NU-GIŠ-ŠAR. XIV, 128: "Wool (bu-ḫu-nu) which is due from (?) the year of accession, inspected, ḫi-i-ṭa in the month Simanu, year 1." XIV, 140: "2 GUR 108 KA duḫ-ḫu belonging to Ubburi, which Ninib-bêl-aplu used for conducting his business, TA (ana) nikasašu ipšu ukîn." XIV, 142. XIV, 150: dimetum; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 256. XIV,

163: a list of wooden articles, jars of seed, vegetables, etc. Whether given to the temple or received from it, is uncertain. L. 13, " kan-da-aš, for ši-'-tum (laš.) and aš (dil)-lum;" cf. ll. 14, 15, 21. L. 14, eršu; cf. l. 21. L. 15, ^{is} luluppi; cf. *Br.* 11414; Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 482. L. 16, šu-bu-ur-tum; cf. pl. of same word, l. 18. L. 17, KAŠ GIŠ-DUB-NA. L. 18, "total 18^{nu}nu-ur-bi;" cf. l. 23, "adi 2 šu-ub-bu-ra-tum." L. 19, "1 bed a-ma-ra-tum, A-AM;" cf. *Br.* 11486, 7; adi 1 immeru ? ú ^{is} TU-U. L. 20, "a tablet of miskanna wood, ši-'-tum pi-ti-il-tum; pitiltum is a cord, but the connection here is not clear. Ll. 19 and 20 evidently go together, as is seen from the total, and the dittos A-AM of ll. 21 and 22 which refer to l. 19. L. 23, "total 3 beds, ^{is}nu-ur-bi." L. 31, ^{is}kip-pa-tum; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *DAL*, p. 424. L. 32, "12 vessels (šappu) of oil." L. 34, probably, "total *x* Nûr-Šamaš." L. 38, "2 posts (dimmu)." L. 39, ^{is}AD-DU; cf. *Br.* 4177 ff. L. 40, "1 tallu-vessel of piḫandi. L. 41, "2 tallu-vessels of seed of (?)." L. 42, "3 tallu-vessels of provisions for the god of the stream (?), besides 1½" L. 43, "1 tallu-vessel of seed of the edu;" cf. *DAL*, p. 19. L. 44, "1 sîtu-vessel of a-ši-i plants." L. 45, "1 tallu-vessel of zibû-plants;" cf. *DAL*, p. 273. L. 46, "*x* KU-KU-BU-vessels of clean (?) seed,^{DUK}KU-KU-BU;" *DAL*, p. 378, "a measure of oil." It does not follow that such a specific meaning is to be assigned to this word because the context in *TA*, (London), 5, 25, speaks of oil. The word is more general. L. 48, "1 tallu-vessel of ḫuluppi;" cf. *Br.* 11854. L. 50, "*x* KU-KU-BU-vessels of ḫamî-plants;" cf. *DAL*, p. 320. L. 51, "*x* sîtu-vessels of ša-am be-lum."

The following difficult texts deal with metals: XV, 13: "½ mana of ZAG-SA for the covering (?) ḫa-til of a chariot, Erbatum the šakšuppar received from Martuku." XIV, 121: "10½ shekels of dark gold, ḫurāši sâmi, weighed out for a cup [cf. šappu] by Marduk-šar-ilâni. ½ shekel, the remainder, (leavings from the working) of the gold, Zakirum receives for pay." Zi-ba-a-ti, plural of šibtu, "interest," etc., here "pay." XIV, 122: "½ shekel of gold from Marduk-mukinnu, 1½ shekels of gold from the master of the house, bēl-bîti, total 3 shekels of gold, for pay for making a cup of 10⅔ shekels, 22½ she of gold, Zakirum received." XIV, 63: "½ al-lu ḫa-dil [cf. XV, 13 above] for ka-ra gal-du (strong) of su-ši-ri(?). Mâr-Kalbi

received." XV, 172: " $\frac{1}{2}$ al-lu ḥa-dil; 3 ḳA of oil; 1 mana of ornaments, šindu; 1 mana of ZAG-SA; 1 mana of ZAG-LU; 1 mana of bronze; 3 ox-hides; KU-ḳAR IŠ-ŠI, paid for wood(?)." XIV, 9a: "10 bronze bolts, 2 mana 18 shekels in weight, ša-gal-lum" (cf. ZK, II, 324). XIV, 124: " $3\frac{1}{2}$ mana of weighed bronze, 1 mana, 10 shekels, etc., total 11 mana, 5 shekels of bronze belonging to the 'house of the seal of the palace,' the palace 'library,' šu-uṣ-ši šu-za-a." The meaning of "4 gir-rat . . . ," l. 9, is not clear. L. 10, "1 ki-bir-ri $2\frac{1}{2}$ ni . . . ;" l. 11, "u-di-e ša ḥarrâni, equipment for the road;" so perhaps also l. 13, ši-ri-in-na-tum ša ḥarrâni. L. 16, "for the equipment (i-kar-ti, lit. 'decoration') of the king's chariot." XIV, 123a: Bronze paid out for different purposes. L. 8, ḥi-in-du; cf. Strassmaier, *Nbk.*, 10, 2. L. 12, "14 shekels KÁ (cf. XV, 78), 2 mana ki ? li gam-ru." XIV, 149: "1 ma[na . . . besides, 2 shekels in zigê l ḥa-ši-nu, 'ax,' besides 6 shekels ditto." L. 5, "for a present, a-na ni-di-it-ti." XIV: "Oil of the wages tax for, literally of bi-ri-ti ú ba-ru-ti." Have these words to do with the *Becherwahr-sagung* of the bârû? Cf. XIV, 156, oil a-na bi-ri-ti. The reading of l. 2 (cf. XIV, 155) is not clear.



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THE TEMPLES OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

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It is the purpose of this article to put into the hand of the student of Assyriology an outline sketch of the history of the temples of Babylonia and Assyria. Accordingly a special effort has been made to give all the important references to the temples in the historical literature, while less attention has been given to the references in the religious, legal, business, and epistolary literature. The names in the lists of temples published in II R., 61, and by Pinches in Vol. XXII of the *PSBA*, have been included here, since in some cases the notes added are of value. Such names as are found only as component parts of proper names have not been included.¹ The work of Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, has been of great service in the preparation of this article, and should be consulted for the literature on the inscriptions there treated.²

For the temple as a religious institution Jastrow's *Religion* should be consulted; on the other hand, a discussion of the

¹ Cf. the lists of proper names in Reisner's *Tempel Urkunden aus Telloh*; Ranke, *Personal Names*; Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*; Hilprecht and Clay, Vol. IX, and Clay, Vols. X, XIV, XV of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*.

² In fairness to myself I should state that I had gone over all the published material to which I had access, and had noted all the references to the temples before the appearance of Thureau-Dangin's work. Since the literature on the inscriptions is fully treated in the footnotes to the German edition of the work, I have thought it unnecessary to multiply references here. The abbreviations have been made to conform with those of Thureau-Dangin.

temple as a banking institution will be found in John's *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*. Attention should also be called to the interesting ritual to be used at the rebuilding of a temple published by Weissbach in his *Miscellen*, pp. 32 f.

The etymologies of the temple names are to be considered merely as suggestions. Another article will be devoted exclusively to this subject.

Ê-AB-MAḪ; cf. Ê-EŠ-MAḪ.

Ê-ABZU, temple of the apsu, ὠκεανός. Temple of Ea at Eridu, Hammurabi Code II, 1;³ *PSBA*, XXII, 362; *BA*, V, 589. The abzu was a part of the old temples; cf. Ur-ninā, builder of the abzu, *T-DSA*, p. 4d and following; index, p. 241.

Adad, temple of; cf. Anu and Adad.

Ê-AD-DA, temple of the father, temple of Enlil, built by Entemena, *Déc. ép.*,⁴ XLVI, rev. col. i, 4-7; *CT*, X, 86900, 21-24; rebuilt by Urukagina, *Catalogue de Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. iii, 7-9; *Déc. ép.*, XLIX, 35-37.

A-ḪUŠ, Ê-IGI-ZI(D)-BAR-RA, the raging water, the temple upon which he (the god) looks with favor; built by Entemena for Ningirsu, *Déc. ép.*, XLVI, col. iii, 2-4; *CT*, X, 86900, 11-13; desecrated by the soldiers of Gišḫu, in the time of Urukagina, *Revue d'Assyriologie*,⁵ VI, 26 f., col. ii, 2.

Ê-A-KAL-^{us} , temple of the mighty power of , cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 370.

(Bît) A-ki-it, house of the New Year's feast, no doubt a shrine in all the temples where a New Year's feast was held; cf. *akitu* in the lexicons. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*,⁶ III, 268; RFHarper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*,⁷ VIII, No. 858; Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, K 1356, 2; Ašurbani-pal, V R., 10 f., *Rassam Cylinder*, X, 28; the East India House inscription of Nebuchadrezzar⁸ IV, 7 f. During the troublesome times of Nabonidus this feast was frequently omitted, cf. Ê-SAG-ILA. See Ê-SIGIŠE-SIGIŠE.

³ RFHarper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, quoted as *CH*.

⁴ *Découvertes en Chaldée*, par Ernest de Sarzec, referred to as *Déc.* or *Déc. ép.*, in case the *partie épigraphique* is meant.

⁵ Hereafter *RA*.

⁷ *HL*.

⁶ Hereafter *BA*.

⁸ *Neb.*, *EIH*, in I R., 53 f.

Ê-^dAMA-GEŠTIN, temple of the "mother of wine," desecrated by the troops of Gišġu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 28, col. vii, 1-5.

Ê-^dA-MAL (?), temple in Babylon whose foundation was laid by Šargani-šar-ali, Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*,⁹ No. 118.

Ê-AMAS-AZAG, temple of the bright fold, a temple in Dûr-ilu, II R., 61, 36*gh*.

Ê-AMAS-KALAM-MA, temple of the fold of the nations, II R., 61, 18*g*; cf. Ê-TUR-KALAMMA.

Ê-A-MER, the ziggurrat of the temple of Ningirsu in Lagaš, built by Gudea, Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea, Cyl. A*, XXV, 12, 13. That this is to be considered a ziggurrat follows from l. 13, where it is compared to a mountain of lapis-lazuli.

Ê-AM-KUR-KUR-RA, temple of the lord (?) of the lands, temple of Bêl in Aššur, cf. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*,¹⁰ No. 21, p. 51, where the name is translated "temple of the wildox of the lands," and AM = rîmu is interpreted as a figurative title of Bêl as the ruler of lands; *ibid.*, 26, p. 43, inscription of Tukulti-Ninib (I), in which he calls himself builder of Ê-AM-U-KUR-KUR-RA, *ibid.*, 25, p. 68, Ašir-nirari, builder of the temple of Bêl-šipria; cf. also *ibid.*, 27, p. 15.¹¹

Amurru, temple of the god Amurru (^dMAR-TU), rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser I; cf. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*,¹² Vol. I, pp. 27 f., col. vi, 87.

Ê-AN-DA-DI-A, the ziggurrat of Agade II R., 50, 9*ab*.

Ê-AN-KI, temple of heaven and earth, II R., 61, 29*g*.

Ê-AN-NA, the temple of heaven,

a) In Lagaš, built by Eannatum for Innina, *Stele of Vultures*,¹³ IV, 5, 6; V, 26-29. Burned by the troops of Gišġu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 26 f., col. iv, 5 f.

⁹ *RTC*.

¹⁰ *MDOG*.

¹¹ The reader is referred for the reports of the excavations carried on by the Germans at Assur and Babylon to the *MDOG*. When the inscriptions found at these sites are published they will no doubt add many references to those here given under Ê-AM-KUR-KUR-RA, Anu and Adad temple, ÊSAGILA, etc.

¹² King, *Annals*.

¹³ For the text cf. references in *T-DSA*, p. 10.

b) In Girsu, one of the precincts of Lagaš; built for Innina by Gudea, *Statue C, Déc.*, pl. 13, No. 1, III, 12, 13; *T-DSA*, 144z.

c) In Ur, built for Innina by Dungi,¹⁴ *CT*, XXI, 10, 90897.

Bur-sin, king of Ur built a temple for Innina, in Ur (?), *CT*, III, 12156.

d) In Erech; Sin-gašid, builder of Ê-ANNA in Erech (?), *CT*, XXI, 12, 90267. Ur-Engur built a temple, Ê-ANNA (?) for Innina in Erech, I R., 1, No. 6. Hammurabi calls himself "the lord who gave life to Erech, who raised the turrets (rêš) of Ê-ANNA," *CH*, II, 37-43.

Esarhaddon restored the temple Ê-ANNA of Ištar of Erech, which had been built by a former king, and cared for all its shrines; cf. Ê-NIRGALANNA, *BA*, III, 351 f.; cf. 260 f.

Ašurbanipal, *Rassam Cyl.*, VI, 107 f., tells how he brought back from Elam Nanâ,¹⁵ who had been angry for sixteen hundred and thirty-five years, and restored her to Ê-ANNA in Erech, placing her in the shrine Ê-ŠAR-GUB-AN-NA. Nebuchadrezzar tells us in the *Grotefend Cylinder*,¹⁶ col. ii, 50-60, that he restored the ancient splendor and ceremonies of Ištar-Innina, the brilliant lady of Erech, returned to Erech its protecting deity (šêdu) and to Ê-ANNA its gracious protector (lamasu). The old platform-foundation of Ê-ANNA he searched for and found, and upon this he laid the foundation of the new Ê-ANNA; V R., 34, II, 33; *Neb. Winckler*,¹⁷ II, 63; *Wadi Brisa*,¹⁸ VIII, 1 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*,¹⁹ III, 9 f. Nabonidus may have restored this temple, although we have no direct evidence; cf. I R., 69, I, 18, II, 21, III, 51, and the *Annals*²⁰ IV, 5.

Karaindaš built a shrine in Ê-ANNA for Ištar-Innina, the lady of Ê-ANNA, NIN-Ê-ANNA, in Erech (?), IV R., 36, 3. Marduk-aplu-iddina built Ê-ANNA for Innina, the lady of the lands. I R., 5, XVII.

¹⁴ The name of the mound from which the inscription came is not given in *CT*. Was the temple located in Ur?

¹⁵ Ašurbanipal here identifies Ištar-Innina and Ištar-Nanâ. At what period this identification became common cannot be determined. In the reign of Sumula-ilum they were separate goddesses; cf. the chronicle for the year 26 of his reign, King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, quoted as *LIH*, III, 218; cf. also *HL*, III, 274, where we have Ištar-Innina of Erech and Nanâ mentioned together.

¹⁶ *Neb. Grot.*, I R., 65 f.

¹⁷ In Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, 33-38.

¹⁸ Weissbach, *Inschriften Nebukadnezars II.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

→ *BA*, II, 214 f.

e) In the religious literature: a version of the Creation Story, *CT*, XIII, pl. 35 f.: "Erech had not been created, Ê-ANNA had not been built." Prayer to Ištar, King, *Seven Tablets*, I, p. 226, 28; Craig, *Religious Texts*, XIX, 15; Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*,²¹ *Šurpu* II, 168.

f) In proper names: Ê-ANNA-šum-iddina, *OBI*,²² 31, l. 7; in addition to Reisner, cf. above, p. 291, *CT*, III, 21, 336; 21, 338; *ibid.*, V, 18933, obv. 10; *ibid.*, VII, 18419 obv., 18436 rev.; *ibid.*, X, 12922, II, 30.

Ê-an-nu-ni-tum, temple of the goddess Anunitum in Babylon, whose foundation Šargani-šar-ali laid, *RTC*, 118; cf. Ê-A-MAL; Gimil-Sin built a temple for Anunitum, "his wife," *CT*, XXI, 90, 844.

Ê-^aa-nu-ni-tum ša libbi *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 9. Cf. Ê-UL-MAŠ for a discussion of Anunitum.

Ê-ANŠU-DUR, mule-house, temple built by Ur-bau for the god Ensignun, the mule-herd of the god Ningirsu, *I-DSA*, p. 247.

AN-TA-SUR-RA, shining height (?), perhaps a part of the temple of Ningirsu, Eannatum, *Déc. ép.*, XLIII, col. v, 1-3; Entemena built the ANTASURRA, Ê-ME-LAM-BI KUR-KUR-RA-A-TÚG, of the temple whose splendor covers the lands, *ibid.*, XLVI, rev. 1-3; *ibid.*, XLVII, col. iv, 30; Urukagina built the ANTASURRA of Ningirsu, Ê-ĜE-GÁL-KALAM-MA-NI, of the temple of the overflow of the land, *ibid.*, XLIX, 5-7; *RA*, VI, 29, col. i, 4; *Déc. ép.*, L, col. iv, 7; cf. Hommel, *Geographie*, p. 247.

Anu and Adad, temples of, at Aššur. According to Tiglath-pileser I,²³ col. vii, 60 f., this temple was built by Šamši-Adad, the son of Išme-Dagan, six hundred and forty-one years before his reign. Ašur-dan the son of Ninib-apil-Êkur, had pulled down that temple but had not rebuilt it. This was sixty years before Tiglath-pileser. This king rebuilt it from "foundation to roof," and raised aloft two mighty ziggurrats worthy of their great divinities; cf. in the same inscription, col. ii, 62, iv, 6, 32 f., viii; King, *Annals*, I, 127; *MDOG*, 27, 14, and all the succeeding numbers.

Ê-A-NUN temple of Lugal-girra, II R., 61, 21ab.

²¹ *BBR*.

²² Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*.

²³ King, *Annals*, I, 27 f.

Ê-AN-ZA-ĶAR, temple of the pillar (?), II R., 61, 2*g*.

Ê-A-RA-GIŠ-BAR *PSBA*, XXII, 36, 2, II, 6; cf. Br. 11547.

Ê-A-RA-LI, temple of the underworld, II R., 61, 18*c*.

Ê-A-RA-ZU-GIŠ-TUG, temple of the hearing of prayer, temple of Marduk(?), *PSBA*, XXIII, plate fol. p. 188; cf. Br. 11548.

Ê-ARATTA^{ki}, temple of the town Aratta, II R., 61, 5*g*.

AŠ-GAN, dwelling of the god , *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 11.

Ê.^dAŠ.^dMAĤ, temple of the one supreme god, so Pinches, *PSBA*, XXII, 366.

Ê.^dAŠ-RA-TUM, temple of the goddess Ašratum, *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 12; cf. *KAT*³, 432 f.

Aššur, temples of the god; Uspia is called the builder of the temple of Aššur, *MDOG*, 25, p. 68; Erišum restored it, *ibid.*; Šamši-Adad, son of Igur-kapkapu, builder of the temple of Aššur, King, *Annals*, I, p. 2, also *ibid.*, note 4, where the same Šamši-Adad or an earlier one is mentioned. Adad-nirari I restored the mušlala of the temple of Aššur, *ibid.*, p. 7. Aššur-rêš-iši calls himself priest of Aššur, as do all his successors, all of whom no doubt cared for the temples of Aššur. Esarhaddon, Layard, 19, No. 1; *BA*, III, 351, 16; cf. *HL*, 419 rev., 14; 429;²⁴ 433 rev. 9; 555 obv. 10.

AŠ-TE-KI-EL, servant's throne, dwelling of *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 8.

Ê-BABBARA, the brilliant temple, temple of the sun-god Šamaš. Urukagina repaired Ê-BÀR-BÀR, cf. *T-DSA*, 44 f. This may refer to a temple at Larsa, but more likely to one at Lagaš.²⁵ The troops of Gišhu desecrated this temple, *RA*, VI, 29 col. ii, 6, 7. This again points to Lagaš as the probable seat of the temple which Urukagina repaired; cf. also Gudea, *Cyl. A*, X, 24; cf. *Statue B*, VIII, 61; perhaps also Eannatum, *Stele of Vultures*, rev. col. i, 39. A shrine of BABBAR (Šamaš) was built by Entemena, *Déc. ép.*, XLVII, col. ii, 17.

a) In Larsa: Ur-engur built the temple of Babbar at Larsa, *CT*, XXI, 5, 90001 = I R., 1, No. 7. Sin-idinnam, *BA*, I, 305;

²⁴ For a translation of this interesting letter see *BA*, IV, 517.

²⁵ Whether we have shrines of one god in the temples of others, as was later the case, cf. Êzida a shrine in Ê-sagila, is uncertain.

Lenormant, *Choix de textes*, No. 6; *CT*, XXI, 30, 30215. Rîm-sin, Price, *Literary Remains of Rîm-sin*,²⁶ pp. 14, 15; *OBI*, 128; I R., 3, X; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 237. Ḫammurabi built this temple in Larsa for Šamaš who gave him Sumer and Akkad to rule. *LIH*, 180, 183; I R., 4, XV, 2; *CH*, II, 34, XLIV, 76; Samsu-iluna wrote a letter concerning grain due the storehouse of this temple, *LIH*, 119; cf. date *ibid.*, p. 224, 18. Burnaburiaš restored the ruined temple Ê-BABBARA, I R., 4 XIII. Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt this temple for Šamaš and Aia, *Grot.*, II, 42, 43; cf. V R., 34, col. ii, 34; I R., 51, Nos. 2 and 5; *Neb. Winckl.*, col. ii, 64; *Wādī Brīsa*, VIII, 10 f. Nabonidus in the large inscription from Ur, I R., 69, col. i, 43 f., tells us that Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt Ê-BABBARA on the platform-foundation of Burnaburiaš, while he rebuilt it on the foundation of Ḫammurabi; cf. *PSBA*, XI, p. 92, col. i, 31 f. It is from this inscription, col. ii, 20 f., that we learn that Ḫammurabi's temple was built seven hundred years before Burnaburiaš.

b) In Sippar: Built by Narām-sin the son of Sargon, according to Nabonidus; cf. below. Ḫammurabi rebuilt this temple, *CH*, II, 30.²⁷ Rebuilt in the eighth year of Zabum, *LIH*, 220; rebuilt in the eighteenth year of Samsu-iluna, *ibid.*, 244. Abīšu', *ibid.*, 147; cf. Ê-DI-KUD-KALAMMA. Nabū-aplu-iddina tells us (V R., 60, 61; cf. *ZA*, IV, 325 f.; *BA*, I, 269 f.) that the Suti had destroyed Ê-BABBARA in Sippar, that he rebuilt it and renewed the cult. A similar but unsuccessful attempt had been made by a predecessor of his, Simmaš-šihū, king of Babylon. Cf. *Babylonian Chronicle*, II, 36 f., and IV, 9 f., from which we learn that Sippar was invaded by Elamites in the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. A man of Sippar restored Ê-BABBARA for the life of his lord Šamaš-šum-ukīn and for the life of Aššurbanipal, *ZA*, III, 416. Nebuchadrezzar, *Grot.*, II, 40, 41; V R., 34, col. ii, 28; *ZA*, II, 129 f., and *PSBA*, XI, 124–30; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 59; *ZA*, II, 169 f., col. i, 23 f.; *Wādī Brīsa*, VII, 62 f. Nabonidus informs us, V R., 64, col. ii, 47 f., that he rebuilt this temple, restored by Nebuchadrezzar forty-five years previously. Accord-

²⁶ *LRR*.

²⁷ Winckler thinks the stele on which the code was written stood in the temple at Sippar, p. vii of his edition.

ing to this inscription Nebuchadrezzar searched for the original platform-foundation but did not find it. Nabonidus renewed the search and found the platform-foundation of Narâm-Sin, son of Sargon, which had not been seen for three thousand two hundred years.²⁸ On this foundation he rebuilt Ê-BABBARA, not varying an inch from the ancient measurements; cf. V R., 63, col. i, 17 f.; ZA, V, 399 f.

For hundreds of references to this temple in the contract literature see the Strassmaier Texts, Tallquist, *Die Sprache der Kontracte Nabûnâid's*; Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*. For the name of this temple in proper names, cf. p. 291; cf. also II R., 61, 44gh; PSBA, XXII, 362; Strassmaier, *Warka*, No. 1; T-DSA, 236.

There was probably a Šamaš shrine in Babylon, perhaps in Ê-SAGILA. Agumkakrime, when he brought back Marduk and Sarpanitum from the distant Ḫani-land, placed them in the house of Šamaš, into the rear shrine, V R., 33, col. i, 44—col. ii, 23.

Ê-BA-BI, Reisner, *TU*, 26, XIV, 19; 111, II, 21, III, 10; 115, II, 7; 306, 2; CT, 12922, III.

Ê-babili (DIN-TIR^{ki}), reference to Ê-SAGILA, Reisner, *Hym.*, 41 rev. 8.

Ê-BA-GÁ, in a date in *RTC*, 212; cf. BA-GÁ, part of a temple, T-DSA, p. 244.

Ê-BARA-A-RI-A, temple of the (firmly) founded sanctuary, so Pinches, *PSBA*, XXII, 365; cf. Br. 11460.

Ê-BARA-IGI-E-DI, temple of wonders (cf. Br. 9360) the zig-gurra^t of Dumuzi at Agade, II R., 50, 11ab.

Ê-BARA-SU-GAR-RA, *PSBA*, XXII, 365; cf. Br. 6910.

Ê-BÁ-ŠA-IŠ; cf. T-DSA, p. 231, 37, 38, 39.

Ê-^dBA-U, temple of the goddess Bau in Lagaš. Urninā presents an onyx cup to Bau, *Déc. ép.*, XXXVII, 11. Urukagina built a temple to Bau, *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. iii, 5, 6; Cone, *Déc. ép.*, L, col. i, 10, 11; *ibid.*, LI, LII, col. i, 10, 11; *ibid.*, L, V, 8, 9. Ur-bau built a Bau temple in Uru-azag, one of the precincts of Lagaš, *Déc.*, 7, 8; T-DSA, 60α, 62cfg. Gudea,

²⁸ For a discussion of this date see any work on Babylonian history.

Statue D, col. iii, 13–iv, 1; *Statue E*, col. iii, 16 f.; *Statue G*, col. v, 8 f.²⁹ Cf. Ê-SIL-SIR-SIR.

Bêl, temple of, see Ê-KUR. The temple of Bêl-labiru, rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser I, King, *Annals* I, 87, col. vi, 87.

Bêlit temple; cf. Strassmaier, *Cambyzes*, 24.

Bêlit babili, temple of the goddess of Babylon, *HL*, 119, rev. 11; *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 3.

Ê-bêlit-mâti (KALAMA), temple of the lady of the world, *RA*, II, 91. A bronze statuette from the time of Aššur-dan.

Ê-BUR-GAR-DU(RU), II R., 61, 4a.

Ê-BUR-GUB-GUB(?), II R., 61, 3a.

Ê-BUR-NA-ŠU-A, *PSBA*, XXII, 365.

BUR-SAG, Urukagina built the BUR-SAG where the heavenly gifts are offered; cf. *T-DSA*, index.

Ê-^dBur-^dSin, temple of the deified king Bur-Sin of Ur, Reisner, *TU*, 10, rev. 1.

Ê-^dDA-GAN, temple of Dagan, *HL*, 615, rev. 3. Perhaps also 724, obv. 9.

Ê-DAM, part of temple, built by Ur-nina in Lagaš; cf. *T-DSA*, pp. 3–4*B*, *D*, *E*; *Déc. ép.*, XXXVI, 1, col. ii, 5, 6; *ibid.*, XXXVI, 4, 17, 18; *Déc.*, 2^{ter}, No. 4, 12–13.

^dDAM-GAL-NUN-NA, temple of, built by Dungi in Nippur, *OBI*, No. 123.

Ê-DARA-AN-NA, temple of the darkness of heaven, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, l. 14.

Ê-DI-KUD-KALAM-MA, temple of the judge of the world, temple of Šamaš in Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 31–34; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 48; *Wādi Brisa*, IX, 26, VI, 3. Perhaps the same temple was mentioned in *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 30.

Ê-DILMUN-NA, temple of Dilmun, II R., 61, 9c; *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 2.

Ê-DILMUN-NA-ŠA, II R., 61, 10c.

Ê-DIM-AN-NA, temple of the bond of heaven, built by Nebuchadrezzar for Sin in the court of Ê-zida in Borsippa, *EIH*, IV, 63–65; cf. Ê-DUR-AN-KI.

Ê-DIM-GAL-ABZU, temple of the tarkullu of the apsu, a temple

²⁹ The references for the Statues of Gudea will be found in the footnotes of *T-DSA*, 66 f.

at Lagaš, Entemena, Cone IV, 31 = *Déc. ép.*, XLVII; cf. Gudea, *Cyl. B*, XII, 16, for the god DIM-GAL-ABZU.

Ê-DIM-GAL-KALAM-MA, temple of the tarkullu of the world, Gudea, *Cyl. B*, I, 1, 2; cf. *T-DSA*, 270, and *KB*, VI, 496. A shrine DIM-GAL-KALAM-MA, Sargon, *Cyl.* (Lyon), 54. A temple of Anu at Dûr-ilu, Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 351, 20; *Šurpu*, II, 160.

Dir, temple of Dir, Nebuchadrezzar (I), V R., 56, 49.

Ê-DU-AZAGA, temple of the brilliant shrine, the shrine where the king of the gods of heaven and earth, Marduk, decrees the fate of kings at the New Year's feast; covered with gold by Nebuchadrezzar. A former king had used silver in its construction, *EIH*, II, 54 f.; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 5;³⁰ *ibid.*, XXIII, 200, Ê-DU-AZAG-GA, temple of the god Lugal-azaga.

Ê-DUL-LA, part, factory (?), of temples, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 4; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 116, *ZA*, XVIII, 133, and perhaps II R., 61, 25, 26g. Cf. Prince, *Lex.*, p. 95.

Ê-^dDUMU-ZI, temple of Tammuz, Reisner, *TU*, 5, IV, 2; 92, II, 27; 117, VI, 20; 118, II, 2; 147, II; 150, X, 4; 164 rev. 2; *CT*, V, 12912, col. vii, 21; IX, 21245; X, 12922, V.

Ê-^dDUMU-ZI-ABZU, destroyed by the troops of Gišġu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, obv. col. v, 9; cf. Gudea, *Statue B*, IX, 2, 3.

Ê-DUMU-ZI-ša-nisāti, (KI-BAD) temple of Tammuz of the distant place, *PSBA*, XXII, 359.

Ê-DU-NA, II R., 61, 10g.

Ê-^dDUN-GI, temple of the deified king Dungi, *RTC*, No. 424; cf. *T-DSA*, p. 231. Reisner, *TU*, 5, VI, 6; 10, rev., 3; 17, VII, 16; 59, 2; 101, I, 12; 117, VII, 23; 118, II, 3; 119, XI, 16, XIV, 5; *CT*, V, 12912, III, 24; VII, 1293, 4, IV, 6, 12930, IV, 10; 12939, IV; IX, 21245; X, 12922, IV.

Ê-DUR-AN-KI, temple of the bond of heaven and earth, ziggurat of Larsa, II R., 50, 19ab; *PSBA*, XXII, 365.

Ê-DUR-GARZA; cf. Ê-KI-DUR-GARZA.

Ê-DUR-GI-NA, temple of the lasting abode; rebuilt in Baz for Bêl-šarbi (^dLUGAL-GIŠ-A-TU-GAB-LIŠ) by Nebuchadrezzar, *Grot.*, II, 48, 49; V R., 34, II, 29, 30; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 60; *Wadi Brisa*, VII, 67 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*, III, 1 f.

³⁰ Not written in the text, but given so by Pinches in transliteration.

Ê-^dE-A, temple of the god Ea, II R., 61, 46 f., temple of Ea of Eridu. Shrine of Ea at Khorsabad built by Sargon, I R., 36, 52; cf. Ê-EN-KI.

Ê-EDIN-NA, temple of the steppe, temple of Belit of Sippar, built by Nabopolassar, *Nabop. Winckl.*, b,³¹ col. ii; cf. Abel-Winckler *Keilschrifttexte*, 32; II R., 61, 14g.

Ê-ENGUR-RA, temple of the apsu, temple of Ninâ in Lagaš, built by Entemena, *T-DSA*, 36m. From the name Ê-ENGUR-RA-KA-LUM-MA, *Déc. ép.*, XLVI, col. iv, 3, it would seem as though this temple had been built to Ninâ as the patron of the date-groves. Desecrated by the troops of Gišhu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, rev. i, 6, 7. In King's *Babylonian Magic*, No. 4, l. 14, we have a reference to the Belit of Ê-ENGUR-RA, that is, Damkina, the wife of Ea; in No. 9, Marduk is addressed as the mighty, brilliant lord of Eridu, first-born of Ea, who causes Ê-ENGUR-RA to rejoice; cf. No. 53, 3; 58, 18; *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 4, Ê-ENGUR-RA the abode of E[a].

Ê-EN-KÁR, Gudea, *Cyl. B*, VII, 13.

^dEN-KI, i. e., Ea, temple of, built by Ur-bau in Girsu, *Déc. ép.*, V, col. iv, 11-v, 1; *Déc.*, pl. 27, No. 2; pl. 8^{bis}, No. 2. Dungi built a temple to ^dEN-KI, *CT*, III, 17287.

^dEN-LIL, temples of, cf. Ê-KUR. A shrine of Enlil in Lagaš was desecrated by the troops of Gišhu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, obv. 1, 12.

Ê-EŠ-BAR-ME-LUḪ-ḪA, temple of the oracle of Meluḫḫa, II R., 61, 13c.

EŠ-GÚ-TÚR, temple of NIN-MAR^{ki} built by Ur-bau, *Déc. ép.*, V, col. v, 11, 12; cf. *KB*, III¹, 25, for an etymology of the name.

Ê-EŠ-MAḪ, great house; cf. Pinches in *PSBA*, XXII, 365. Perhaps Ê-EŠ . . . of II R., 61, 16a, is the same temple, although Ê-EŠ-GU-TUR might be read in view of the fact that it is called a temple of Girsu.

EŠ-^dNIN-DUB, dwelling of the god NIN-DUB, built by Gudea, *Cyl. B*, VI, 3; cf. I R., 5, XXIII, 1. This temple was in Girsu.

Ê-GAB-RI-NU-TUK, the temple without an equal, II R., 61, 27g.³²

³¹ *ZA*, II, 172 f.

³² Cf. Sargon's palace referred to as Ê-GAL-BI GAB-RI NU-TUK, *ZA*, II, 346.

Ê-GAD-A-RI-A, II R., 61, 12*c*; cf. Br. 2705, 11453, and above, Ê-BARA-A-RI-A.

Ê-GAL-^d palace of the god , II R., 61, 22*a*.

Ê-^dGAL-ALIM, temple of the god Gal-alim; cf. Ê-ME-ĤUŠ-GAL-AN-KI, and *T-DSA*, index; *CT*, V, 12912, III, 8; VI, 12934, III, 18; IX, 20011 obv. 20; 21245 rev. 3; X, 12922, III.

Ê-GAL-IM, perhaps, palace of the wind, Craig, *Religious Texts*, p. 39, 33, where the god Amurru (MAR-TU) is called lord of Ê-GAL-IM.

Ê-GAL-MAĤ, the great palace, temple in Isin, abundantly provided for by Ĥammurabi, *CH*, II, 49-54. Kurigalzu restored a ruined Ê-GAL-MAĤ, but this temple seems to have been near or in Mugheir, I R., 4, XIV, No. 2; cf. Craig *RT*, 58, 25; Reisner *Hym.*, 83, 7; Clay, *Murašû*, X, p. 40, in the name Ardi-Ê-GAL-MAĤ.

Ê-GAL-TAG, II R., 61, 26*c*.

Ê-GA-NI-NUN-ĤE-DU, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GALU *PSBA*, XXII, 370, B 12.

Ê-GALU-BIR-UĤ (?) II R., 61, 43, 45*ab*.

Ê-GALU-DAGAL-MIL (?) II R., 61, 41, 44*ab*.

Ê-GALU-GA, temple of Nergal II R., 61, 19*ab*; cf. Br. 6003.

Ê-GALU-KAR-RA (?), a temple in Datuna, II R., 61*gh*.

Ê-GAN-GAL-DU-DU, ziggurrat of Maradda, II R., 50, 17*ab*;
cf. Ê-IDI-KALAMA, Ê-LUGAL-AMAR (MARAD)-DA.

Ê-GAN-NUN II R., 61, 23*a*.

Ê-GAR-DIB-DIB, temple of the god NIN II R., 61, 14*c*.

Ê-GAR-DU-A, II R., 61, 33*g*.

Ê-GAR-RA, perhaps a temple of Pap-sukal (written PAP-U), a temple mentioned in a boundary inscription, *BA*, II, 203, 11.

Ê-^dGÀ-TUM-DUG, temple of the goddess Gatumdug in Lagaš, built by Ur-ninā, *T-DSA*, 2*b*, 3 *e*, *g*, 6 *k*, *l*; probably rebuilt by Eannatum, *T-DSA*, 28*k*; rebuilt by Entemena, *Déc.*, pl. 5, 2; burned by the troops of GišĤu in the time of Urukagina, *RA*, VI, 29, col. iii, 13-iv, 4. Gudea rebuilt this temple, *Statue F*; *Brick C*; cf. *T-DSA*, 140*c*; *Déc.*, pl. 24. 2. Mentioned in date *RTC*, No. 205; cf. Reisner, *TU*, 5, IV, 23; 15 rev. 4; 94, II, 22, 49; 95, VI, 9; 110, II, 29; 164, I, 4; 175 obv. 7; *CT*, III, 18343; V, 12912, VII; IX, 20011; X, 12922.

Ê-GE-BAR, temple of Sin in Ur, rebuilt by Nabonidus, I R., 68, No. 7.

Ê-GE-BAR-IMINA, the temple of the seven inner rooms, the ziggurra of Erech, II R., 50, 20*ab*. Cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 170.

^dGEŠTIN-AN-NA, temple of, in Girsu, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 7, 8, col. vi, 5-8.

Ê-GI-DIM-DIM, the temple of the urullu-reed (?), a temple of Enlil, Craig *RT*, 58, 20.

Ê-GI-GIL (?), ziggurra of Dûr-Kurigalzu, II R., 50, 7*ab*.

Ê-GIG-KISAL, temple built by Lipit-Ištar, to Ištar (?), *CT*, XXI, 18.

Ê-GI-NA-AB-TUM, temple of Šamaš at Larsa, built for Gungunu, I R., 2, No. vi, 1 = *CT*, XXI, 22, No. 30062; cf. Ê-BABBARA.

Ê-GIRA, dwelling of the god Nergal, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GIR-LAL the temple of the sword-bearer of *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GIR-TAM (?), *PSBA*, XXII, 362.

Ê-GIŠ-GAR-BA, a part of E-NINNŪ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 1.

E-GIŠ-KIN-AN-KI-A, temple of the kiškanû of heaven and earth, temple of Ištar of Nineveh, built by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 297, rev. 41.

Ê-GIŠ-KIN-TI, *RTC*, No. 89. Perhaps of the time of Šarganišar-ali; cf. *T-DSA*, 225.

Ê-GIŠ-KU II R., 61, 25*a*; perhaps to be read GIŠ-TUK; see below.

Ê-GIŠ-NU-GAL; cf. Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL.

Ê-(GIŠ)-GAR-PA-KALAMA-SUM-MA, temple of the giver of the scepter of the world, temple of Nabû in Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 18-24; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 44; V R., 34, II, 7; *Wâdi Brisa*, IX, 10. Nabonidus, *Annals*, III, 25; cf. Ê-PA-TU-TI-LA.

Ê-GIŠ-PU-RA, built for Ningirsu by Entemena, *T-DSA*, 32*d*; *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. ii, 3-5. Rebuilt by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, XLIX, B; cf. Hommel, *Geo.*, 247.

Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL,³³ temple of Nannar in Ur, begun, according to

³³ Cf. Jastrow in *ZA*, XIX, 135 f.

Nabonidus (cf. below), by Ur-engur and completed by Dungi his son. Cf. reference in inscription of Gungunu, *CT*, XXI, 22, 30062. Cared for by Arad-Sin, IV R., 35, No. 6; cf. *T-DSA*, 212c. Hammurabi calls himself the benefactor of Ur and Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, *CH*, II, 16 f. Kurigalzu rebuilt this temple, I R., 5, XXI. Rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Grot.*, II, 44, 45; V R., 34, II, 35; *Neb. Winckl.*, I 45, II, 65; I R., 8, No. 4; *Wâdi Brîsa*, VIII, 14 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*, III, 19 f. Nabonidus restored the ziggurra, Ê-LUGAL-GAR(?) -SI-DI, of this temple, I R., 68, Nos. 1 and 6; cf. I R., 69, col. i, 17, etc. Cf. also temple of Nannar.

Ê-GIŠ-TUK-PI-^dNisaba, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-GI-NUN-NA (cf. Br. 6705, 4790), II R., 61, 3g. In the old texts always written GI-UNU = gigunû, cemetery, abode of the dead. A part of Ê-NINNû, Gudea, *Statue B*, V, 18-20; *Statue D*, II, 9, 10; *Cyl. A*, XXIV, 20; cf. *ZA*, XVIII, 132. Rebuilt by Ur-ningirsu, son of Gudea, *Déc.*, pl. 37, No. 9. Arad-sin built a GI-UNU for Innina of Hallab, *T-DSA*, 214e.

Ê-GUB-BA-AN-KI, temple of the pillar (? some noun from na-zâzu) of heaven and earth, the ziggurra of Dilbat, II R., 50, 16ab.

Ê-GUD-DA, the lofty temple, II R., 61, 28g.

GULA, temples of. Aššurnasirpal built a temple of Gula, King, *Annals* I, 346, col. ii, 135. This temple was probably in Calah. Nebuchadrezzar built two Gula temples in Babylon, Ê-SA-BAD and Ê-ĦAR-SAG-EL-LA, and three in Borsippa, Ê-GU-LA, Ê-TI(L)-LA and Ê-ZI-BA-TI(L)-LA, *EIH*, IV, 38 f., IV, 52 f.; *Wâdi Brîsa*, X, 1 f., VI, 35 f. Cf. Labartu, *ZA*, XVI, 184, l. 23; *ZA*, IV, 126; and the frequent mention of the field of Gula in the Sippar texts by Friederich, *BA*, V.

Ê-GU-SI-DI, temple of the establishing of power, *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-ĦAD-KALAMA-SUM-MA; see Ê-GIŠ-GAR-PA-KALAMA-SUM-MA.

Ê-ĦAL-AN-KI, temple of the seer of heaven and earth, temple of Sarpanitum(?), *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 7; and so no doubt also II R., 61, 24ab.

Ê-ĦAR-SAG-(GAL)-KUR-KUR-RA, temple of the great mountain of the lands; cf. temple of Aššur; temple of the god Aššur, men-

tioned by Adad-nirari I, King, *Annals*, I, 10; Tiglath-pileser, I, King, *Annals*, I, 31; called the bond of heaven and earth by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 297, rev. 46; cf. Sargon, *Annals* (Winckler), 415, and 436, where an Ê-ĤAR-SAG-GAL-KUR-KUR-RA is called the temple of Enlil; Craig, *RT*, 32, 8; *BA*, V, 596.

Ê-ĤAR-SAG-EL-LA, temple of the brilliant mountain, temple of Gula at Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 40-43; V R., 34, III, 9; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 46; *Wādi Brisa*, IX, 16.

Ê-ĤAR-ŠAB-BA, II R., 61, 19*g*.

Ê-ĤE-GAL-KALAM-MA, temple of the overflow of the land, another name for ANTASURRA, see above; built by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, XLIX, 5, 6; *ibid.*, L, col. i, 6, 7; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 31.

^dĤE-GIR, temple of the goddess, the beloved virgin of Ninsursu, built by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, L, col. v, 16-19.

Ê-ĤE-NUN, temple of the overflow, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, 19.

Ê-ĤI-LI-ŠI, a shrine in Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, rebuilt by Nabonidus, I R., 68, No. 6; perhaps also *PSBA*, XXII, 370 B, 5; cf. *CT*, XXI, 22, 30062.

Ê-ĤI-IM-GUR-RU, II R., 61, 30*g*.

Ê-ĤUL-ĤUL, temple of rejoicing,³⁴ temple of Sin of Ĥarrân, built, according to Nabonidus, by Aššurbanipal and destroyed by the barbarians. Rebuilt by Nabonidus, V R., 64, I, 8-II, 45; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 19.

Ê-ĤUR-ŠA(B)-BA, II R., 61, 19*g*; *PSBA*, XXII, 367.

Ê-ĤUŠ, part of Ê-NINNŪ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, X, 19.

Ê-I-DE-^dA-NUM, temple of the eye of Anu (heaven), temple of the god Uraš of Dilbat, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 61 (the variant in *PSBA*, XI, 196 f. reads Ê-I-NE-AN-NA); V R., 34, II, 31; *Grot.*, II, 46; *Wādi Brisa*, VII, 71 f.; cf. Reisner, *Hym.*, 140, l. 179; 83, l. 12; *BA*, V, 574.

Ê-IGI, temple of Nergal of Paše, II R., 61, 15*ab*; Nergal, *do*, 17*ab*.

Ê-IGI-DU, temple of Ninib(?), *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 24.

Ê . . . IGI-GAL, temple of the wise, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 20.

Ê-IGI-E-IMINA, the ziggurra of Eridu, II R., 50, 21*a*.

³⁴ Cf. the epithet Ê-ŠA(G)-ĤUL-LA, frequently applied to temples.

Ê-IGI-E-NIR-KI-KU-MAḤ, the ziggurraṭ of the large abode, the ziggurraṭ of Kiš, that is, of Ê-ME-TE-UR-SAG, II R., 50, 12*ab*; restored by Ḥammurabi, King, *LIḤ*, III, 241, and also in the twenty-second year of Samsu-iluna, *ibid.*, 247.

Ê-IGI-E-SA(DI)-GAL-AN-KI, the temple of great astonishment of heaven and earth, the ziggurraṭ of IM^{ki}, II R., 50, 22*ab*.

Ê-IGI-KALAM-MA, temple of the eye of the world, cf. Ê-IDE-ANUM, temple of Lugal-maradda in Marad, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 62; *ZA*, II, 137 f., col. i, 28; cf. II R., 61, 20*c*; *Wadi Brisa*, VII, 73 f., and *Nahr el-Kelb*, III, 6 f.

Ê-IGI-SU-EN, II R., 61, 11*c*.

Ê-I-LU-AN-AZAG-GA, temple of the god of the bright heaven (ilu is here a Sumerian loan-word from the Semitic), the ziggurraṭ of Ê-BABBARA in Sippar, II R., 50, 8*ab*; Nabonidus rebuilt Ê-BABBARA together with Ê-I-LU-AN-AZAG-GA, its ziggurraṭ, V R., 64, III, 4*f*.

Ê-IM-GA, *PSBA*, XXII, 370, 6.

Ê-IM-ḤAR-SAG, temple of the lord(?) of the mountain, a ziggurraṭ of Nippur, II R., 50, 5*ab*.

Ê-IR-RA, temple of weeping, II R., 61, 17*c*.

^dIšme-karab, temple of, built by Temti-agum for the life of Kutir-naḥḥundi, *T-DSA*, 184, 9.

Ištar, temples of, cf. Ê-ANNA, Ê-MAḤ, E-MAŠ-MAŠ, Ê-ULMAŠ. Aššurnāṣirpal built a temple of Ištar, King, *Annals*, I, 156, No. 4; perhaps this refers to the building of Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ. Sennacherib in giving the location of the old palace in Nineveh refers to the temple of Ištar, Evetts, *ZA*, III, 311 f., 71-78.

^dKa-di, temple of, *OBI*, 125, 6.

Ê-KALA(?), II R., 61, 24*c*.

Ê-KAL-DU-A, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 11.

Ê-KA-LUM-MA, temple of dates, II R., 61, 8*g*; cf. ENGURRA-KALUMMA.

Ê-KANKAL, part of Ê-ANNA, *CT*, XXI, 17, 91151, 11; II R., 61, 22*c*.

Ê KAR KAR, temple in Ur(?), *PSBA*, XXII, 365.

Ê-KAR-RA, in proper name, *OBI*, 83, 10.

Ê-KAR-ZA-GIN-NA, temple of the wall of lapis-lazuli, V R., 61, IV, 25; cf. *ZA*, IV, 329.

Ê-KAR-ZID-DA, temple of the enduring wall, built by Dungi for Bêlit of Ur, *OBI*, No. 16.

Ê-KA + ŠU-NE-GIŠ-TUG, temple of the hearing of supplication, temple of the god Azag-sud,³⁵ *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 12; cf. Ê-ARAZU-GIŠTUG.

Ê-KÊŠ^{ki}, temple of Kiš, temple of the temen of heaven and earth, temple in which Rîm-sin was exalted to kingship, *T-DSA*, 237e.

KI-ARATTA^{ki}, dwelling of (some deity), *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 3; cf. Ê-ARATTA^{ki}.

Ê-KI-AZAG-NUN-NA, temple in Susa, Scheil, *ES*, I, 69, 72, 73; cf. *T-DSA*, 182, 4ab, 5.

Ê.^dkid-mu-ri, temple of Ištar of Nineveh, who is frequently referred to as the queen of Kidmuri; rebuilt at Calah by Aššur-naširpal, King, *Annals*, I, 162 f.; the same king built an altar for Bêl who dwells in Ê-kid-mu-ri, *ibid.*, 160. Aššurbanipal frequently refers to Ištar, queen of Kidmuri in the *Annals*, *Ras-sam Cyl.*, I, 15, 42, etc.; cf. *ZA*, III, 311 f., l. 71. Priest of Ê-kid-muri, *HL*, 152, 4; 710, 3; Ištar of Ê-ki-di-mu-ri, *ibid.*, 186, 5.

Ê-KI-GUŠUR-RA, *BA*, V, 573; *Šurpu*, II, 146.

Ê-KI-EL-BI-KAR-ZA-GIN-NA, II R., 61, 35gh; cf. Ê-KAR-ZA-GIN-NA.

KI-ÊŠ^{ki}, temple of Nin-dar, desecrated in the time of Urukagina by the troops of Gišhu, *RA*, VI, 29, obv. V, 3.

KI-ER-ĤI-GUB, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 10.

Ê-KI-KU-AKKIL-LI, temple of the abode of mourning, temple of the god DUN-ŠAG-GA, son of Ningirsu, built by Gudea in Lagaš, *Déc.*, pl. 29, No. 1. Cf. KI-KU-AKKIL-LI built by Urukagina for the same deity, *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 1, col. ii, 7-9; *Cone* (*Déc. ép.*, L), II, 3-5.

Ê-KI-KU-GAR-ZA, temple of the abode of the oracle, temple of NIN-ÊANNA, built by Nebuchadrezzar by the side of the wall of Babylon, *EIH*, IV, 44-48; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 49-51; V R., 34, II, 9-11; *Wadi Brisa*, IX, 28 f.; VI, 5 f.

³⁵ Cf. Zimmern, *BBR*, index.

Ê-KIN, house of the oracle, II R., 61, 1c.

KI-NI-DIN-ZAG, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 9.

KI-NU-NIR^{ki}; cf. Dumuzi-abzu. Cf. *T-DSA*, p. 257.

Ê-KISAL-^dSIRARA^{ki}-ŠUM-TA, temple of the court (?) of the god Sirara-šum-ta, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, IV, 5.

Ê-KIŠIB-BA, temple of the scepter (?), Reisner, *Hym.*, 83, 11.

KI-UNU, ... *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 28.

Ê-KU-A, the temple of the abode, the shrine of Marduk, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, II, 43; III, 28; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 29; *Neb. Ball*, I, 33; V R., 34, I, 48; *Wadi Brisa*, III, 38; cf. *PSBA*, XXIII, 188 f., pl. I, 13, perhaps also *ibid.*, XXII, 362, II, 5. Esarhaddon (*BA*, III, 287 f., l. 39) speaks of Tašmêtum who dwells in the shrine of Marduk in Babylon. Cf. Craig, *RT*, I, 5; *BA*, V, 375.

Ê-KU-GAR, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 27.

Ê-KU-NIN-AZAG, the abode of the brilliant goddess, a temple in Girsu, II R., 61, 34*gh*.

Ê-KUR, mountain temple, temple of Enlil at Nippur.³⁶ Šargani-šar-ali built this temple for Enlil in Nippur, *OBI*, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Naram-sin calls himself the builder of the temple of Enlil, *ibid.*, No. 4. Gudea compares Ê-NINNU to Ê-KUR the temple of Enlil, *Cyl. A*, XXIX, 13 f. Ur-engur rebuilt this temple, *CT*, XXI, 4, 90802; *OBI*, No. 122. References to this temple in Bur-sin, *CT*, XXI, 27, 90065; *ibid.*, 24, 90034; *ibid.*, 25, 90811; *RT*, XX, 67, 68; *OBI*, 20. Arad-sin who cares for Ê-KUR, IV R., 35, No. 6. Hammurabi restored Ê-KUR, *CH*, I, 62; XLII, 84; XLIII, 84; XLIV, 54. With the supremacy of Babylon, Nippur and its temple fell into the background, but that it remained a wealthy and famous temple throughout Babylonian history is seen from the legal and business documents found at Nippur.

Ê-KUR-MAḪ, temple of the great mountain, the ziggurra of Ê-ḪAR-SAG-KALAM-MA, II R., 50, 13*ab*.

Ê-KUR-ME-EL, temple of the mountain of fire (?),³⁷ II R., 61, 6*g*.

Ê-KUŠ-GAL, ziggurra of Dumuzi, Tammuz, in Agade, II R., 50, 10*ab*.

³⁶ Cf. *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by Hilprecht, Clay, Ranke, etc., as well as Hilprecht, *Ausgrabungen der Universität von Pennsylvania im Beltempel zu Nippur*.

³⁷ Br. 9694.

Ê-LAL , perhaps, house of honey of , a temple in Girsu, II R., 61, 18a.

Ê-LAGAR-BI-DAGAL, II R., 61, 41c.

Ê-^dLUGAL-DIBBARA (RA) ?, house of the pest god, ZA, I, 422.

LUGAL-MARADA (DA), temple of, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar upon the platform-foundation laid by Narām-sin, BA, III, 544 (RM, 673); cf. Ê-GAN-GAL-DU-DU and Ê-IGI-KALAMA.

Ê-LUGAL-MEGA(?) -SI-DI, temple of the king of righteous counsel, the ziggurat of Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL in Ur, rebuilt by Nabonidus, I R., 68, col. i, 5, 6; cf. Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL.

Ê-^dLUGAL-URU, temple of L, temple in Lagaš, desecrated by the troops of Gišhu in the time of Urukagina, RA, VI, 29, rev. i, 2, 5.

Ê-MAḤ, supreme house. Eannatum built an Ê-MAḤ, *Vulture Stele*, 12, 9. Perhaps a part of Ê-NINNŪ, Gudea, *Cyl. B*, V, 51; cf. *Statue L* (T-DSA, 88), and *Cyl. A*, XXVII, 13.

Ê-MAḤ, temple in Adab (UD-NUN-^{ki}), cared for by Ḥammurabi, CH, III, 69.

Ê-MAḤ of the god Nannar, built in the fifth year of Sumu-abu, King, LIḤ, III, 212.

Ê-MAḤ, temple in Babylon. This temple was rebuilt by Aššurbanipal, Weissbach, *Misc.*, pl. 7, 13 f.; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 13, 14. Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt Ê-MAḤ, the temple of the goddess Ninharzag, for the goddess Maḥ, EIH, IV, 14 f.; in *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 43. Ê-MAḤ, the temple of the goddess Nin-maḥ; V R., 34, II, 6; *Neb. Lond. Par.*,³⁸ col. i, 6, 'Ê-maḥ, temple of the goddess Nin-maḥ in Babylon, for the goddess Nin-maḥ, the exalted princess, rubātim širti, anew I built.' Cf. PSBA, XXII, 365, A, 15; 359, 13, Ê-MAḤ libba(ba) Babili^{ki}.

^dMA-ḤIR, temple of the god Ma-ḥir,³⁹ in the city of Im-gur-^dBēl,⁴⁰ built by Aššurnāširpal, King, *Annals*, I, pp. 167 f.

Ê-MAḤ-TI(L)-LA, the great temple of life, shrine of Nabû in ÊZIDA, built by Nebuchadrezzar, V R., 34, II, 3 f; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 40 f.;⁴¹ *Wadi Brisa*, VI, 21; III, b 4; cf. PSBA, XXII, 367,

³⁸ ZA, I, 39-41; Ball, PSBA, XI, 248 f.

³⁹ Cf. Br. 6807.

⁴⁰ Cf. the name of one of the walls of Babylon in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, EIH, col. iv, 66 f. Im-gur-^dEn-lil.

⁴¹ In both these references we find the expression, "mighty cedars I covered with gold, and for the roofing of Ê-MAḤ-TI(L)-LA the shrine of Nabû panim še-lal-ti-šu-nu I

24; cf. Pinches' note, p. 369; Reisner, *Hym.*, pp. 10, 148; 63, 14; 73, rev. 12; 140, 170; IV R., 11, 11a, 12b; IV R²., 29, 28-30. In the Hymn to Marduk, King, *Magic*, 9, 5, Marduk is referred to as ašarid Ê-MAḤTILA; BA, V, 336, 347.

Ê-^dMalik, temple of M, II R., 61. 55e.

Marduk, temples of the god; cf. Ê-SAGILA. From King, *Annals*, I, p. 388, we learn that there was a Marduk temple in the city of Aššur in the time of Aššur-uballiṭ, ca. 1400 B. C.

Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ,⁴² temple of Ištar in Nineveh, Aššurnasirpal rebuilt the temple Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ which Šamši-Adad had built, King, *Annals*, I, 158 f. This Šamši-Adad may be the king whose fragmentary inscription concerning the restoration of an Ištar temple is found in III R., 3, No. 11. This temple was probably rebuilt by Esarhaddon, BA, III, 315, rev. 5. Aššurbanipal repaired Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ, II R., 66; cf. *Rassam Cyl.*, X, 25; CT, X, 23577; cf. Haupt, *Babylonische Nimrod Epos*, p. 89; KB, VI¹, 268. Craig, RT, 5, 12, 15; 7, 4, 10.

Ê-ME , PSBA, XXII, 370; Craig, RT, 36, 4. This should probably be restored Ê-ME-LAM-AN-NA.

Ê-ME-GALAM-MA, temple of Innina, lady of Agade, rebuilt by Kurigalzu, CT, IX, 22457. Cf. Ê-UL-MAŠ for a fuller discussion.

Ê-ME-ḤUŠ-GAL-AN-KI, temple of the mighty thunders⁴³ of heaven and earth, the temple of the god Gal-alim in Lagaš, built by Urukagina, *Cat. Clercq*, II, pl. viii, No. 1, iii 3; *Déc. ép.*, L, col. v, 10-12; *ibid.*, *Cone*, II, 1-2; T-DSA, 142 x, rebuilt by Gudea.

Ê-ME-LAM , temple of the splendor, PSBA, XXII, 362, 11.

Ê-ME-LAM-AN-NA, temple of the splendor of heaven, PSBA, XXII, 362, 3.

laid in rows. The expression panim šelaltišunu is usually left untranslated. Does it not mean "three of their sides showing"? In *Neb. EIH*, III, 21 f., we have a passage somewhat similar. "My best cedars which I had brought from Lebanon, the brilliant forest, I selected, my heart prompting, for the roofing of Ê-KU-A, the shrine of his lordship, for the roofing of Ê-KU-A I covered the mighty cedars with gold, the lower edge, side, I decorated with gold and precious stones." It seems very probable from these passages, that these cedar beams were arranged just as beams are arranged in the ceilings of some public buildings today. First a beam, then a space followed by another beam, etc. Such an arrangement would account for all the expressions used in these passages.

⁴² This and the Ê-miš-miš seem to be the same. If this is the case we see how precarious our etymologies of the names of temples must necessarily be.

⁴³ ME-ḤUŠ is perhaps equal to ḫālu ezzu, which might be regarded as a poetical word for thunder.

Ê-ME-LAM-BI-KUR-KUR-RA A-TUG, temple whose splendor covers the lands, epithet of ANTASURRA, and Ê-GIŠ-PU-RA. Cf. the name of the wall of Kiš, II R., 50, 34*ab*.

Ê-ME-LAM-ĦUŠ, temple of the terrible splendor, temple of the god Gibil, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 6.

Ê-ME-LAM-MAĦ, temple of great splendor, the ziggurra of Enlil at Nippur?, II R., 50, 14*ab*.

Ê-ME-LAM-SU(KUŠ)-ŠI-GUR-RU, temple filled with glorious splendor, *PSBA*, XXII, 364, 3.

Ê-ME-NIGIN-ŠU-UL, temple where the gathering is made complete(?), temple of the goddess Nin-nammu, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 7.

Ê-MES-LAL-MAĦ, temple of Nannar, rebuilt by Kurigalzu, I R., 4, XIV.

Ê-MES-LAM, temple of MESLAM,⁴⁴ temple of the god MES-LAM-TA-È-A, that is, the god who comes forth from MES-LAM, later known as Nergal. Gudea built his temple in Girsu, *T-DSA*, 140*q*; Dungi built a temple, Ê-MES-LAM, in Kutha, *CT*, IX, 35389; Lenormant, *Choix*, No. 61. Cf. *CT*, V, 12217. Hammurabi enlarged MES-LAM of Kutha, *CH*, III, 6, IV, 6. Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt this temple, *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 52 f.; *Grot.*, II, 37; *Wadi Brisa*, VII, 41 f.; cf. Jensen, *KB*, VI, 290.

Ê-MES-LAM-IM-GUR-RU, temple of MESLAM filled with storm, temple of Nergal, *PSBA*, XXII, 364, 1.

Ê-ME-TE-UR-SAG, temple of the ornaments of the warrior, temple of Zamama and Innina in Kiš. Restored by Hammurabi, King, *LIH*, III, 241; *CH*, II, 62; *PSBA*, XXII, 370; *BA*, V, 418; *ibid.*, 574; Reisner, *Hym.*, 36, 16; 84, 36.

Ê-ME-UR-UR, temple where oracles are received, temple of Innina, built by Kudurmabug and Rīm-Sin, Lenormant, *Choix*, No. 70; cf. *T-DSA*, 218.

Ê-MIŠ-MIŠ, temple of Ištar-Innina in Nineveh, Hammurabi, *CH*, IV, 60 f.; cf. Ê-MAŠ-MAŠ.

Ê-MU , II R., 61, 43*e*.

^dNabû, temple of, see Ê-ZIDA; cf. II R., 61, 47*ef*.

Ê^d-Nabû ša ħa-ri , Ê^d-Nabû ša nikasû, *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 10. *HL*, 65, 367; cf. Ê-GIŠ-GAR-PA-KALAMA-SUMMA.

⁴⁴For the name cf. Jensen, *Kos.*, under Ê-ŠIT-LAM.

Ê-NAD-DA, house of reclining, a shrine in the temple of Ningirsu, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXV, 17.

Ê-NAM-EN-GAR-RA, temple of the establishing of lordship, temple of Nin-nammu, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, I, 8; cf. Ê-ME-NIGIN-ŠU-UL.

Ê-NAM-ĜA-NI, Reisner, *TU*, 5, VII, 1; 110, III, 34; 119; *CT*, V, 12912, V, 16, 19761, I, 12; VII, 12930, IV, 10; IX, 14318, I, 17, 21243; X, 12922, V.

Ê-NAM-ĜE, temple of abundance, temple of Adad in Babylon, built by Hammurabi in his twenty-eighth year, King, *LIH*, III, 236; *BA*, V, p. 419. No. 8; rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 35-37; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 47; V R., 34, II, 8; *Wâdi Brisa*, IX, 19 f.; Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, rev. 16; Craig, *RT*, 58, 23.

Ê-NAM-TAG-GA-GAB-A, temple of the god Amurru(?), rebuilt by Esarhaddon, *BA*, III, 287, rev. 40.

Ê-NAM-TI-LA, temple of life; in King, *LIH*, III, 193, there is given a copy of an inscription which had been written upon a tablet in the temple Ê-NAMTILA by Hammurabi. Craig, *RT*, 58, 23; Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, rev. 5.

^dNanâ, temple of, built by Kudurmabug and Rîm-sin, *MDOG*, No. 5, p. 17; cf. *T-DSA*, 220.

^dNannar, temple of; cf. Ê-NUN-MAĜ, Ê-TEMEN-NI-IL; Ur-engur built the temple of Nannar in Ur, *CT*, XXI, 4, 90801; *ibid.*, 2, 90009, 90011, 90004; *ibid.*, 8, 30051; Peters, *Nippur*, II, 238; Sumu-abu built a temple to Nannar in his fifth year, King, *LIH*, III, 212; cf. Ê-MAĜ.

Ê-^dNANNARU, ziggurra of Kutha, II R., 50, 15ab; cf. II R., 61, 6c.

^dNA-RU-TE, temple of, built by Addaḥušu, Scheil, *ES*, III, 26.

^dNergal, temple of; cf. Ê-MESLAM; a temple for the god Nergal was built by Anamgišdubba for the life of Sin-gâmil, *CT*, XXI, 17, 91082. Temple of Nergal in Tarbiši restored by Aššurbanipal, I R., 8, No. 2. Temple of Nergal of Paše, II R., 61, 14b; cf. *ibid.*, 53e; *BA*, V, 431, from this date we learn that Samsuiluna restored a Nergal temple in Sippar.

Ê-NIGIN . . . temple of the dwelling of . . . *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 20.

Ê-NIGIN-GAR-RA, temple of the firmly established dwelling (?), II R., 61, 4g.

Ê-NIG-KI-SIG, part of Ê-NINNÛ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXIX, 3.

Ê.^dNINÂ, temple of the goddess Ninâ; cf. Ê-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ-E-GA-RA. Temple of Ninâ in Lagaš built by Ur-ninâ, *T-DSA*, 2b, 4de; *Déc.*, pl. 2, No. 1, and *ép. XXXVI*; *ibid.*, 2^{ter}, No. 4, 2^{bis}, No. 1; Reisner, *TU*, 5, II, 32; 15, I, 10, etc.; *CT*, III, 18343; IX, 21245; X, 12922.

^dNin-á-gal, temple of, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 7, 8, *Statue*, V, 4-7; cf. *Déc.*, pl. 8^{bis}, No. 2.

^dNin-azag-nun, temple of the goddess Nin-azag-nun, that is Innina, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 8^{bis}, No. 2, III, 1-3.

^dNin-dar, temple of, built by Ur-bau, *Déc.*, pl. 7-8, V, 2, 3; rebuilt by Gudea, *T-DSA*, 227b; Reisner, *TU*, 5, I, 18; 17 rev., IX, 28, etc.; *CT*, V, 12912; VI, 18394, rev. 12; IX, 14318, III, 11, 21245 rev. 9.

Ê.^dNIN-DINGIR-RA, a temple of Sin in Ur, built by Nabonidus, I R., 68, No. 7.

^dNin-Ê-AN-NA, temple of Nin-ÊANNA, that is Innina, *PSBA*, XXII, 359; cf. Ê-KI-KU-GARZA, Ê-ANNA.

^dNin-e-gal, temple of, built by the wife of Rîm-sin, *T-DSA*, 218d.

^dNin-gal, shrine of Nin-gal the wife of Sin, built by Sargon, *Cyl.* 62 (Lyon).

^dNin-gir-su, temple of, cf. Ê-NINNÛ; Mesilim, king of Kiš, is called the builder of this temple (?), *Déc. ép.*, XXXV. Ur-ninâ built a temple to Ningirsu in Lagaš, *Déc.*, pl. 2, No. 1, Eannatum, Enannatum I, Entemena, etc., kept up the worship of Ningirsu. Cf. Reisner, *TU*, 5, I, 23; 9 obv. 4; 15 rev. 8, etc.; *CT*, V, 19761, I; VI, 11765, 18419; IX, 14318, 14617, 20011, 21245, 21386; X, 19064, 12922.

^dNin-giš-zi-da, temple of, built by Gudea in Girsu, *Statue I, RA*, VI, 23 f.; *Déc.*, pl. 37, No. 5; Reisner, *TU*, 6, VII, 15; 9 obv. 1; 10, 5; 33, 23, etc.; *CT*, V, 12912; IX, 14318, 20011, 21386; X, 12922; XV, 12912; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 8.

^dNin-ḫar-sag, temple of, built by Ur-bau in Girsu, *Déc.* 7, 8, III, 8-IV, 2; Gudea, *Statue A*, I. Galu-babbar of Gišḫu

built a temple for this goddess, *CT*, I, 96-6-12, 3; Ur-engur, *OBI*, 14.

^dNinib, temple of, mentioned in dates from the time of Dungi, *T-DSA*, 229; *PSBA*, XXII, 368; II R., 61, 50e, temple of Ninib of Nippur; *KB*, IV, 154 XXII; temple of Ninib at Calah built by Aššurnasirpal, King, *Annals*, I, 209 f.; shrine of Ninib built by Sargon, *Cyl.* 62.

^dNin-lil, temple of, in Nippur; cf. Ê-ŠU-IB built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 6, 90826.

^dNin-maḥ, temple of, built by Entemena in Lagaš, *CT*, X, 86900, 27, 28.

^dNin-mar^{ki}, temple of, built in Lagaš by Ur-Ninā, *T-DSA*, 4c; *Déc.*, pl. 2^{ter}, No. 4; cf. Ê-SAL-GIL-SA built by Dungi; Reisner, *TU*, 5, III, 18; 101, I, 10; 110, II, 11, etc.; *CT*, III, 14608; V, 12912; X, 12922.

^dNinni, temple of the goddess Innina; her temple in Erech was built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 3, 90006-15; Bur-sin, *CT*, III, 12156; mentioned in a date of Narām-sin, *RTC*, 86, 106, 144; *CT*, VII, 18430, rev. 8; X, 12922, III; cf. Ê-ANNA, Ê-ME-UR-UR.

Ê-NINNŪ, temple of fifty, temple of Ningirsu, *q. v.*, Enannatum dedicated a mortar in Ê-NINNŪ, *Déc. ép.*, XLV, a mace, *CT*, V, 23287; Entemena, *Déc.*, pl. 43-43^{bis}; *ibid.*, pl. 5^{bis}; *Déc. ép.*, XLVIII; *Déc.*, pl. 31, No. 3; Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, L, 2; *Cat. Clercq.*, II, VIII, No. 1; Ur-bau rebuilt Ê-NINNŪ called IM-GIG shines, *Déc.*, pl. 7, 8, III, 5-7; *ibid.*, pl. 38; Gudea, *Statues A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I, K*, and *Cyls. A, B*, as well as on many bricks; Dungi, *Déc.*, pl. 29, No. 3. Hammurabi provided for Ê-NINNŪ, *CH*, III, 46. The references in the business documents in Reisner, *TU*, *CT*, etc., are numerous.

^dNin-sar, perhaps a temple to this god, was built by Urukagina, *Déc. ép.*, L, col. 2, end.

^dNin-šaḥ, temple of, built by Rīm-sin, *Déc.*, pl. 41; I R., 3, No. X.

^dNin-si-in-na, temple of, built in the fourth year of Sumu-abu, King, *LIH*, III, 212.

^dNin-sun, temple of, mentioned in a date, *RTC*, No. 265.

Ê-NIR-GAL-AN-NA, temple of the lord of heaven, temple of Ištar of Erech, within Ê-ANNA, *BA*, III, 351, 6.

Ê-NI-TE, temple of terror, Craig, *RT*, 58, 20.

Ê-NI-TE-ĦAR-SAG, temple of terror of the mountain, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 25.

Ê-NUN-MAĦ, temple of the great prince, temple of the god Sin, built by Nur-immer, *CT*, XXI, 29, 30070; Arad-Sin, *CT*, XXI, 33, 90032. Nabonidus restored Ê-NUN-MAĦ in Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, I R., 68, No. 6.

Ê-NU-UR-MA, house of figs(?), II R., 61, 31*g*.

^dNU-TÚG-MUŠ-DA, temple of, in Kazallu, in a date of Dungi, *OBI*, 125, 8.

Ê-PA, built by Ur-ninā in Lagaš, *Déc.*, pl. 2^{ter}, No. 2. Ê-PA, called Ê-UB-IMIN, the temple of the seven (heavenly) zones was built for Ningirsu by Gudea, *Statue D* (*Déc.*, pl. 9), II, 11 f.; cf. *Statues E* and *G*. From the last inscription it would seem as though we had in Ê-PA a ziggurra; cf. Ê-UR-IMIN-AN-KI; *Statue I*, II, 12 f.; *Cat. Clercq*, II, VIII, No. 2.

Ê-PAD-DA, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, rev. 17.

Ê-PAD-DA-NU-NUNUZU, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 5.

Ê-^dPA-GIŠ-GIBIL-SAG, temple of, Reisner, *TU*, 26, XIV, 20.

Ê-PA-PAĦ-^dTaš-me-tum, temple of the shrine of Tašmêtum, *HL*, 119, obv. 14.

Ê-^dPAP-SUKAL, temple of P, *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 5.

Ê-PA-TU-TI-LA, temple of the scepter of life, the temple of Ninib in Šuanna, the sacred precinct of Babylon, built by Nabopolassar; cf. Weissbach, *Miscellen*, pl. 8. Cf. Ê-GIŠ-GAR-PA-KALAM-MA.

Ê-RAB-AG-AG, temple of the god En-nu-gi, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 10.

Ê-RAB-RI-RI, temple of the god En-nu-gi, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 9.

^dRamman, temple of, built in the seventh year of Sumulilu, King, *LIH*, III, 215; cf. Adad temple.

Ê-RUG?-GA?-NA?-KI, a shrine of Nabû; cf. Weissbach, *Wadi Brisa*, p. 40.

Ê-SA-BAD, temple of the bond of death(?), temple of Gula in Babylon, built by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 40 f., *Wadi Brisa*, IX, 33 f., VI, 9 f.; cf. the proper name Ina-šilli-Ê-SA-BAD, Strassmaier, *Nbn.*, 257, 3. See Gula temples.

Ê-SAG-AŠ, ziggurrat of Nippur, II R., 50, 6ab: cf. Ê-IM-HAR-SAG.

Ê-SAG-DUL, temple of the covered head, II R., 61, 15c.

Ê-SAG-GA-AN *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 18.

Ê-SAG-ILA, temple of the high-towering summit, temple of Marduk at Babylon. This temple becomes prominent with the rise of the First Dynasty of Babylon. It is not mentioned in the older inscriptions from the South. But we know from Chronicle K I, King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, that Dungi the son of Ur-engur invaded Babylon and despoiled Ê-SAGILA. The temple was rebuilt in the tenth year of Zabum, King, *LIH*, III, 220; Marduk is mentioned as the lord of Ê-SAGILA and E-ZIDA in Hammurabi's inscription concerning the rebuilding of Ê-ZIDA, *Rec. de travaux*, II, 76 f.; King, *LIH*, III, 186; *CH*, II, 12; XL, 67, 93; XLI, 50, 51; cf. Legend, *CT*, XIII, 46. Agum-kakrimi returned Marduk to Babylon and Ê-SAGILA and restored the temple, V R., 33, I, 44 f. Marduk-aplu-iddina calls himself the worshiper of Nabû and Marduk, the gods of Ê-SAGILA and Ê-ZIDA, *BA*, II, 258 f., col. ii, 1; v, 9. Marduk-nâdin-šum, contemporary of Šalmaneser II, presented a seal of bright lapis-lazuli to Marduk of Ê-SAGILA, Weissbach, *Misc.*, pl. 6, No. 2. Sennacherib tells us that Šuzubi robbed the temple Ê-SAGILA to gain aid from Elam, *Taylor Cyl.*, V, 5 f. Sennacherib himself took Babylon 689 and the gods were taken to Assyria. Esarhaddon restored the temple, I R., 48, No. 9; I R., 49, I, 14 f.; III, 22 f.; IV; Layard, 19, No. 1; *BA*, III, 347 f., I, 3 f., II, 18; *ibid.*, 287 f., obv. 36, rev. 6, 47; *ibid.*, 323, V, 15, VI, 6, 12, VIII, 8; *ibid.*, 351 f., 16 f. Aššurbanipal completed the work begun by Esarhaddon, III R., 16, No. 5; Weissbach, *Misc.*, pl. 7; *CT*, IX, 6, 7. Šamaš-šum-ukîn took an active interest in this temple; cf. Lehmann, pl. I, II, 17; V-VII, 7, 8, 22; VIII-X, 14, 16, 17; XVII-XXII, 13, 24, 46, 56, 66; XXV-XXVII, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13; XXXIV-XXXIX, II, 30, 33. Nabopolassar, *ZA*, IV, 106 f.; *OBI*, 84. Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, I, 13, 19, etc.; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 14 f.; *Neb. Ball*, I, 8 f.; V R., 34; *Grot.*, I, 6 f.; I R., 52, No. 3; *ZA*, I, 337 f.; *ZA*, II, 125 f.; I R., 52, Nos. 4, 6, 7; I R., 51, No. 1; *ZA*, II, 169 f.;

ibid., 129 f.; *PSBA*, XI, 124–30; *ZA*, II, 137 f.; I R., 51, No. 2; I R., 52, No. 5; I R., 8, No. 4; *ZA*, XIX, 114 f.; *Wadi Brisa*, I, 20, Ia, 19, III, 35, Ib, 5; IIa, 1, etc. Neriglissar, I R., 67. Nabonidus, I R., 69; I R., 68, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7; V R., 68; Chronicle (*TSBA*, VII, 139–76; *BA*, II, 248), col. ii. Cyrus, V R., 35, 5; *TSBA*, II, 148; *BA*, II, 214. Antiochus, V R., 66. Arsaces, *ZA*, III, 146, No. 7.

References to Ê-SAGILA in the religious texts may be found by consulting the indices of works on religion.

Ê-SAG-KAL-KUR-KUR-RA, high-towering temple of the lands, an epithet of Ê-NINNŪ, Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XI, 1 f.

Ê-SAL-GIL-SA, temple of Nin-mar^{ki}, I R., 2, No. II, 4.

Ê-^dSibi, temple of the god Sibi, *HL*, 49, 7; 578 rev. 4; cf. II R., 61, 11b.

Ê-SIGIŠE-SIGIŠE, temple of libations, temple of the Igigi and Anunaki, built by Nebuchadrezzar by the wall of Babylon, *EIH*, IV, 7 f.

Ê-SIḪḪA, perhaps temple of the apsû, II R., 61, 20a; cf. Br. 10902.

Ê-SIL-SIR-SIR, temple of Bau, built by Gudea, *Statue E*, II, 18–20; VI, 13 f.; *Statue H*, III, 1 f.; cf. *Cyl. A*, XXVI, 9.

^dSIN, temples of Sin; cf. Ê-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL, Nannar. II R., 61–48 f.; *PSBA*, XXII, 359, 3. Aššurnāṣirpal built a temple to Sin, *Annals*, II, 135.

Ê-SIPPARA (ZIMBIR), Reisner, *Hym.*, No. 41, rev. 6.

Ê-SIRARA^{ki}, temple of Ninâ, mentioned by Entemena, *Déc. ép.*, XLVIII, III, 7; rebuilt by Gudea, *Statue I*, II, 14–III, 3; *Déc.*, pl. 37, No. 3. From this reference we learn that the temple was in the precinct of Lagaš known as Ninâ; cf. *T-DSA*, 144g; Ê-KISAL-^dSIRARA^{ki}-ŠUM-TA.

Ê-SU(D)-SU(D)-GAR-RA, II R., 61, 13g; cf. Br. 7615 f.

Ê-SU-ŠI-AN-NA, temple of heavenly splendor, II R., 61, 16g.

Ê-SU-ŠI-^dEN-LIL-LI, temple of the splendor of Enlil, II R., 61, 73e.

Ê-SU-ŠI-GUR-RU-E-NE, II R., 61, 75–76e.

Ê-SU-ŠI-ĜUŠ-RI-A, temple clothed with terrible splendor, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 4.

Ê-ŠA(B)-BA, Reisner, *Hym.*, 85, 16.

Ê-ŠA(G)-GI-LID-RU-MIL, II R., 61, 5c.

Ê-ŠA(G)-GUG(UMUN)-GUD, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 26.

^dŠamaš, temples of; cf. Ê-BABBARA. Pudi-ilu built a temple to Šamaš, King, *Annals*, I, 3; Sargon built a shrine to this god and others, *Cyl.* 62; cf. II R., 61, 49 f.; *BA*, V, p. 433, 29 f.; *HL*, 49, 25.

Ê-ŠAR-BI, II R., 61, 21g.

Ê-ŠAR-GUB-AN-NA, temple of heaven of splendor, temple of Nanâ in Erech, Aššurbanipal, *Rassam*, VI, 122-24.

Ê-ŠAR-RA,⁴⁵ Aššurnasirpal brought cedars from Mt. Amanus for this temple, King, *Annals*, I, 374. Esarhaddon calls himself the favorite of Ê-ŠAR-RA, *BA*, III, 287 f., 35; *HL*, 120, 4; 793, 6; Reisner, *Hym.*, 85, 10; Macmillan, *BA*, V, No. xvi. Craig, *RT*; cf. Martin, *Textes religieux*, I, index; I R., 70, IV, 1.

Ê-ŠE-RI-GA, the zigurrat of Dûr-šar-ukîn, Br., 7448; Esarhaddon restored the cult at this temple, *BA*, III, 315 f., rev. 41. In proper name, *HL*, 212, 15.

Ê-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ-E-GA-RA, temple of Ninâ built by Dungi, *Déc.*, pl., 29, No. 4.

Ê-ŠIR-GAL-AN-NA, temple in Lagaš, II R., 61, 37gh.

Ê-ŠITI-DU, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 17; cf. Br. 5988.

Ê-ŠU-BU-LAL, II R., 61, 12b.

Ê-ŠU-^dEN-LIL-LI, temple of the power of Enlil, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 3.

Ê-ŠU-GA-DU-DU, the zigurrat of Ur, II R., 50, 18ab.

^dŠU-GU, temple of, Scheil, *ES*, I, 59 f.; cf. *T-DSA*, 176a.

Ê-ŠU-IB, temple of Nin-lil at Nippur, built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 6, 90826.

Ê-ŠU-LAḪ-ḪA-TUM-MA, temple of Nin-šar, *PSBA*, XXII, 362, 13.

Ê-ŠU-ME-DU, Reisner, *Hym.*, No. 47, *et passim*; Craig, *RT*, 57; *BA*, V, 574.

Ê-ŠU-NE, II R., 61, 1h.

Ê-ŠU-SIG-GA, part of the temple of Nin-šaḫ(?), built by Rîm-sin, *Déc.*, pl., 41, 35; part of the temple of Nin-e-gal(?), *KB*, III¹, 96, No. 5. Winckler suggests nudunnû, Br. 4418, in

⁴⁵ Cf. Jensen, *Kos.*, and *KB*, VII, 344.

interpreting the names. Is it possible that the ÊLTÊK sign, Br., 4442, is meant? Cf. Br. 7155, 7156.

ÊŠušinak, temple of, cf. KI-AZAG-NUN-NA.

Ê-TEMEN-AN-KI, temple of the foundation of heaven and earth, the ziggurrat of Ê-SAGILA. Nabopolassar, *OBI*, No. 84; Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, III, 15 f.; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 34, 35; *PSBA*, XI, 160, I, 38; V R., 34, I, 53, 54; *Grot.*, I, 39 f.; *OBI*, No. 85; I R., 51, No. 1, I, 23 f.; *Wâdi Brisa*, IIa, 13.

Ê-TEMEN-NI-IL, temple of Nannar in Ur, built by Ur-engur, *CT*, XXI, 7, 90000; *ibid.*, 8, 30051; Arad-sin rebuilt the temple, Lenormant, *Choix*, No. 67.

Ê-TI(L)-LA, temple of life, a temple of Gula in Borsippa, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 54, 55; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 41 f.; *Wâdi Brisa*, VI, 32 f.

Ê-TIN-NA, temple of life, II R., 61, 19c.

Ê-TUK-ŠIT-KUR-RA, *BA*, V, 537.

Ê-ṬU(N)-GAL, II R., 61, 12g.

Ê-TUR-KALAM-MA, temple of the fold of the nations, cf. Ê-AMAŠ-KALAM-MA; II R., 61, 17g. In a Ḥammurabi date, King, *LIH*, 238. Šamaš-šum-ukîn, (Lehmann) pl. XXIII; Chronicle of Nabonidus, rev., 6 f.; Craig, *RT*, 19, 14, which shows that this was an Ištar temple, as does also the Ḥammurabi reference.

Ê-UB-A-RA-AL-LI, temple of the region of the under world, *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 13.

Ê-UB-IMIN; cf Ê-PA.

Ê-UD-DIM , *PSBA*, XXII, 370, B 10.

Ê-UD-GAL, *BA*, II, 481, 17.

Ê-UD-GAL-GAL, temple of Adad in Ẕarḫar, Ḥammurabi, *CH*, III, 57 f.; Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, 15.

Ê-UD-TA-AŠ, Reisner, *Hym.*, 73, 18.

Ê-UD-UL, abode of Marduk and Sarpanitum, Craig, *RT*, 109; *BA*, V, 375, 381.

Ê-UL-LA, temple of Nin-karrag (Gula) in Sippar, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *Neb. Winckl.*, III, 13 f.; *PSBA*, XI, 196, II, 48 f.; *ZA*, II, 169 f., I, 33 f.

Ê-UL-MAŠ, temple of Ištar-Innina of Agade, built according to Nabonidus in the time of Sargon and Narâm-sin (I R., 69, II, 29 f.).

Hammurabi cared for this temple, *CH*, IV, 45 f.⁴⁶ Kurigalzu, Esarhaddon, and Nebuchadrezzar, again on the authority of Nabonidus, made unsuccessful attempts to find the ancient platform-foundation. The workmen of Nabonidus labored in the trenches for three years, but reported failure to locate the old foundation. The rains of two millenniums had evidently left no traces of the ancient foundation. Here col. ii breaks off. Fortunately we have a copy⁴⁷ of an inscription by Kurigalzu concerning the rebuilding of a temple of Innina, lady of Agade, Ê-ME-GALAM-MA. Was this the ziggurrat or some other part of Ê-UL-MAŠ? In Weissbach, *Wādi Brisa*, col. viii, 5 f., which is unfortunately badly broken, Nebuchadrezzar refers to Ištar-Innina of Agade immediately after a reference to Ištar-Innina of Erech. The reference is not to the building of a temple. *Nahr el-Kelb*, col. iii, 13, is a parallel passage, but it is also broken.

Ê-UL-MAŠ of Anunitum of Sippar or of Sippar, of Anunitum. From col. iii (I R., 69), we learn that Nabonidus found the platform-foundation of Ê-UL-MAŠ, together with an inscription of Šagaraktiāš (to be read Šagaraktišur [written bur]iaš), son of Kudur-Bēl. According to this inscription the walls had been in ruins since the time of Zabum. From V R., 64, III, 22 f., we learn that no king had rebuilt this temple since the time of Šagaraktišuriaš, that is, for a period of eight hundred years.

In view of the fact that in col. ii of I R., 69, the goddess of Ê-UL-MAŠ is Ištar-Innina, while in col. iii of the same inscription her name is invariably Anunitum of Sippar, it seems best to assume that different temples are meant. When one reads over the history of the two temples as sketched above, this conclusion seems to be justified. There is but one reference known to me, where Anunitum, Agade and Ê-UL-MAŠ are mentioned together, *Šurpu* II, 169, 170. This may reopen the question of the twin-cities, Sippar and Akkad (Agade) of Delitzsch's *Paradies*, 209 f.; cf. Hommel,

⁴⁶ The sign for Ištar in I R., 69, II, 48, is Br. 3050, the NINNI sign, Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*⁴, No. 76, 62b. The latter sign is never made like ri. Both 76 and 62b are late forms of *REC*, 294. Dr. Mode, in his dissertation submitted to the faculty of Semitic Languages of The University of Chicago, shows that the sign used in the Code is to be read Aš-dar, that is, Ištar.

⁴⁷ The note on the copy of the inscription reads: (The Inscription) which the scribe Nabū-zēr-lišir saw on a brick of the bit-akīti which is in Agade, in the seventh month of the eighth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and copied.

Geo., 341; *KAT*³, 423. In IV R., 36, No. 1, col. ii, 20 f., there is a list of cities of Northern Babylonia, Sippar, Old-Sippar, Maradda, Kisallu, Ul-maš, Agade, etc. Jensen in *ZA*, XV, 219, suggests that Ul-maš was the quarter in Agade in which the temple stood. Proper names: especially interesting is Ulmašitum, Ranke, *Personal Names*, p. 208.

Ê-U-NAM-TI(L)-LA, perhaps the temple of the plant of life, the temple of Nin-in-si-na, rebuilt after it had long been in ruins, by Arad-sin, *CT*, I, 96-4-4, 2. Cf. E-^dNin-si-in-na.

Ê-UNU(G)^{ki}, temple of Erech, *Déc. ép.*, L, No, 5.

Ê-^dURaš ša Dilbat, temple of Uraš of Dilbat, II R., 61, 51e; cf. Ê-I-DE-^dA-NUM.

Ê-UNU-NI-SAG-MAḪ, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 16.

Ê-^(ur)UR *PSBA*, XXII, 370, 11.

Ê-UR-IMIN-AN-KI, temple of the seven messengers of heaven and earth, the ziggurrat of Ê-ZIDA, in Borsippa, restored by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, III, 67-69; *Neb. Ball* (*PSBA*, XI, 160), I, 39; I R., 51, No. 1, I, 27 f.

Ê-UR-SAG, *PSBA*, XXII, 370, 3.

Ê-URU^{ki}, *CT*, IX, 20011, obv. 16, and in Reisner, *TU*.

Ê-URU+A, a temple (?), Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XXIII, 30.

Ê-URU-AZAG-GA, the temple of the precinct Uru-azag of Lagaš, temple of Bau, *Déc.*, pl. 8, IV, 3 f.; temple of Gatumdug, *T-DSA*, 140q; cf. II R., 61, 16c, and perhaps *ibid.*, 14a.

Ê-URU-NA-NAM, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 24.

Ê-UŠ-GID-DA, and Ê-UŠ-GID-DA-GID-DA, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 17, 18.

Ê-U-ZU, temple of the seer,⁴⁸ *PSBA*, XXII, 367, 12.

Ê-^dZA-MA-MA, temple of Z, in Kiš, II R., 61, 52fg.

Ê-ZI-BA-TI(L)-LA, temple of Gula in Borsippa, rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, *EIH*, IV, 52 f.; *Neb. Winckl.*, II, 44 f.; *Wādi Brisa*, X, 5 f.

Ê-ZI(D)-DA, bīt kēni, eternal temple, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa. Almost always mentioned together with Ê-SAGILA.⁴⁹ Cared for by Ḫammurabi, *CH*, III, 15; King, *LIH*, III, 196 f.,

⁴⁸ That is, the one who knows plants, cf. a-zu, n i-zu, me-zu, in Zimmern, *BBR*, p. 82.

⁴⁹ Only the most important references are therefore given here.

192 f., 254. Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Lehmann) see index; *BA*, II, 258 f., col. ii. Nabopolassar; *OBI*, No. 84, I, 18. Nebuchadrezzar restored Ê-ZIDA, *EIH*, I, 19, III, 36 f.; VII, 5 f.; *Neb. Winckl.*, I, 14, 31, 36 f.; *PSBA*, XI, 196 f.; *ibid.*, 160, 161; V R., 34, especially I, 55 f.; *Grot.*, especially II, 18 f.; I R., 52, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; I R., 51, Nos. 1, 2; I R., 8, No. 4; *Wādī Brisa*, I, 20. Neriglissar, I R., 67; *PSBA*, X. Nabonidus, V R., 63; *Chronicle*, col. ii, 7, 8, 12. Antiochus, V R., 66. Ê-ZIDA, in Calah, built by Aššuretililāni, I R., 8, No. 3. Ê-ZIDA in Nineveh, *PSBA*, XXIII, 90.

Ê-ZI-KALAM-MA, temple of the soul of life, temple of Innina at Ḫallab, built by Ḫammurabi, King, *LIH*, III, 184.

Ê ZU-GAL-KALAM-MA, *PSBA*, XXII, 365, 10.



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A NEO-BABYLONIAN CATALOGUE OF HYMNS

By D. D. LUCKENBILL

The University of Chicago

It is a well-known fact that the Babylonians, as well as the Sumerians, gathered their religious literature into series of texts which in turn made up larger groups.¹ The best-known series of religious texts are the *Maḫlû* texts published by Tallqvist, the *Šurpu* series by Zimmern, the *Labartu* texts by Myrhman, and the *Utukki Limnûti*, *Ašakki Maršûti*, and *Ṭi'i* texts published by Thompson. But a glance at the index volume (V) of the *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* will show that these series constitute but a small part of the religious literature of the Babylonians. By far the largest group of texts there catalogued are the omen-texts, of which there are many series. Thus we know of at least one hundred and six tablets in a series called *Enuma alu ina milî isakan*, and at least nineteen in a series known as *Enuma ana bît marši*. The latter series is subdivided into texts *Enuma marši*, and *Enuma maḥra*. Another large group is made up of many series of astrological tablets, *Enuma kakkab Bêl*, *Enuma Sin ina Tamartišu*, etc. The mythological texts are also grouped into series. We have the series of twelve tablets called *Ša naḫbi imuru*, a series which we know best as the *Gilgameš Epic*. The series which contains the Babylonian account of the creation was known to the Babylonians as *Enuma eliš*.²

These groups and series of tablets were not the product of one age, nor did they form the library of any one particular temple or individual, but they are the result of a long process of collecting and editing.³ A series of tablets was written for, and used in the

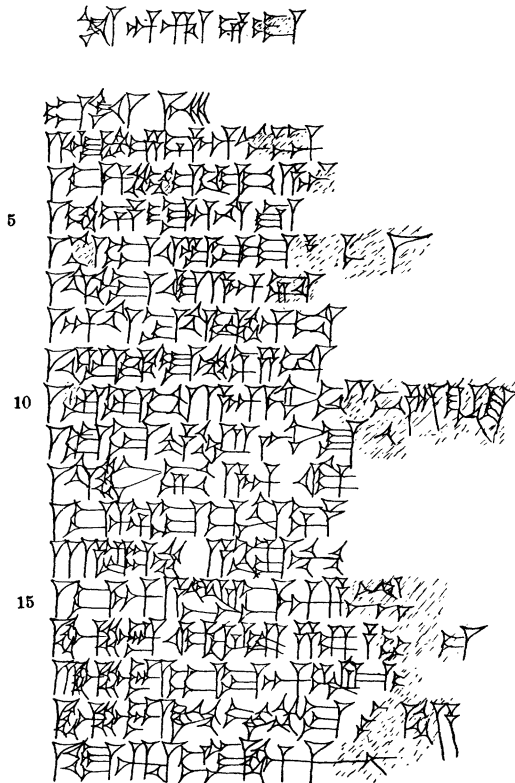
¹ So for example the different series URU-A-ŠE-IR, URU-ḪUL-A-GE, etc., of the *Sumerische h-Babylonische Hymnen* published by Reisner, make up the larger groups ER-ŠEM-MA, ER-ŠAB KU-MAL, etc. According to Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. ix, "the Sumerians classified the hymns for public service not according to content but according to the instrument used for the music."

² Cf. Vol. V, p. xxii of the *Catalogue*.

³ Such as is recognized in the evolution of the Homeric poems.

ritual of one temple, and later the priests of other temples would adapt these texts for their temples and incorporate them into their rituals. This process has been discussed by Jastrow⁴ and Langdon.⁵ Of individual collectors Aššurbanipal is of course the great example.

THE H. CLARK CYLINDER



The text here published is a catalogue of the tablets found in the library of some temple or individual. The small number of texts catalogued makes the latter alternative more probable. The collection consisted of twenty-one texts belonging to seventeen different series. There were two texts from each of two series, three from another series, and one apiece from fourteen other

⁴ *Religion*, p. 269.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. xvi f.

series. Two of the series here recorded have been known from the *Hymnen* published by Reisner, namely the AMA-E BARA-AN-NA-RA and UD-DAM KI-ÀM(A-AN)-UŠ series of ll. 5 and 7.⁶ These series as well as another, URU-BA LAḤ-EL-LAL-NI-KU, are also found in the lists published in IV R. p. 53.⁷

The catalogue is written on a clay cylinder,⁸ about one inch in diameter and two inches high,⁹ the text running along the cylinder, not around it. Unfortunately the ends of the lines, some of which run over on the end of the cylinder, are badly rubbed, so that the readings here are doubtful. It is of course impossible to attempt any restorations in a text in which each line is distinct from the others. The catalogue is written in a clear neo-Babylonian script.

TRANSLITERATION

1. ENIM-DINGIR-RI-E AD(?)
DUBBA-ENIM-MEŠ
- 2 U-MU-UN-E AN-NA-RA
1 E-ZID-DÊ DUG-GA-ÀM(A-AN)
5. 1 AMA-E BARA-AN-NA-RA
1 KI-EŠ ḤUL BA-AD(?) - -
1 UD-DAM KI-ÀM(A-AN)-UŠ
1 DINGIR-BABBAR ŠU-UD-DA-IM-GIN
1 ḤUL GAL-LA MU-UN-GIN
10. 1 DIB-DIB TA-A-AN ME-NI-IŠ(?)—(?) -DINGIR-RA-KI
1 URU-BA LAḤ EL-LAL-NI-KU—
1 UD IN-GA-ÀM(A-AN)-DI
1 E-BAR SI ŠU AL(?) -E
2 A-ABZU-MU A- (?) -MU
15. 1 E-DINGIR-A-MA(?) -RU E-DINGIR-A-
1 IM-GID-DA KI-EL KASKAL ZA-E(?)—(?) -GIŠ
3 IM-GID-DA AB-BA DINGIR-NUSKU(?)—
1 IM-GID-DA ŠÊŠ DIM-MA-(?) -SUN(?)
1 NIN-RI-ŠI(?) IM-PAP(?)

⁶ Reisner, p. xviii.

⁷ Discussed by Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

⁸ In the possession of Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem, Syria, who has kindly permitted its publication.

⁹ Unfortunately my measurements in cms. have been lost.

L. 1. "Prayer, or word addressed (?) to God." The first sign is probably *nim*, to be read *ENIM* for *INIM*. It is possible that the sign is to be read differently, but its use in the title of the catalogue, as well as in the sub-title, l. 2, makes the reading suggested probable. It is hardly probable that we have in this line the title of a larger group made up of the tablets selected from the different series which follow. The last sign is doubtful.

L. 2. "Tablet of the prayers?" For a discussion of the "word" of the gods, see Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. xix f.

L. 3. *U-MU-UN*=*bêlu* or *ekimmu*, Br. 9475 f. The former meaning is more probable here. Perhaps the series was entitled "To the lord who has gone on high." All the translations suggested are provisional. Even in the series which are known from the hymns published by Reisner, the translation of the titles is difficult. When we know nothing of the nature of the series whose titles we have, the translation of these titles is still more difficult. There were two hymns from this series in the collection.

L. 4. *E-ZID-DÊ*, cf. Br. 2360. Perhaps the same as *E-ZID-DA* of Borsippa.¹⁰ *AM*, verbal prefix. "*E-ZID-DÊ*, eternal temple it is called." It is possible that the same series was mentioned in IV R. 53, col. ii, 12.

L. 5. Reisner, *Hymnen*, p. xvii, translates this into Semitic as *rimû* (for *rimu*) *ina parakki-šu*, "to the bull in his shrine." *AMA*=*'rimu'* is of course to be understood as figuratively equivalent to *bêlu*, Br. 4543.¹¹ This series, which consisted of six tablets concerning Nippur, has been translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f. Lines 3 f. of the fourth tablet, p. 112, are particularly interesting in that they contain references to the god as the "bull that overwhelms," *GUD SUN-E*. The bull as image of the deity is common in Semitic religion. This series is also mentioned in IV R. 53, col. i, 14. A similar series may be seen in *ibid.*, ll. 7 and 37, *AMA-E AMAŠ-AN-NA-[RA]*, *ana rimu ina supûrišu*.

¹⁰ Cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 321.

¹¹ Cf. The temple *Ê AM-KUR KUR-RA*. *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 293.

L. 6. "Where evil has . . . a house." The end of the line containing the verb cannot be deciphered.

L. 7. UD-DAM KI-ÀM(A-AN)-UŠ, translated by ša ki-ma ûmu šur-šu-du, "which like the day is founded."¹² The known texts of this series are translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 f. Langdon translates ûmu as "spirit."¹³ From IV R. 53, col. i, 6 and 36, we see that this title was also written UD-DAM KI-ÀM (A-AN)-MU-UŠ.

L. 8. "The sun god who brings the light." This was either a series of hymns to Šamaš, or is to be regarded as similar to the series DINGIR-BABBAR-DÍM È-TA of IV R. 53, col. i, 5 and 35.¹⁴

L. 9. "He has come bringing evil (?)."

L. 10. DIB-DIB, cf. Br. 10727 f. TA-A-AN=kima. ME-NI, verbal affix, perhaps imperative. The last three signs are on the end of the cylinder.

L. 11. "In the city a light in its brightness."

L. 12. IN-GA-ÀM(A-AN) is verbal prefix, DI probably šalâmu.

L. 13. This line is very difficult. šu seems to be the correct reading of the fourth sign, cf. šu in l. 8. But the fifth sign is doubtful, perhaps AL or GIŠ-NA.

L. 14. "Water of (?) my ABZU, water of (?) my" The ABZU was part of ancient temples; cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, 292, under E-ABZU.¹⁵ This ABZU or apsû, 'sea,' was probably the basin or pool in the court of the temple where the worshipers performed their ablutions. It is interesting to notice that the large basin in the court of Solomon's temple was also called a "sea" (I Kings 7:23 f.). The second sign from the end is not known to me. Is it perhaps a form of DAM and to be connected with the E-DAM of the older temples?¹⁶ There were two texts from this series in the collection.

L. 15. Perhaps "Temple of Marduk;" but the reading MA is doubtful.

¹² Cf. Reisner, No. 4, l. 2.

¹³ Cf. his discussion of ûmu, "spirit," p. 98, note 7.

¹⁴ A tablet from this series, "Arise like the sun," is translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 f.

¹⁵ There was a series of hymns called E-ABZU-TA; cf. IV R. 53, col. iii, 10.

¹⁶ Cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, 299.

L. 16. IM-GID-DA = "šâru kabtu;" KI-EL, "ardatu;" but the connection between these words and KASKAL, "ḥarrânu" and the remainder of the line is not clear. A series IM-KUR-RA A-AN-GE is mentioned in IV R. 53, col. ii, 36.

L. 17. AB-BA = "abû." The readings after DINGIR are doubtful. There were three tablets from this series in the collection.

L. 18. ŠÊŠ = "aḥu;" DIM-MA, "šarru."

L. 19. The third sign is probably ṣi and the last, on the end of the cylinder, probably PAP; but the connection is obscure.



Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names

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SOME HITTITE AND MITANNIAN PERSONAL NAMES

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In *OLZ*, 1906, 588 f., Bork has discussed the Mitanni names found in the tablets from Nippur published by Clay in *BE*, XIV and XV; and in *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 8 f., Ungnad has taken up similar names found in the tablets from Dilbat. Ungnad has made use of the Hittite names found in the el-Amarna letters, but only for the sake of comparison. It is the purpose of this article to discuss some of the non-Semitic, that is, the Hittite-Mitannian personal names found in the el-Amarna letters, comparing them with the new names Winckler has published in his preliminary report of his excavations at Boghaz-köi in *MDOG*, 35. To the list will also be added the Hittite names found in the inscriptions of Ramses II.*

Abdi-Ḫe-pa of Jerusalem, Kn. 285 f. There is much to be said in favor of Winckler's suggestion that the first part of the name should probably be read "mitanish" instead of Semitic (*MDOG*, 35, p. 48). Cf. the names Gilu-Ḫepa, Pudu-Ḫepa, Tatu-Ḫepa and a name ending on [Ḫ]e-pa, Kn. 48. Ḫepa was a Hittite goddess.

A-bu-Tešup, also written Abbi-Tešup, son (?) of Tušratta, mentioned in the tablets from Boghaz-köi, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 38 f. Cf. Aki-Tešup, below, and the name Abi-martu (Amurru?), *MDOG*, 35, p. 44.

A-ki-ia, Kn. 30, 3, etc. Probably a shortened form of the following; ia is a hypocoristic affix of both Babylonian† and Mitanni proper names. Cf. Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 10 f., A-gi-Tešup and A-gi-ia, Aḫ-li-Tešup and Aḫ-li-ia, A-ri-Tešup and A-ri-ia etc. Akia, king of Arachti, is mentioned in a tablet translated by Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, p. 34.

*Translated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III.

†Cf. Ranke, *Personal Names*, pp. 11 f.

A-ki-Tešup,* Kn. 59, 15 f. Ak(i)=bring; Tešup is the well-known Hittite-Mitannian god. Names compounded with Tešup are frequent in the literature of the Cassite period; cf. Clay, *BE*, XIV, XV, and Bork, *OLZ*, 1906, 588 f., Agi-Tešup, Ari-Tešup, Umbi-Tešup, Turari-Tešup, Hut-Tešup, Nan-Tešup, Sili-Tešup, Urhi-Tešup, Hašme-Tešup, Kil-Tešup. In the tablets discovered by Winckler at Boghaz-köi other examples have been found; see, Šama-Tešup, Manapa-Tešup, Ini-Tešup. Cf. also the city name Tešup-Tašša, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28. The name of the messenger of Khetasar (Hattusil) to Ramses II is written T²-r²-ty-š-bw in hieroglyphic, which would probably appear in cuneiform as Tur-Tešup; see below.

A-ki-iz-zi of Katna, Kn. 52. The first part of this name is the same as that of the preceding names. Names with a similar ending are Si-iz-zi-i and Si-is-si, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 15, and perhaps Ka-ni-is-si, Pa-pa-as-si, Ki-ir-ba-as-si, of C. B. M. 3474, quoted by Bork in *OLZ*, 1906, 590. Cf. also Pirizzi.

Alakšandu of Arzawa, contemporary of Hattusili, *MDOG*, 35, p. 41.

A-ma-ia-še, Kn. 202. The ending še is found in the Mitanni names of the Nippur texts, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590, A-gab-še and Ša-ba-aš-še.

A-nu-wa-an-za, a scribe, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28.

Ar-nu-an-ta, "the great king, son of Dudḫalia." Cf. Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, p. 29.

Ar-ta-ma-an-ia, Kn. 201. The ia is hypocoristic ending, the ar probably ar(i)=give, found in many Mitanni names, Ari-Tešup, etc. The element man seems to occur also in Rušmania, see below, and in the Cassite king's name Kadaš-man-Turgu.

Ar-ta-ta-a-ma, Kn. 29 f., the grandfather of Tušratta; also the name of the brother of Tušratta; see Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f. For a similar ending, cf. Etagama.

Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra, brother of Tušratta, mentioned in Kn. 17, 11 f.

*Once written A-bu-Tešup in *MDOG*, 35, p. 34. Probably a scribal error.

[Ar-t]e-eš-šu-pa, Kn. 29, 173, a messenger of Tušratta to Amenhotep IV, also mentioned in the letter in the Mitanni language,* col. IV, 36, together with Kili-ia and Asali. Cf. names under Aki-Tešup, above; and the names collected by Bork, *op. cit.*, 599, A-ri-par-ni, A-ri-ia-enni, A-ri-ḫa-am-rum, A-ri-la-lum, A-ri-ba-ni, A-ri-ia-am-ma, A-ri-na-zu-rum, A-ri-ḫir-me, A-ri-ku-ša; also A-ri-ia, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 10.

Ar-za-ia, Kn. 289, 6, Ar-za-u-ia, Kn. 53, 36; 62, 27, Ar-za-wi-ia, Kn. 191. Cf. Ak-ku-ú-ia, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 11.

A-sa-li, Kn. 29, 173, messenger of Tušratta to Amenhotep IV, mentioned together with Artešupa; see above.

A-ta-mu, Kn. 32, 1. In a letter in the Arzawa language.

Ba-ia-di, Kn. 238. Hittite?

[Ba]-ia-wa, Kn. 215. Hittite?

Banti-šinni, Bi-en-te-ši-na, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 24 and 45 f. King of Amurru. The element šenni = brother, occurs in the Mitanni names, Agabšenni, Pu-uḫ-še-en-ni, Ip-du-še-en-ni, Ḫu-di-ti-še-en-ni, Lu-ap-še-en-ni, Ta-kil-še-en-ni, Še-en-ni-ka, cf. Bork, *op. cit.*, 588, also I-ri-še-en-ni and Še-na-til-la of *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 13 f. The ending probably also occurs in the Hittite name R²-b²-sw-n-n²; see below.

Bar-ḫu-i-lu-wa, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

D-r²-d-n-y, chief of Kheta, *BAR*, III, § 349. The ending of this name seems to be the same as that of the Mitanni names, A-ri-ia-en-ni, Ki-ik-ki-ia-en-ni, Šer-zi-ia-en-ni, etc., Bork, *op. cit.*, 588 f.; note especially Di-ik-di-en-ni.

Du-ud-ḫa-li-ia, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 27 f., son of Ḫattusili.

o-g-m, Hittite chief of archers, *BAR*, III, § 337. The name probably would be written Egama in cuneiform; cf. the following.

E-ta-ga-ma, Kn. 151, 59, also written E-da-ga-ma, Kn. 175, 176, E-tak-ka-ma, Kn. 189 f., and A-i-ṭu-ga-ma, Kn. 53 f. Aitakama is mentioned in the Boghaz-köi tablets, *MDOG*, 35, p. 35. There is a land Ḫa-pal-la-ma mentioned in a text quoted in *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

* Bork, *die Mitannisprache*, p. 114.

Gi-li-ia,* Kn. 19, etc. Probably a shortened form of Gi-lu-Tešup; cf. BA, VI, 5, p. 10, Gi-el-Tešup, and Ki-li-Tešup, Ki-li-ia; cf. also Gilu-Ḫepa.

Gi-lu-Ḫe-pa, Kn. 17, 5 f., sister of Tušratta and wife of Amenhotep III. Cf. names under Abdi-Ḫepa, above, and perhaps the following.

G-r-b²-tw-s², Hittite charioteer, BAR, III, § 337. The first part of this name may have read Gilu in cuneiform, but Gir is also possible; cf. Ki-ir-ba-as-si, of the Nippur text, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590. .

Ḫy-r²-p²-s²-r², a Hittite scribe, BAR, III, § 337. The first part of this name, as well as that of the following, is the same as the city-name Aleppo, Ḫy-r²-p², BAR, III, § 386, cuneiform Ḫalpa, while the element s²-r² is probably to be read si-li in cuneiform; cf. Ḫattu-sili.

Ḫal-pa-aš-šu-lu-bi, son of Mursili, MDOG, 35, p. 19.

Ḫa-at-tu-si-li, Hittite king, brother of preceding; *ibid.*, p. 19, and elsewhere. In hieroglyphic this name appears as Ḫ-t²-s²-r², BAR, III, § 373 f.

Ḫi-bi-ia, Kn. 178; cf. Agi-ia, Aḫ-li-ia, Ari-ia, etc.

Ini-Tešup, king of Carchemish, MDOG, 35, p. 28; cf. In-Šušinak, Bork, *die Mitannisprache*, p. 81, where Mitanni en is compared with Elamite in. This name shows that the element was also Hittite. Winckler compares this name with that of Eni-el of Hamath of the time of Tiglath-pileser III.

Ir-ša-ap-pa, Kn. 31, 11 f., messenger of Tarḫundarauš.

I-u-ni, Kn. 26, 60, wife of Tušratta.

[Ḫa-t]i-ḫu-ti-šu-pa, Kn. 58. The first part of the name as given by Knudtzon is very doubtful; in the second element we probably have the name of the god Tešup; cf. names under Aki-Tešup, above.

Ḫy-r²-[ḫy-š²], Hittite chief, BAR, III, § 349. Cf. Ki-li-ia, under Gi-li-ia.

K²-my-t², Hittite chief, BAR, III, § 337. The ending of this name may be -azi; cf. references under Naḫramašši. Winckler, MDOG, 35, p. 28, has a name Kam(?) -ma-li-ia.

*Sachau. Bemerkungen zu Cilicischen Eigennamen, ZA, VII, p. 98, compares this name with Γιάλις, Γαλίων, Γαλλίων.

Lab-ba-ia, Kn. 32, and in many other letters. The ending -ia has already been discussed under Aki-ia, above; the first part of the name probably occurs as an element of the following names.

R²-b²-yw-r, *BAR*, III, §337. The name would probably read La-ba-i(?) -li in cuneiform.

R²-b²-sw-n-n², Hittite chief of archers, *BAR*, III, §337. If the name ends on šenni, as suggested above under Banti-šenni, it would appear in cuneiform as La-ba-še-en-ni. This would show that šenni = brother is also Hittite as well as Mitannian.

Li-e-ia, Kn. 162, 70, perhaps Hittite.

Ma-an-ia, Kn. 162, 73. Not to be confused with the Egyptian name, Mane. Cf. Artamania, above.

Ma-na-pa-Tešup, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19; cf. names under Aki-Tešup, above.

My-t²-ry-m², *BAR*, III, §337. For the ending cf. perhaps A-ri-ḫir-me, Pir-me, Šad-dir-me or Si-il-me, Šu-kul-me, Ku-gul-mé (Bork, *op. cit.*, 590).

Mattiuaza, son of Tušratta, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 36 f. Cf. Nam-ia-wa-zi.

Ma-zi-pa-a-at-li, Kn. 29, 156. Messenger of Tušratta. The next to the last sign is uncertain.

Mursili, Hittite king, written in hieroglyphic M-r²-s²-r², *BAR*, III, §373 f.; cf. Ḫattusili. The name occurs frequently in the tablets from Boghaz-köi, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 17 f.

Muttallu (Mu-w-at-ta-al-li) brother of foregoing, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 17 f. Written Mw-t²-n-r² in hieroglyphic, *BAR*, III, §374 f. Cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 99, Mo[τ]άλης.

Na-aḫ-ra-ma-aš-ši, Kn. 21, 33, messenger of Tušratta. Cf. Ša-ba-aš-še, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590, and perhaps *ibid.*, Kirbassi, etc.

Nam-ia-wa-zi, Kn. 194 f., son of Šutarna, also written, Nam-ia-[z]a, Kn. 53, 34. Cf. Mattiuaza, above.

Py-d-s², Hittite chief, *BAR*, III, §349; for the ending cf. the following.

P²-y-s², Hittite charioteer, *BAR*, III, §337. In cuneiform

the name would probably read Paiassi; cf. following, and Pa-passi, Kirbassi, above under Akizzi.

Pi-ri-iz-zi, Kn. 27, 89 f., messenger of Tušratta. His name appears in a hieratic note on the left edge of the tablet as P-y-r²-t². For the form of the name cf. examples under Akizzi, above.

Pu-du-Ḫepa, Hittite queen, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 27 f. Cf. names under Abdi-Ḫepa above. In hieroglyphic this name appears as Pw-tw-ḫy-p², *BAR*, III, §391.

Ru-uṣ-ma-an-ia, the "man" of Šaruna, Kn. 241. Cf. Artamania.

Sa-uš-ša-tar, the founder of the dynasty in which Tušratta of the el-Amarna letters was the fourth (?) king, *MDOG*, 35, p. 37. Winckler, *ibid.*, p. 52, points out the fact that the second part of the name is Aryan. It is extremely probable that many of the names we now regard as Hittite or Mitannian will turn out to be composed of Indo-Germanic elements. So the names of the kings of this dynasty, Artatama, Artasumara, Šutarna; Tušratta and Mattiuaza are probably to be regarded as Aryan (Iranian); so E. Meyer, *das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte, Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. preuss. Akad.*, 1908, pp. 14 f.

S²-my-r²-tw-s², *BAR*, III, §337. The ending may be -tassi or -tašša; cf. names under Akizzi, Naḫramašši, and Tešup-tašša.

^dSin-^dTešup, son of Zi-da-a, *MDOG*, 35, 19 f. Cf. Aki-Tešup, above.

Subbiluliuma, written so in the tablets from Boghaz-köi, *MDOG*, 35, and Šu-ub-bi-[l]u-li-u-ma, in Kn. 41, Hittite king, whose name appears in the inscriptions of Ramses II, as S²-p²-rw-rw, *BAR*, III, §§373 f. Cf. the following.

S²-p²-t²-r², "brother of the vanquished chief of Kheta," *BAR*, III, §337. The first part of the name is the same as the preceding; the name probably ended on -zali, or -zili.

Ša-bi-li, Amorite king, *MDOG*, 35, p. 44.

Šama-Tešup, son of Aitakama of Kinza, *MDOG*, 35, p. 41.

Ša-ti-ia, the "man" of ———, Kn. 187. Perhaps a Hittite name; cf. Aki-ia, etc.

Šu-tar-na, of Mušihuna, Kn. 182 f. In *MDOG*, 35, pp. 35 f., the name occurs as Sutarna and Sutatarra; in hieroglyphic, S²-ty-r-n², *BAR*, II, § 867 f.

Šu-ta-at-na, son of Šaratum of Akko, Kn. 8, 19. This name is probably Hittite, in spite of the fact that his father bears a good Semitic name.

Šu-wa-ar-da-ta, Kn. 278 f., also written Šu-ar-da-tum, Kn. 290, 6, a writing due to the similarity of the name to Semitic names on -atum. The name is probably Aryan. The ending -atum is discussed by Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

T²-d²-r², Hittite chief, *BAR*, III, § 337.

Ta-gi, Kn. 264 f., perhaps Hittite; see the following.

Ty-y²-dw-r², Hittite chief of the bodyguard, *BAR*, III, § 337. This name and T²-d²-r² both end on what would probably appear in cuneiform as -dili. Is this ending the same as that found in such names as Hudib-tilla, Aškut-tilla, Šurki-tilla, etc., cf. *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 14 f.?

Ta-ku, the grandfather of Addu-nirari, set up as king in Nuḥašše by the Pharaoh, Kn. 51. The name occurs in the tablets from Boghaz-köi as

Ta-ku-wa, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 34 f., king of Nī.

Ty-r²-g²-n-n²-s², Hittite charioteer, *BAR*, III, § 337. The name of the Hittite god Tarḫu or Tarku occurs in the personal names not only of Asia Minor, but in Cassite names, and, in the west, in such Etruscan names as Tarquinius. In the Cassite names it appears as Turgu, e.g., Kadašman-Turgu. We have Cilician names compounded with Τροκο, Ταρκο, and Ταρκυ, e.g., Τροκοζαρμας, Ταρκονδημος, Ταρκυαρις, etc., and the common name Τεύκρος; cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 f. Tar-ḫu-la-ra, king of Gurgum, contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, and Sargon; Tar-ḫu-na-zi king of Melitene, time of Sargon, are other examples, *ibid.*, pp. 91 f. In the Mitanni names from Nippur (cf. Bork, *op. cit.*, 589), we have the name Tar-ku-a-pu. The name given as DAR-ḪU-nūr²-gab-ba, by Radau, *BE*, XVII, pt. 1, p. 146, is also a compound with Tarḫu. It will be seen that the name Ty-r²-g²-n-n²-s² is almost exactly the same as that of Tar-ḫu-na-zi, king of Melitene, quoted above. The ending is the same

as that of Pa-pa-as-si, Ki-ir-ba-as-si, etc., see under Akizzi, above. Cf. the following.

Ty-r²-g²-ty-t-t²-s², Hittite chief of archers, *BAR*, III, §337.

Tar-ga-aš-na-al-li, contemporary of Mursili, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

Tar-ḫu-un-da-ra-uš, Kn. 31. Knudtzon's reading Tar-ḫundarāba must be corrected, as the tablets from Boghaz-köi show, *MDOG*, 30, p. 40.

Ta-aš-šu, mentioned in a letter to Amenhotep III, Kn. 56, 16. The context does not permit one to determine anything definite about him, but that his name is Hittite may follow from a comparison with such names as Ša-ba-aš-še, Sana-šu, Zari-šu, Sira-šu, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590.

Ta-tu-Ḫe-pa, Kn. 23, 7, etc., daughter of Tušratta, wife of Amenhotep III. Cf. names under Abdi-Ḫepa above.

Ta-wa-aš-ši-(?) name of a woman mentioned on a Hittite seal, *MDOG*, 35, p. 29. Cf. Tešup-tašši, a city name, *ibid.*, p. 28.

Te-Tešup, also written Du-Tešup, king of Amurru, mentioned in the Boghaz-köi tablets, *MDOG*, 35, p. 43. Cf. Aki-Tešup, above.

Te-u-wa-at-ti of Lapana, Kn. 53, 65 f.

T²-w²-t²-s², chief of T²-ny-s², *BAR*, III, §373. The name may be equivalent in cuneiform to Te-wa-ta-si, or Zu-za-si; cf. Zu-zu-ia, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 11.

Tu-ḫi, or perhaps, Pir-ḫi, Kn. 17, 12.

Tum-ni-ip-ib-ri, messenger of Tušratta, Kn. 17, 47. The first element of the name is that of the city, Tunip. Cf. Ḫal-pašulubi and Ḫy-r²-p²-s²-r² above, in which the city name Aleppo is a component part.

Tu-ur-ba-zu, Kn. 288, 41. Whether this name is Hittite or not is uncertain. Cf. the following.

T²-r²-ty-ś-bu, messenger of Khetasar (Ḫattusili) to Ramses II, *BAR*, III, §371. The second element of this name is clearly Tešup; cf. names under Aki-Tešup; but the first element T²-r²- is uncertain. Perhaps it is to be read Tur in cuneiform, and in that case the preceding name Tu-ur-ba-zu, would

perhaps be a parallel. In Kn. 170, 37 occurs a name Tur-a-na, but in a group of Semitic names, and Winckler's reading Ben-a-na, adopted by Knudtson is probably correct; cf. Ben(tur)-a-zi-mi, Kn. 120, 32, and Dumu(tur)-ia, Kn. 254, 31. The name may also be equivalent to Til-Tešup in cuneiform. The element til(-la) occurs as second element in a number of names; cf. *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 13 f.

Tu-u-ia, Kn. 162, 69. Perhaps Hittite and to be compared with Teuwatti.

Tu-uš-rat-ta, Mitannian king, Kn. 17 f. Written Tu-iš-e-rat-ta, Kn. 17, 3. Much new information concerning this king has been recovered from the Boghaz-köi tablets, *MDOG*, 35, especially pp. 30 f.

Ur-ḫi-Tešup, son of Muttallu, *MDOG*, 35, p. 20. Cf. Aki-Tešup.

Up-pa-ra-a-a, perhaps Hittite, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28.

Za-ta-at-na of Akko, Kn. 233 f. Cf. Šutatna, above.

Zi-da-a, father of Sin-Tešup, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

Zu-ra-ta of Akko, Kn. 232. The ending of this name is the same as that of the well-known Mitannian king Tušratta.



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THE EARLY RELIGION OF PALESTINE

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In a previous article¹ on this subject we saw that the worship of the earliest period consisted of the slaughtering of a sacrificial animal upon a rock-altar from which the blood of the victim ran down into a cave underneath, to be received by the deities, originally the dead, who dwelt therein. The principal feature of the service at the Canaanitish high-place was the sacrificial meal of which both deity and worshippers partook. We may be sure that the Israelites practiced different kinds of sacrifice before they entered Palestine, but we are equally certain that they soon took over the characteristically agricultural feasts and sacrifices connected with them, which they found in Canaan. We have no certain traces of worship by means of the burnt-offering among the Canaanites; on the other hand it is probable that the burnt-offering was always looked upon as the most fitting sacrifice to Yahweh.

The excavations in Palestine have revealed many traces of another kind of sacrifice common among primitive and fairly advanced peoples, namely, human sacrifice. We have already alluded to the traces of the sacrifice of the first-born at Gezer.² In II Kings 3:27 we read of the sacrifice of his first-born by Mesha, king of Moab, to Chemosh. Ahaz, Manasseh, and other kings of Judah were accused of the same practice. In a cistern at Gezer there was found, together with a number of skeletons, the upper half of the body of "a young girl who had evidently been sawn asunder. The skulls of two other girls, who had been decapitated, were found at the mouth of the same cistern."³ Other evidences of human sacrifice have been found. We naturally think of the offering of captives after a victory. S. A. Cook reminds us that "every war was a 'holy war.' The horrid rites in honor of the gods who fought for their followers are to be traced in Egypt, Assyria,

¹ *Biblical World*, May, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, 300 f.

³ Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights*, 75 f.

and the Old Testament, and even as late as 307 B.C. the Carthaginians after their defeat of Agathocles slew the choicest prisoners 'before the altar in front of the holy tent.' ”⁴

Another form of human sacrifice was the foundation sacrifice. No doubt many of the so-called foundation sacrifices are to be explained as burials in or near houses for the purpose already mentioned.⁵ However, a large number of cases of real foundation sacrifice were found at Gezer, Megiddo, and elsewhere. At Gezer the skeleton of a woman of advanced years was found deposited under the corner of a house.⁶ At Taanach the skeleton of a child about ten years old was discovered at the foot of one of the towers⁷ and similarly at Megiddo the skeleton of a girl of about fifteen was found built into the base of a large tower.⁸ A large number of references to more modern instances of foundation sacrifice are found in Professor Driver's *Modern Research*, 71 f. Although foundation sacrifices continued down into the period of the Israelitish monarchy, it seems that deposits of lamps and bowls took their place in later times. Such deposits were found in City IV at Tell el-Hesi (Lachish), in the fifth and sixth strata at Gezer, and in the other mounds.⁹

Every student of religion recognizes the importance of the religion, or as we sometimes call it, the superstition of the common people. Our idea of the Babylonian religion would be extremely one-sided if we confined our attention to the hymns and prayers of the ritual of the great temples of Enlil, Marduk, and the other great gods, but neglected the semi-official priests, diviners, and witch-doctors. Beside the official religion and the semi-official cults, there must have existed in Babylonia and Assyria a huge mass of superstition most of the traces of which disappeared with the people who practiced it. The same may be said of the Egyptian religion. The worship of Amon, Re, and the other great gods of Egypt in the temples at Heliopolis, Thebes, and other centers, probably made little impression on the lives of the common people. These worshiped Osiris and Isis, Bes and a host of minor deities, many of whom were probably unknown outside their own particular village or district. So the

⁴ *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 39.

⁵ *Biblical World*, May (1910), 301.

⁶ *Quarterly Statement* (1905), 198 f.

⁷ *Tell Ta'anneh*, 51.

⁸ *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 54.

⁹ Driver, *op. cit.*, 72 f.

worship at the high-places in Canaan was more or less official. It was in charge of a regular priesthood, and only on the feast days did the people assemble there to partake of the sacrificial meal. But the excavations have thrown light upon a far more interesting phase of the early religion of Palestine, namely, the unofficial, everyday religion of the common people. Next to the pottery, images,



From "Quarterly Statement" (1904), 15, Fig. 3



From Sellin, "Tell Ta'anek," 45, Fig. 47

ASTARTE, EGYPTIAN AND TAANACH TYPES

statuettes, scarabs, and other amulets constitute the bulk of the finds of the excavations.

So far the excavations have revealed no definite trace of images of the baals; on the other hand, figures of Astarte¹⁰ have been found in large numbers. As we saw in a previous article,¹¹ the massebah or pillar was looked upon as the abode and symbol of the baals. That baal-images existed is probable. We call to mind the golden calves set up by Jeroboam at Bethel and Dan (I Kings 12:28 f.). Some bull-heads were found at Megiddo,¹² but it is doubtful whether

¹⁰ *Ashtōreth* in the Revised Version.

¹¹ *Biblical World* (1910), 306.

¹² *Mutesellim*, 101.

any of them represented a baal.¹³ The Astarte figures found in southern Palestine, at Lachish, Gezer, etc., are mostly in relief on plaques of terra-cotta. It is possible to recognize distinct types: the Phoenician by the prominent hips of the goddess, the Egyptian by the extended arms bearing lotus plants, and others. Sellin holds that each city had its own type of Astarte figure, and his excavations at Taanach bear out his hypothesis, for, of the figures of this goddess found there, nineteen were of one type as over against one which was perhaps Babylonian, one Egyptian, and one Cypriote type.¹⁴ It would be impossible in this article to discuss all the Astarte-types produced by the excavations. Suffice it to say that it is evident that this goddess was the most popular Canaanitish deity and that the Israelites took over her worship from their predecessors. This is evident from the Astarte figures found in the Israelitish strata at Lachish, Taanach, and elsewhere.

The goddess of fertility and reproduction, who was frequently also a warrior-goddess, was worshiped over the whole oriental world. In Babylonia she appeared as Bêlit, Nanâ, Inina, etc.; in Assyria as Ishtar of Nineveh, Arbela, Ashur, etc. She was also a Hittite and Syrian goddess. In Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine she was known as Astarte. She was known in Cyprus and Crete.¹⁵ In Greece she appeared as Aphrodite, Rhea, Artemis, and Athene.

Although there is little doubt that some examples of *teraphim* or household deities have been found, there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as to which figures are to be put in this class. The possibilities are discussed by Vincent.¹⁶

Images of Bes are very common. This grotesque bow-legged satyr-like god of the common people of Egypt, who were fond of calling their children after him and his consort Toeris, and whose image they set up in their houses,¹⁷ was evidently very popular in Canaan. Figures of this god were found at Tell es-Safi, Zakariya, and the other south Palestinian mounds.¹⁸ At Taanach a Bes figure was

¹³ Cf. Vincent, *Canaan*, 169 f.; and *Tell Ta'anek*, 107.

¹⁴ *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'anek*, 32. For illustrations of the different types found see Mutesellim, 102 and Fig. 158 on 103; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations*, 135 f.; *Quarterly Statement* (1904) 15; Driver, *op. cit.*, 56 f.

¹⁵ Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 115, 134.

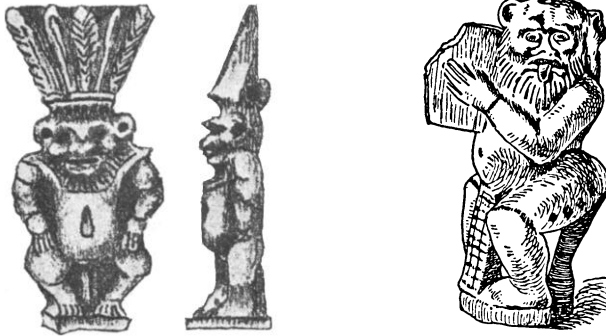
¹⁶ *Canaan*, 153 f.

¹⁷ Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, 77 1.

¹⁸ Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations*, 26 f.

found in the so-called Egyptian grave, and another in the stratum 2b, which shows that the god was still known in Taanach in Israelitish times.¹⁹ At Megiddo such a figure was found in the seventh stratum, which must be dated just B.C.²⁰

Other Egyptian deities represented by images or symbols are Anubis,²¹ Isis and Horus,²² Thoth,²³ Amon,²⁴ Sobek,²⁵ Sekhmet²⁶ and others. A large number of Horus-eyes were found in all of the mounds. A not uncommon amulet "represents a female figure, pregnant, with a high peaked cap and a girdle under her shoulders."²⁷



From Sellin, "Tell Ta'anek," 88, Fig. 124

From Erman, "Ägyptische Religion," 78, Fig. 65

FIGURES OF BES

All of these figures were used as amulets. To this group of objects also belong the enormous number of glaze and coral beads, used no doubt then as they still are today in the Orient, to protect the wearer against the evil eye.²⁸ At Taanach a large number of sea-shells were found, some of which were probably used as amulets.²⁹

¹⁹ *Tell Ta'anek*, 105.

²⁰ *Mutesellim*, 149.

²¹ *Mutesellim*, 84 and 90. Both from the fourth stratum, ca. 1400 B.C.

²² *Ibid.*, 40, 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. *Ta'anek*, 107.

²³ *Excavations*, 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* Cf. the lion figures of *Mutesellim*, 84, 89; ca. 1400 B.C.

²⁷ *Excavations*, 153.

²⁸ At Tell es-Safi a number of red-coral pendants were found (*Excavations*, 154); in the Egyptian grave at Taanach six red beads were discovered; those found throughout the rest of the mound were white, or more commonly blue (*Ta'anek*, 111 f.). Similar finds were made at Megiddo and elsewhere, and in all the strata.

²⁹ A large number of shells made into a necklace came to light at Megiddo. Such strings are still used on the necks of camels and are called *wada'* (*Mutesellim*, 88) by the natives.

By far the largest group of amulets are the scarabs, found in all the mounds excavated and in all the strata, from the earliest to the latest. Almost every symbol known to the Egyptian religion is represented on these scarabs, and thus came into Canaan. Of course it is not to be supposed that the wearer of these Egyptian amulets always knew what the symbols on the scarabs meant, but he surely must have known of their connection with Egypt and the Egyptian gods.

Alongside of the thousands of statuettes, scarabs, and other amulets which are either Egyptian or made after Egyptian models, found in the mounds excavated, the objects showing Babylonian workmanship or influence are remarkably few in number—indeed they may be counted on the fingers of two hands.³⁰

The task still before us is to try to determine just what Babylonian and Egyptian influences entered into the early religion of Palestine. Beginning with the influence of Egypt: Are we to assume that the erection of Amon temples in Syria by one of the predecessors of Thutmose III³¹ or by Ramses III³² meant the establishment of Amon-worship in this region? In a sense, yes. The Egyptian governors as well as the native princes under them probably kept up the worship of Amon in Syrian capitals as long as Egypt ruled this country. But that it became the worship of the common people at any time is doubtful. The story of Wenamon³³ shows how little impression Amon-worship made upon this country. About fifty years after the death of Ramses III, Wenamon was sent to Byblos to procure cedars from the Lebanons for the sacred barge of Amon. After being robbed on the way, he finally reached Byblos and began negotiations for the desired timber. He did not fail to call attention to Amon's claim of dominion over the Lebanons, but the cedars were forthcoming only after his messenger had returned to Egypt and procured a few vessels of gold and silver and other objects to be given to the governor of Byblos in exchange. On the other hand the enor-

³⁰ The Babylonian objects from Tell es-Safi and the other mounds of southern Palestine are three cylinders and three seals (*Excavations*, 153). The cylinder found at Taanach, with the inscription "Atanach-ili, servant of Nergal," dating from the Amarna period, has received a disproportionate amount of attention.

³¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 457 f.

³² *Ibid.*, III, §§ 219 f.

³³ Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 513 f.

mous number of Egyptian scarabs and other amulets makes it extremely probable that the religion of the common people of Palestine in the Canaanitish period, was in many respects the same as the religion of the common people of Egypt; that is, it consisted largely in the worship of local "saints," and the use of the proper charms and the wearing of proper amulets to ward off hostile powers.³⁴ The point to be emphasized is that these amulets show Egyptian, not Babylonian influence. When they did take part in what we may name the priestly worship, it was as participants at the sacrificial meal at the high-place. It is, therefore, with some surprise that we find but few traces of Egyptian influence in the Old Testament writings. All that we have from this source are a few names like Moses, and Phineas, the son of Eli; probably the custom of circumcision; a few stories like that of Joseph in the service of his Egyptian lord; and the figure of Nimrod.³⁵ To these must probably be added a very important item, namely, the scheme of prophecy.³⁶

On the other hand it is a well-known fact that almost every page of the Old Testament shows ideas which have *parallels* in the Babylonian literature. In many cases direct borrowing must be admitted, but it should not be forgotten that many of the ideas common to both Babylonian and Israelitish thinking, are ideas common to the Semitic race, indeed many of them are the common property of all peoples. But, admitting such borrowing of ideas, the question remains, when and how those Babylonian influences reached Palestine. Four periods are thought of: first, the time between Sargon of Akkad and Hammurabi; second, the Amarna period; third, the Assyrian period, after *ca.* 850 B.C.; and last, the period of the Exile and thereafter.

We saw in our discussion of the history of Palestine in the light

³⁴ It may be added that this is still the religion of the common people of Palestine today.

³⁵ Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, 446 f.

³⁶ The Egyptian literature contains a prophetic element beginning in the third millennium B.C. and culminating in the second and third centuries A.D. The scheme is always the same. Some wise man opens up the future for the king and then sinks down and dies. The content of the message is, that there is to come a time of calamity, in which the whole country shall go to ruin, the people are to be driven into exile, etc. Upon this era follows another in which the gods are to look with favor upon the land and all is to be well. See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 451 f.; and Smith, *Biblical World*, April (1910), 227 f.

of the excavations,³⁷ that the historical evidence that Sargon or Hammurabi ever controlled Palestine is extremely meager; and also that the results of the excavations make it improbable that Babylonia exerted any considerable influence in this country at this early period. When the Amarna period, *ca.* 1400 B.C., was reached, we found Babylonian the diplomatic language of the country. Again, in view of the fact that the excavations showed no other traces of Babylonian influence, while objects showing the influence of Egypt were found in large numbers, the hypothesis was advanced that the Amarna letters cannot be used as evidence of centuries of Babylonian influence in Canaan, but that the Babylonian language and script were brought into the country by the Hittite peoples, who, as we know from other sources, made use of the Babylonian language and script, and were advancing upon Syria and Palestine in this period. The presumption is that direct Babylonian influence in this period was not strong. Indeed we might close the discussion at this point, were it not for the fact that there is a tendency among scholars to find the origin of many, if not most, of the ideas of the Israelites in the thought of their predecessors, the Canaanites, who in turn are supposed to have derived them from Babylonia. It would be impossible to discuss this question fully in this place and we must therefore limit the discussion to a few points.

The so-called Wellhausen school of Old Testament scholars has held that the idea of monotheism in Israel was the result of the activity of the *prophets*, particularly those of the eighth century B.C. Previous to their time Yahweh was regarded as a national god alongside of others like Chemosh of Moab, etc., and still earlier he was the local deity of Mount Sinai. Now the pan-Babylonians hold that monotheism as doctrine was part of the ancient-oriental theory of the universe,³⁸ and that it was probably part of Canaanitish thought long before the time of the prophets of Israel. This is based chiefly upon two facts: (1) the traces of a monotheistic tendency in the religion of the Babylonians, and (2) the monotheism of Amenhotep IV of Egypt. This latter is used as an argument to prove that monotheism was in the

³⁷ *Biblical World*, January and February (1910), 10 f., and 97 f.

³⁸ "Altorientalische Weltanschauung" of the Babylonians; see the *Biblical World*, January (1910), 32.

air in the second millennium B.C., throughout the Semitic world. It may be admitted at the outset that there was a monotheistic *tendency* in the *speculation of the priests* of the different Babylonian temples, but all that this means is that there existed the natural tendency on the part of the priests of a great cult like that of Marduk of the city of Babylon to look upon their god as the chief deity of the pantheon. We know from a text of the *late Babylonian period* that the priests of Marduk looked upon such important deities of the pantheon as Enlil, the old god of Nippur, Shamash, Adad, Ninib, Nergal and others, as different manifestations of Marduk himself. How long before this period this speculation was current among the Marduk priests we have no means of knowing, but we have no right to assume that it was hundreds of years old.³⁹ At any rate it is certain that this doctrine remained part of the speculative theology of the priests and never became part of the religion or thought of the masses. There is absolutely no reason for thinking that this tendency toward monotheism was part of the thought of Canaan in the second millennium B.C.⁴⁰ Amenhotep IV forcibly instituted monotheism as the state religion of Egypt. But it is a well-known fact that he had scarcely

³⁹ Indeed we may be almost certain that this speculation did not go back as far as the time of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668-626 B.C.). Two volumes of the *Cuneiform Texts* (XXIV and XXV) published by the British Museum, are devoted to texts from this king's library which have to do exclusively with lists of gods and their attributes. Mr. L. W. King in the introduction to Vol. XXIV, 9 f., points out the advance in their system of theology made by the priests of the late Babylonian period over those of the time of Ashurbanipal. For instance, in the texts from Ashurbanipal's library, Sur, an unimportant rain-god, was identified with Adad, the great weather-god. "The later text makes a further advance by identifying Adad himself with Marduk, in whose person it unites the powers of nature." Again in the earlier texts Urash is identified with Ninib as god of strength, while in the later text Ninib is identified with Marduk as god of strength. The difference is evident. In the earlier texts minor deities whose attributes were such that they seemed but shadowy reflections of some great deity were first made the ministers of the greater deity, and later identified with him. In the later texts deities who had always ranked among the great gods of the pantheon and who were in no way subordinate to Marduk—in fact most of them had been prominent in the pantheon centuries before Marduk rose to the rank of a great god—were now looked upon as representing different aspects of Marduk.

⁴⁰ An interesting example of the method of the pan-Babylonians is seen in their use of the letter of Ishtar-washur from Taanach (*Tell Ta'anneh*, 115 f.). The important parts of the letter as translated by Hrozný read as follows, "To Ishtar-washur: Achi-Yawi, May the lord of the gods protect thy life. . . . Over my head (is) one who is over the cities. Now see whether he will show thee favor! Further: If he shows

passed away when the reaction set in and an effort was made to remove every trace of his "reform" and the memory of his name from Egypt. On the other hand it must be remembered that the tendency on the part of the priesthood of the great Egyptian cults like that of Amon at Thebes to make their god supreme, existed in Egypt before and after the time of Amenhotep IV, but we have already seen how little impression any official cult made upon the common people of Egypt, not to speak of the common people of the subject provinces such as Palestine and Syria. Apart from the abortive "reform" of Amenhotep IV there is no trace of anything that can be called monotheism in any Semitic religion before the time of the prophets of Israel and these must still be looked upon as the men who discovered for themselves the fact that their god was the god of the universe.⁴¹

his face, they (i.e., the enemy) will come to shame and the victory will be great." The words in italics were *conjectural* translations, and indicated as such by Hrozy. But Baentsch in his *Monotheismus*, 57 f., quotes these passages, without indicating that there is any doubt about the translation of any part of the letter, and draws the most sweeping conclusions therefrom. "The writer," he says, "is not concerned with Bel and Hadad, not with Astarte or Asherah, not with Amon, Ninib, and Nergal, the principal deities then worshiped in Canaan [a point, it might be said parenthetically which is anything but near the truth], but with the lord of all the gods, who stands high above the gods worshiped by the common people, and whose worship is not limited to any particular city. And the way he speaks of this *summus deus* with an air of mystery and solemnity, 'over my head is one, will you not also seek his favor,' shows that in this man's mind there had sprung up the idea (Ahnung) of the one almighty god, before whom the other gods must recede and lose their brilliance.' This all sounds well, but the whole structure of Canaanitish monotheism built upon this letter falls to the ground when one looks at the strictly grammatical translation of the letter offered by Ungnad in Gressman's *Die Ausgrabungen in Palästina und das Alte Testament*, 20. The passage in question becomes, "Say to Ishtar-washur: Thus saith Achi-Yami: May the lord of the gods preserve thy life. . . . Upon my head is everyone who the cities Now behold, I have done thee good! Further: If there is at hand, then" In a word, there is absolutely no reference to a great god of all, but instead the letter presents a large number of difficult passages whose meaning cannot be discovered. The very expression "lord of the gods" of course excludes the idea of monotheism. All that it can possibly indicate is that some local god, probably the baal of Taanach was considered or at least referred to as lord among the other gods. But this is not monotheism.

⁴¹ The difficulty in this discussion is that scholars will insist upon jumping from a discussion of *monotheistic tendencies*, which are common to most religions which have advanced beyond the primitive stages, to *monotheism* as "*Lehre*," without showing any proof that this development has occurred. It is possible that there existed among the choice spirits of Canaan a higher religion than that of the masses, but we

But when did the Babylonian ideas clearly traceable in the Old Testament reach the Israelites? The writer believes that most of them were taken over by the Jews in and after the Exile. Of course it is probable that some of the stories which show relationship with Babylonian legends came to Palestine earlier. So the story of the Deluge as found in the J document of the Old Testament must have found its way west considerably earlier than the Exile, but we need not jump to the conclusion that it was known in Palestine for a thousand years before this time. The same story as told by the author of the P document shows direct borrowing from the Babylonian original.

As is well known, the Babylonian account of the creation pictures the struggle between Marduk and Tiamat who represents chaos. The mention of *t'hôm*, which is the same as Tiamat, in the biblical (P) account of the creation has suggested that the author had the Babylonian story before him when he wrote his creation story. Gunkel has shown that there are many allusions in the Old Testament writings to a conflict between God and some monster, Rahab, Leviathan, Behemoth, and dragons in general.⁴² This of course shows that the legend of a struggle between the creator and chaos was current in Palestine before the time when the author of P wrote his story. It is significant, however, that none of these allusions occur earlier than Isaiah but most of them in Job and the later books of the Old Testament. The writer admits that negative arguments are not worth much, but they should at least warn us not to draw sweeping conclusions as to the great antiquity of all of these ideas in Canaan.

The whole question may be summed up briefly. Neither the historical nor the archaeological evidence warrants the assumption that Babylonia controlled this country for centuries before Egypt gained control. Egyptian control and influence are evident from the results of the excavations for the period from *ca.* 2000 to 1200 B.C. The Babylonian influences that reached Palestine during this period

are not in a position to prove it, much less to indicate what it was. And if it existed it seems strange that we should find no trace of it in the writings of the early prophets of Israel. They condemn the Canaanitish religion *in toto*.

⁴² *Schöpfung und Chaos*. Cf. also Zimmern in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 507 f.

probably came along the trade-routes and were carried largely by the Hittite peoples. Assyrian control in this region began about 850 B.C. and culminated in the overthrow of the two Israelitish kingdoms. The writer believes that the Assyrian period allows sufficient time for the assimilation of most of the Babylonian ideas which must be regarded as pre-exilic. But by far the greater part of these Babylonian ideas became part of Hebrew thought in and after the Exile.

In conclusion it may be said that the excavations have furnished little new material for the reconstruction of the religion of the Canaanites. They have, however, abundantly illustrated the chief features of that religion as it had already been known from a critical study of the Old Testament writings. On the other hand they have not substantiated a single claim of the pan-Babylonian scholars, and, until these can point to facts instead of building hypotheses upon hypotheses, we may continue to believe that the school of Wellhausen has given us the best reconstruction of the religion of Israel, both as to its origin and evolution.



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INSCRIPTIONS OF EARLY ASSYRIAN RULERS

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The texts of which a translation and discussion are here offered were found by the German excavators¹ at Kalat Sherkat, the site of the ancient city of Ashur, and published in the first part of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*.² The autograph copies of the inscriptions are the work of the late Leopold Messerschmidt. Extracts from these inscriptions, containing for the most part genealogies and chronological data, appeared from time to time in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*³ and have been used by Meyer,⁴ King,⁵ and others in their reconstruction of early Assyrian history. Until some new inscription throws additional light upon the matter, the chronological schemes proposed by these scholars must remain, as they themselves freely admit, largely provisional. It is not the purpose of this article to re-examine matters chronological, but rather to furnish a full translation of the new texts from Ashur on the basis of which the historian will be able to form a better picture than was possible heretofore, of the rise of Assyria and the spread of her influence during the second pre-Christian millennium.

¹ See the reports in *MDOG*, 20 f.

² *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts*. Erstes Heft. Owing to the untimely death of Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt who had autographed the texts, the work of seeing them through the press fell to Professor Delitzsch, who added the index and a number of "Verbesserungen und Nachträge."

³ A splendid beginning in the publication of the results of the excavations at Ashur has been made by the excavator Andrae in his *Anu-Adad Tempel*.

⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, 2d ed.

⁵ *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*.

Just as in the case of most of the other ancient states, the beginnings of Assyria are, and probably will remain, obscure; for a city like Ashur, the nucleus around which the Assyrian state developed, lying as it does somewhat apart from the scene of the earliest empires on the Euphrates, was hardly likely to attract attention until it had become wealthy or prominent enough to arouse the cupidity or jealousy of some stronger state. The earliest rulers of Ashur whose names have come down to us were Ushpia and Kikia, the former the traditional founder of the temple of Ashur, the latter the builder of the city-wall. The form of these names has suggested to Ungnad⁶ the possibility that the Mitannians, a people related to the Hittites, were the founders of Ashur. However that may be, there can be little doubt that the civilization of Assyria from the earliest times was predominantly Semitic.

In the present state of our knowledge there is room for difference of opinion as to the relative contributions of Sumerians and Semites to the civilization of the Euphrates Valley. No doubt Meyer has cleared the atmosphere by his *Sumerer und Semiten*, but whether the Semites were in the valley as early as the Sumerians, perhaps earlier, as he believes, is by no means certain. The Semites were known as Akkadians, and Ungnad believes that this was surely because Akkad was the first Semitic state in Babylonia. He also suggests the possibility that before Sargon made Akkad the capital city of his empire, the Semites had already formed a state outside the valley, say in Amurru.⁷ In either case it was with the empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin (*ca.* 2500 B.C.) that the Semites for the first time gained the supremacy in Babylonia. If we regard the Semites of Sargon's time as the first of the successive migrations of this stock from the desert of Arabia into the Euphrates Valley, we must assume that the earliest Semites of Ashur and the other cities which made up the later Assyrian empire were borne in on this wave of migration, for there existed an Assyrian kingdom before the time of Sumu-abum, the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which represents the dominance of a new wave of Semites, namely, the Amorites.

The first date in Assyrian history is furnished by a catch-line on a late Assyrian tablet containing chronicles of early kings.⁸ It tells of

→ BA, VI, 5, p. 13. ⁷ *Sumerer und Akkader*, OLZ, 1908, 62 f. ⁸ King, *op. cit.*, II, 14.

a war between Ilu-shuma king of Assyria and Su-abu (Sumu-abum). The date of Sumu-abum is *ca.* 2050 B.C. (Meyer, 2060–2047; Ungnad, 2232–2219). Our earliest Assyrian inscriptions are those of Irishum (Nos. 1, 2, 3) son of Ilu-shuma. From the first of these we learn the names of the father and grandfather of Ilu-shuma as well—Shalim-ahum and Kate-Ashir. All of these bear the title of *patesi* of the god Ashur (written Ashir in these old texts) but, if this title suggests an overlord to whom they were subject, we have no information as to who he was.⁹ Nor have we any means for determining how long before Irishum's time Ushpia built the temple of Ashur. It is only for the period after Irishum that the inscriptions furnish dates.

According to another (No. 2) of his inscriptions, Irishum built the temple of Adad. This was probably the "temple of Anu and Adad" which Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1175–1100 B.C.) rebuilt sixty years after Ashur-dan and seven hundred and one years after Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, who was, according to Tiglath-pileser's tradition, its builder.¹⁰

Irishum is best known to his successors as restorer of the temple of Ashur. It is probably to the building of this temple that the first inscription in King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* refers. Shalmaneser I (No. 14, Col. III, 32 f.) speaks of the work of his ancestor Irishum (Erishu) as follows: "when Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of my lord Ashur, which Ushpia, priest of Ashur, my ancestor, had built aforetime, had fallen into ruins, then my ancestor Erishu restored it. One hundred and fifty-nine years passed after the reign of Erishu and that temple (again) fell into ruins. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, restored it. Five hundred and eighty years elapsed and that temple which Shamshi-Adad had restored became old and weak," etc. Whereupon Shalmaneser restored it once more. An inscription of Esarhaddon¹¹ has a different chronology. According to this inscription, Erishu, son of Ilu-shuma, restored the temple which Ushpia had built, and one hundred and twenty-six years thereafter Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, made some restorations. Four hundred and thirty-four years after Shamshi-Adad, Shalmaneser found it again in need of repairs. We need not hesitate in preferring

⁹ For a discussion of the title see Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 432.

¹⁰ Cylinder Inscription, Col. VII, 60 f.

¹¹ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 51. Cf. *MDOG*, 22, 74, and other numbers.

the chronology of Shalmaneser who lived some six hundred years before Esarhaddon, but the task of assigning places to the different Shamshi-Adads known to us presents real difficulties. But before taking up this matter, let us turn to the immediate successors of Irishum.

On some fragments of a late copy of an older inscription of a patesi of Ashur we read of the building of a temple of Erishkigal by Ikunum, son of Erishum (King, *Annals*, xvii, n. 3). This Ikunum is also mentioned in the inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, son of Ashir-nirari (No. 6): "The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, Shar-ken-kate-Ashir and Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, my ancestors, had built. . . ." Thus we see that Ikunum carried on the work of his father Erishum.

While the date of Ikunum is determined by these references to his activities, that of Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, the next restorer of the city-wall, cannot be fixed.

As we saw above, Esarhaddon mentions a Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, as restorer of the temple of Ashur. King¹² has published an inscription of Shamshi-Adad, son of Igur-kapkapu, builder of the temple of Ashur. On the basis of a passage in an inscription of Adad-Nirari IV (812-783 B.C.), in which he claims descent from Bel-kapkapi, it has been suggested that the name Igur-kapkapu should be read Bel-kapkapi. Likewise it has been proposed to identify this Bel-kapkapu with the Bel-kabi of Esarhaddon's inscription.¹³ Until some new inscription throws additional light upon the matter, such guesses must, of course, be taken for what they are worth. The same must be said of Meyer's suggestion that the Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, of Esarhaddon's inscription, is the same as the Shamshi-Adad, contemporary of Hammurabi, mentioned on a tablet from Sippar.¹⁴ That Assyria was subject to Babylon under Hammurabi is very probable, but here too the direct evidence is scant.¹⁵

Of Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, mentioned in the inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, quoted above, as one of the restorers of the city-wall, we possess a brick inscription in which he calls himself builder of the temple of Bel-labira. Tiglath-pileser I (Cyl. Insc.,

¹² *Annals*, 2.

¹³ Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 448.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ In the Code (Harper, 4, 58), Hammurabi speaks of restoring to Ashur its protecting deity (lamassu), which may point to the establishment of peace after an invasion.

Col. VI, 85 f.) mentions a temple of Bel-labiru, "the elder Bel," which he restored. This was probably the temple which Ashir-nirari had built. We have already referred to the passage in this same inscription of Tiglath-pileser in which he mentions Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, as restorer (or builder) of the temple of Anu and Adad some seven hundred years before his time. Of the relation between Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, and Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, if there is any,¹⁶ we know nothing. Tiglath-pileser's date gives us the only clue as to the period in which we are to place Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan, namely, *ca.* 1850 B.C. Adad-nirari II mentions an ancestor Ashur-nirari who had built a palace in Ashur (No. 11, Obv. 33 f.).

In the neighborhood of 1600 B.C. has been placed the date of Shamsi-Adad, the third of that name. In his inscription (No. 5) he calls himself "king of the universe (*šar kiššati*), builder of the temple of Ashur, who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and Euphrates" (Col. I, 1 f.). It is unfortunate that he does not mention the name of his father or any other of his immediate predecessors, which might have enabled us to fix his period more definitely. He speaks of royal ancestors whose deeds his own surpassed, but this means little to us. Meyer makes him the exponent of Assyrian supremacy following the Cassite conquest of Babylonia.¹⁷ Another date is suggested by the writer in the footnote.

Following the introductory phrases the inscription continues with a record of the rebuilding of the temple of Enlil, called Eamkurkurra, which is translated "the temple of the lord (wild-ox) of the lands."¹⁸

¹⁶ Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 463A.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, § 464. There is one objection to so late a date which continues to present itself to the writer, namely, the language of the inscription of Shamshi-Adad which reads like an inscription of Hammurabi. The similarity of the language to that of the Code will be apparent at once to anyone who compares the two. At the same time it would doubtless be an easy matter to point out differences. Unfortunately the inscriptions dating from the period between Hammurabi and Agum II (*ka kr i me*) are few indeed, but a glance at the inscription of the latter will show the difference between the language of Hammurabi's day and that of the Babylon of the middle of the seventeenth century B.C. (Agum's date is *ca.* 1650 B.C.). In the inscription of Shamshi-Adad the mimmation is used throughout, in the inscription of Agum II only occasionally. May it not be necessary to place Shamshi-Adad about a century and a half earlier, soon after or possibly before the Hittite invasion of Babylonia which brought about the overthrow of the First Dynasty? It is certainly significant that Shamshi-Adad has nothing to say of wars between him and the Cassites, with whom all of the later Assyrian kings were perpetually at war, but that his wars were fought with the peoples to the north and northwest of Assyria. The fact that he considered himself the guardian of the "land between the Tigris and Euphrates" may also point to a date when the Babylonian dynasty was exhausted and when the Cassites had not yet succeeded in establishing themselves in the land.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 169, below.

This temple, according to Col. I, 18 f., had been built by Erishum, son of Ilu-shuma. The doors, we are told, were covered with silver and gold. It is tempting to believe that these may have been the doors which Saushatar, king of Mitanni, took from Ashur some centuries later (*MDOG*, 35, 36).

Of interest is the fixing of the money standard. "When I built the temple of Enlil, my lord, the prices of my city Ashur were as follows: for one shekel of silver, two gur of grain, for one shekel of silver, twenty-five mana of wool, for one shekel of silver, twelve ka of oil, according to the (standard) prices of my city Ashur were bought" (Col. III, 13—Col. IV, 3). With this we may compare a passage in an inscription of Sin-gashid of Uruk (*ca.* 2000 B.C.): "During his reign there shall be bought for one shekel of silver, three gur of grain, twelve mana of wool, ten mana of copper, or thirty ka of oil, according to the prices of the land."¹⁹

"At that time," Shamshi-Adad goes on to say, "the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and the king of the upper country I received in my city Ashur. A great name and a memorial stela I set up in the country of Laban on the shore of the great sea" (Col. IV, 4 f.).

Without denying Assyrian activity in Cappadocia in this period, the writer does not feel able to follow Meyer²⁰ in regarding the "great sea" as the Black Sea. Tukrish may be identical with an Armenian city Tigrish, as Streck²¹ suggests, but it is most probable that the "great sea" is no other than the Mediterranean. Whatever the location of Tukrish—the phrase "and the kings of the upper country" points to the Armenian and Kummuh (Kutmuḥ) regions—the passage does not exclude the possibility that Shamshi-Adad's campaigns brought him to the Mediterranean. This had been the goal of the great conquerors since Sargon, and perhaps Lugal-zaggisi, as it was of the great successors of Shamshi-Adad. The campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashur-nasir-pal, and the kings of the later Assyrian empire regularly proceeded along the semi-circular curve from Ashur, Calah or Nineveh, northward into the mountains of the "upper country," Nairi-Urartu, then westward through Kummuh to Musri and the other Hatti-lands, across the Euphrates at Kar-

¹⁹ Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, 223c.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, § 464. See p. 169, below.

²¹ *ZA*, XX, 460.

kamish and thence to the Mediterranean and the Syrian coast. Shamshi-Adad probably followed the same curve.

The next inscription carries us into the middle of the Cassite period. We have referred to this inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu (No. 6) a number of times in connection with the names of earlier Assyrian rulers, Kikia, Ikunum, Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, and Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan. Ashir-rim-nishe-shu mentions the names of his father and grandfather, Ashir-nirari and Ashir-rabu. From the "Synchronous History" (Col. I, 12 f.) we learn that Karaindash of Babylonia and Ashir-rim(EN)-nishe-shu of Assyria made a covenant with each other and agreed to respect the boundary. In spite of this synchronism scholars differ by more than a century in the date assigned to these kings. Meyer²² places Ashir-rim-nishe-shu at about 1430 B.C., Ungnad²³ at 1420-1405 B.C., with a question mark, while Schnabel²⁴ assigns him a date *ca.* 1560 B.C. Here again there will be difference of opinion until a new text clears up the situation. But, as Schnabel has seen, it is necessary to place a second Ashir-rim-nishe-shu between Pusur-Ashur and Erba-Adad, for an inscription of Adad-nirari II (No. 10, Obv. 29 f.) mentions the "wall of the new city . . . which Pusur-Ashur . . . had built." Ashur-rim(EN)-nishe-shu is said to have put a casing-wall over it, and, when it had again fallen to ruins, Erba-Adad restored it. That Pusur-Ashur cannot be placed before Ashur-rim-nishe-shu follows from the "Synchronous History," which, immediately after the statement that Karaindash of Babylonia and Ashur-rim(EN)-nishe-shu made a treaty, tells of a similar treaty between Pusur-Ashur of Assyria and Burnaburiash of Babylonia (Col. I, 16 f.).

In addition to his work of building the "wall of the new city," Pusur-Ashur was active in repairing the great wall of Ashur, as we learn from an inscription of Ashir-rim-nishe-shu II (No. 7). This

²² ZA, XX, p. 598.

²³ OLZ, 1908, 11 f.

²⁴ MDVG, 1908, 27. Briefly stated the facts are as follows: (1) From No. 6, we learn the name of Ashir-ri-im-nishe-shu, son of Ashir-nirari, grandson of Ashir-rabu. (2) No. 7 (after Delitzsch) is an inscription of Ashur-EN-nishe-shu, who must have lived after Pusur-Ashur. (3) From No. 10, we have the order Pusur-Ashur, Ashur-EN-nishe-shu, Erba-Adad, Adad-nirari (I). This establishes the fact that Ashur-EN-nishe-shu lived after Pusur-Ashur. But (4) the "Synchronous History" has an Ashur-EN-nishe-shu before Pusur-Ashur. If Ashur-EN-nishe-shu can be read Ashur-rim-nishe-shu, the Ashur-rim-nishe-shu of No. 6 and the Ashur-EN-nishe-shu of the Synchronous History may be the same person, and the Ashur-EN-nishe-shu of Nos. 7 and 10 would be Ashur-rim-nishe-shu II. Otherwise we must distinguish between Ashir-rim-nishe-shu son of Ashir-nirari, Ashur-bel-nishe-shu I (before Pusur-Ashur), and Ashur-bel-nishe-shu II (after Pusur-Ashur).

inscription is to appear in full in the second part of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* and we shall then probably know more about the activities of this ruler. It is possible, however, to gather from the fragments already published that the inscription deals mainly with the restorations of the city wall.

Before Erba-Adad, mentioned above, we must place Ashur-nadin-ahe. It is probably this king who is mentioned in the "Broken Obelisk" (Col. V, 4 f.) as builder of a "great terrace facing the north." It was formerly thought that he was the father of Ashur-uballit because of a passage in one of the el-Amarna letters,²⁵ but from a new inscription (No. 8) we learn that he was not the father but only an ancestor of Ashur-uballit, son of Erba-Adad. Whether, as Schnabel²⁶ has suggested, Ashur-nadin-ahe was a contemporary of Thutmose III, or is to be placed much later in the list of Assyrian kings,²⁷ cannot be taken up here.

A new complication arises from a text of Adad-nirari II (No. 10) which seems to speak of another Adad-nirari (I) who must be placed between Erba-Adad and the father of Shalmaneser I. This would make it necessary to distinguish between Ashur-uballit, son of Erba-Adad, and Ashur-uballit, the great grandfather of Adad-nirari II. Ashur-uballit I (No. 8) calls himself as well as his father Erba-Adad and his ancestor Ashur-nadin-ahe, patesi of Ashur, but it does not follow that they were subject to an overlord. It seems to the writer that Winckler, Schnabel, and Weber²⁸ have been entirely too hasty in assigning the dominant position in the politics of Western Asia in the fifteenth pre-Christian century to the Mitannians, but until the texts found at Boghaz-Keui are published no reconstruction of the history of this period should be attempted.

The active part which Ashur-uballit II took in the affairs of Babylonia is known from the "Synchronous History"²⁹ and his letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh.

²⁵ Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, No. 16, 19.

²⁶ *MDVG*, 1908, 22 f.

²⁷ Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, places him immediately before Erba-Adad and assigns the date 1395-85 B.C.

²⁸ Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, Schnabel, *op. cit.*, Weber, 1035 f. of Knudtzon's *El-Amarna-Tafeln*.

²⁹ "In the time of Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, the Cassites revolted against Karahardash, king of Babylonia, the son of Muballitat-Sherua, the daughter of Ashur-uballit, and slew him, and they raised up Nazi-Bugash, (a Cassite) and a man of lowly birth, to be king over them. (. . .) Ashur-uballit invaded Babylonia in order to take vengeance (for Karahar)dash, (his grandson), and he slew (Naz)i-Bugash, king of

Enlil-nirari, son of Ashur-uballit II and grandfather of Adad-nirari II, is known to us from the inscription of his grandson as "destroyer of the hosts of the Cassites," which shows how chronic was the trouble between the Cassite hordes and the Assyrians. From the "Synchronous History" we learn that Kurigalzu, the younger, invaded Assyria but was defeated by Enlil-nirari and compelled to respect the boundary.³⁰

Arik-den-ilu (which is the correct reading of the name formerly read Pudi-ilu) extended the conquests begun by his father and grandfather. His son Adad-nirari calls him "prefect of Enlil, viceroy of Ashur, conqueror of the lands of Turuki and Nigimti in their totality, together with all of their kings, mountains, and highlands, the territory of the wide-spreading Kuti, the region of the Ahlami, Suti, the Iari and their lands; who enlarged boundary and frontier."³¹ His building activities are known from his own inscriptions.³²

The wars of Adad-nirari II³³ have long been known from his inscription published in IV Rawlinson, 44 f., but the new texts from Ashur furnish much additional information. He refers to himself in all of his inscriptions as "destroyer of the mighty hosts of Cassites, Kuti, Lulumi and Subari." These were his foes to the south, east, north, and west. In the Cassites we probably have the rulers of Babylonia,³⁴ although the Assyrian king may also have come in contact with other Cassite tribes in the mountains to the east of the Tigris. It was probably in these mountains and the regions to the north of Ashur that he met and defeated the Kuti and Lulumi in whom we have the descendants of the Gutí and Lulubi of the times

Babylonia, and he made (Ku)rigalzu the younger, the son of Burna-Buriash, king and seated him upon his father's throne" ("Synchronous History," Col. I, 19 f.). Translation from King, *Annals*, xxiv f.

In his letter to Amenhotep IV (see n. 25) Ashur-uballit informs the Pharaoh that he is building a palace, and suggests that he make a contribution in gold "which is common as dust" in Egypt. He adds, by way of a gentle hint, that when his ancestor Ashurnadin-ahe sent to Egypt for money they sent him twenty talents of gold.

³⁰ Col. I, 29 f. Which shows the ingratitude of these Cassite kings.

³¹ No. 9, Obv. 15 f.

³² King, *Annals*, 3.

³³ The reasons for calling this Adad-nirari the second of that name are discussed below, p. 179.

³⁴ See n. 30, and King, *Annals*, xxxii, from which the following passage from the "Synchronous History" (Col. I, 35 f.) is quoted. "Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, and Nazi-Maraddash, king of Babylonia, fought with one another at Kar-Ishtar of Akarsallu. Adad-nirari defeated Nazi-Maraddash, and he overthrew him, and he captured from him his camp and his priests. Concerning the boundary (they agreed) as follows: they established their boundary from the land of Pilaski, which is on the further side of the Tigris, (from) the city of Arman-Akarsalli as far as Lulume, and thus they divided it."

of Sargon and Naram-Sin.³⁵ The Subari probably included the Aramaean and Mitannian elements to the northwest and west. In the new inscriptions we have a more detailed account of these conquests. We learn for instance that he took the cities to the north and west of Assyria as far as Haran and Karkamish on the Euphrates (No. 11). Furthermore, we see that these conquests were but the continuation of the activities of his father and great-grandfather in these regions. He regularly refers to his great-grandfather Ashur-uballit II as conqueror of the land of Musri, and to his father Arik-den-ilu as conqueror of the land of Commogene (Kummuh, written Kutmuhi in these texts).³⁶ We shall take up these campaigns below in connection with the inscriptions of Adad-nirari's son Shalmaneser. The extent of the building operations of Adad-nirari may be seen from the translations of his inscriptions (Nos. 10-13).

From a passage in the annals of Ashur-nasir-pal³⁷ it had been inferred that Shalmaneser, the son of Adad-nirari, was active in extending the conquests of his ancestors. We are now in a position to follow him in his campaigns. On his accession to the throne, the land of Uruadri revolted (No. 14, Col. I, 26 f.) and Shalmaneser at once set out against it. In three days' time he completed its subjugation. From the names of two of the eight districts mentioned, namely, Himme and Luha, we are able to locate the region of his campaign with considerable accuracy, for Tiglath-pileser mentions these districts as sending aid to the people of "Sugi which is in the land of Kirhi."³⁸ But Kirhi lay in the mountains to the northwest of Ashur in the region later known as Urartu, that is, Armenia. There can be little doubt but that Uruadri is the same as the later Urartu.³⁹

The city of Arina, "a strongly fortified mountain fastness," was next taken and devastated. Shalmaneser scattered stones or salt⁴⁰ upon its site, took some of its earth back to Ashur, and poured it out in the gate of the city as a witness for the days to come of the punishment meted out to rebellious subjects. This may have been the same city before which Thutmose III defeated the "wretched foe of

³⁵ This has been suggested before, and in the case of the Lulumi seems to be raised beyond a doubt by the reading Lulubi instead of the usual Lulumi in the text of Shalmaneser, No. 16, below.

³⁶ See pp. 178, 190, below.

³⁷ Col. I, 102 f. (King, *Annals*, 290).

³⁸ Cyl. Insc., Col. IV, 8 f.

³⁹ See p. 186, below.

⁴⁰ See p. 187, below.

Naharin," in his tenth campaign.⁴¹ However that may be, it is certain that the city soon revived, for Tiglath-pileser found it the center of opposition in his day.⁴²

This campaign brought with it the subjugation of the whole land of Musri. As we saw above, the conquest of Musri was the great achievement of Ashur-uballit II. From the preliminary report of the Boghaz-Keui texts (*MDOG*, 35), it is clear that the Hittite records furnish ample evidence of the aggression of Assyria in the Mitanni country. We learn that Mitanni was divided up between Assyria and Alshe on the death of Tushratta. We are able to date this event with considerable certainty at about 1370 B.C., a date which falls at the close of the reign of Ashur-uballit II. If the identification of the Araina of the inscriptions of Thutmose III and the Arina of the cuneiform texts is correct, it follows that Musri was for a long period a center of Hittite influence.

After the conquest of Musri, Shalmaneser took up the subjugation of Hanigalbat. Here he defeated the armies of Hittites and Aramaeans (Ahlami) led by Shatuara, whose name is probably Aryan and shows the prominence of this element in the population of these regions.⁴³ Shalmaneser speaks with the pride of an Egyptian Pharaoh of his personal encounter with the king of the enemy. The extent of the region known as Hanigalbat may be seen from Col. III, 1-5, "at that time, from the city of Taidi to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari region, to the city of Eluhath, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish on the banks of the Euphrates, I captured their cities."

The Kutî, whose numbers we are told were countless as the stars of heaven, next engaged the attention of Shalmaneser. Their tribes were scattered from the border of the land of Uruadri to the land of Kutmuhi, that is, over the region later known as the Nairi country.

Of especial interest is the section (No. 14, Col. IV, 8 f.) dealing with the rebuilding of the temple of Ashur. Upon the stone substructure of the building were placed the foundation deposits in the form of gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, precious stones, and herbs and upon these were laid the mud-walls of the temple. In the second

⁴¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 469 f.

⁴² Cyl. Insc., Col. V, 67 f.

⁴³ See references in my art. → "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI (1910), 101: → *AJSL*, XXVII (1911), 270, n. 8.

part of the ceremony different kinds of oil, wine, honey, and butter were used. From the texts of Sargon we learn that the different metals and stone were in the form of tablets on which the king inscribed his name. When Tukulti-Ninib rebuilt the wall and enlarged the moat of the city he found twenty such inscribed objects deposited at the water level (No. 19). Such deposits call to mind the foundation deposits under the Egyptian temples. Similar deposits were discovered by Hogarth in the basis of the cult statue of the archaic Artemision of Ephesus.⁴⁴

The texts from Ashur bear out the statements of the "Synchronous History" with reference to the activities of Tukulti-Ninib.⁴⁵ The introduction of the account of the rebuilding of the palace at Ashur, which his father Shalmaneser had built (No. 18, 1 f.), gives a résumé of his conquests which extended to the lands of the Ukumani, Kurti, Kutmuhi, Nairi, and others to the north and west. Unfortunately the lines telling of his conquest of Sumer and Akkad are too illegible to afford a detailed picture of the events of this campaign.

Of interest is the title "Sun of all peoples," which appears for the first time in an Assyrian historical inscription (No. 19, 2). It is found a number of times in the later inscriptions—in those of Ashurnasir-pal, and Shalmaneser.⁴⁶ As is well known, this is the ordinary title given to the Egyptian Pharaoh in the el-Amarna Letters and the Boghaz Keui texts show that it was also applied to the Hittite kings.⁴⁷ It is possible that this title was borrowed by the Assyrian kings from the Hittites whom they were gradually conquering or pushing out of southern Asia Minor.

As we know from the "Synchronous History," Tukulti-Ninib ruled Babylonia seven years, after which he was slain in an uprising of the nobles of Assyria, who set his son Ashurnasir-pal upon the throne. With Tukulti-Ninib the early history of Assyria comes to an end.

Kikia (traditional builder of the city wall of Ashur)

*

Ushpia (traditional founder of the temple of Ashur)

*

Kate-Ashir

Shalim-ahum, s of,

⁴⁴ D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 238.

⁴⁵ Col. IV, 7 f.

⁴⁶ See Delitzsch, *HWB*, under š a m š u, and *KAA*, 77, Obv. 4. ⁴⁷ *MDOG*, No. 35, 32.

Ilu-shuma, s of, contemporary of Sumu-abum (*ca.* 2050 B.C.)

Irishum, s of,

Ikunum, s of,

*

? Shar-kenkate-Ashir

*

Bel-kabi [Irishum]

Shamshi-Adad, s of, (according to Esarhaddon, 126 years after

*

[ceding ?])

Shamshi-Adad, contemporary of Hammurabi, (same as pre-

*

Ishme-Dagan [(*ca.* 1150 B.C.)]

Shamshi-Adad, s of, *ca.* 1850 B.C., 701 years before Tiglath-pileser

*

Ishme-Dagan (II)

Ashir-nirari, s of,

*

Shamshi-Adad (III), *ca.* 1600 B.C. (but see n. 17, p. 157)

*

Ashir-rabu I

Ashir-nirari, s of, [p. 159].

Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, s of, contemporary of Karaindash? (See

*

Pusur-Ashir, contemporary of Burnaburiash

*

Ashir-rim(EN)-nishe-shu (II)

*

Ashur-nadin-ahe

*

Erba-Adad

Ashur-uballit I, s of,

*

Adad-nirari I (see No. 10)

*

Ashur-uballit II, contemporary of Amenhotep IV of Egypt,
Burnaburiash and successors, of Babylonia

Enlil-nirari, s of, contemporary of Kurigalzu, the younger

Arik-den-ilu, s of,

Adad-nirari, s of, contemporary of Nazi-maraddash

Shalmaneser I, s of,

Tukulti-Ninib I, s of, conqueror of Babylonia

IRISHUM

No. 1 (*KAA*, 1)

1. I-ri-š[um] 2. pa-te-si 3. A-šir-ma 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma 5. pa-te-si 6. A-šir-m[a] 7. [Ilu]-šu-ma 8. [mâr] Ša-lim-aḥum(?) 9. pa-te-si 10. A-šir-ma 11. Ša-lim-a-ḥu-um 12. mâr Ka-te-[^dAšir] 13. pa-t[e-si A-šir]

No. 2 (*KAA*, 60)

1. I-ri-šum 2. pa-te-si 3. ^dA-šir 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma 5. pa-te-si 6. ^dA-šir 7. a-na ba-la-ṭi(m)-šu 8. u ba-la-aṭ 9. a-li-šu 10. bît ^dAdad 11. gi-me-ir-du-šu 12. i-bu-uš 13. u iṣ^udalâti^{p1} 14. iš-ku-un

No. 3 (*KAA*, 61)

1. I-ri-šum 2. pa-te-si 3. A-šir 4. mâr Ilu-šu-ma 5. pa-te-si 6. A-sir 7. a-na A-šir 8. be-li-šu 9. a-na ba-la-ṭi-šu 10. u ba-la-aṭ 11. a-li-šu 12. nit(?) -ti 13. gi-me-ir-ti 14. [i-bu-uš]

No. 1. For the order Kate-Ashir, Shalim-ahum, Ilu-shuma, Irishum, see *MDOG*, No. 26, 54 f.

ASHIR-NIRARI

No. 4 (*KAA*, 62)

1. ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 3. mâr Iš-me-^dDa-gan 4. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 5. ba-ni bît ^dBêl-labira

SHAMSHI-ADAD III

No. 5 (*KAA*, 2)

Obv. Col. I. 1. ^dŠam-ši-^dAdad 2. šar kiššati 3. ba-ni bît 4. ^dAšur 5. [m]u-uš-te-im-ḳi 6. ma-tim 7. bi-ri-it nâru^uDiklatim 8. u nâru^uPurâtim 9. i-na ki-bi-it 10. ^dAšur 11. ra-i-mi-šu 12. ša Anu u ^dEn-[lil] 13. [i]-na šarrâni^{p1} 14. [a]-li-ku-ut 15. [maḥ]-ra 16. [šum-šu] a-na ra-bi-e-tim 17. [ib]-bu-u 18. [bît^d] En-lil 19. [ša E]-ri-šum 20. [mâr

Col. I. 4. Ašur, written ^dA-USAR throughout this inscription.

L. 5. The first two signs, although rubbed, are evidently mu and uš. While the known verbal forms of the root 𐤎𐤍𐤏 have the meaning "to pray, be a suppliant," it seems probable that the form here used is to be regarded

IRISHUM (*ca.* 2000 B.C.)

No. 1

1. Irishum, 2. patesi 3. of Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi 6. of Ashur. 7. Ilu-shuma, 8. son of Shalim-ahum, 9. patesi 10. of Ashur. 11. Shalim-ahum, 12. son of Kate-Ashir, 13. patesi of Ashur.

No. 2

1. Irishum, 2. patesi of 3. Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi 6. of Ashur; 7. for his life 8. and the life of 9. his city, 10. the temple of Adad 11. in its totality, 12. he built, 13. and set up its doors.

No. 3

1. Irishum, 2. patesi 3. of Ashur, 4. son of Ilu-shuma, 5. patesi of 6. Ashur; 7. for Ashur 8. his lord, 9. for his life 10. and the life of 11. his city, 12. ————— 13. all of it, 14. he built.

No. 2. 9. This shows that ll. 9 f. of the inscription of Irishum, published by King, *Annals*, No. 1, is to be read *ana balâtišu u a-li-šu* (not *a-pil-šu*).

L. 11. For *ana gimirtišu*? Cf. following.

ASHIR-NIRARI I (*ca.* 1800 B.C.)

No. 4

1. Ashir-nirari, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Ishme-Dagan, 4. patesi of Ashur, 5. builder of the temple of the elder Bel.

SHAMSHI-ADAD (III? *ca.* 1600 B.C.)

No. 5

Oby. Col. I. 1. Shamshi-Adad, 2. king of the universe, 3. builder of the temple of 4. Ashur; 5. who devotes his energies to 6. the land 7. between the Tigris 8. and the Euphrates. 9. At the command 10. of Ashur 11. who loves him, 12. whose name Anu and Enlil, 13. among (i.e., above) the kings 14. who had gone 15. before, 16-17. had named for great (deeds): 18. the

as a denominative (in the causative-reflexive) of *em û ku*, and may be translated "who devotes his energies, powers to."

L. 12. Anu, written with the *ilu*-sign only.

L. 16. *Ana rabîtim*, for a great (thing). The usual expressions are: *ana bêlût mâtâti*, *ana rê'ût mâti*, and the like.

Ilu]-šum-ma 21. [i-b]u-šu 22. [e-na]-aḥ-ma 23. [pi-ti]-iḫ-šu-ma Col. II. 1. bīt ^dEn-lil 2. be-li-ia 3. parakkam ra-aš-ba-am 4. wa-ad-ma-nam 5. ra-bi-e-im 6. šu-ba-at ^dEn-lil 7. be-li-ia 8. ša i-na ši-bi-ir 9. ne-[me-iḫ] 10. i-ti-nu-tim 11. šu-te-iṣ-[ṣir] 12. i-na ki-ri-ib 13. Ašur^{ki} a-[li-ia] 14. bītam ^{iṣu}[erinam] 15. u-ša-l[i-lu] 16. i-na bābât^{pl}im 17. ^{iṣu}dalât^{pl} ^{iṣu}erinim 18. ša mul-ši-na kaspum ḥurâṣum 19. uš-zi-iz 20. i-ga-ra-[te] bīt^{im} 21. i-na kaspim ḥurâṣim 22. ^{abnu}uknîm ^{abnu}sândim 23. šaman erinim šamn^{im} rêšt^{im} Col. III. 1. dišpim u ḥimê[^{tim}] 2. ši-la-ra-am a-ši-il 3. bīt ^dEn-lil 4. be-li-ia 5. uš-te-iṣ-bi-ma 6. E-am-kur-kur-ra 7. bīt ri-im ma-ta-a-tim 8. bīt ^dEn-lil 9. be-li-ia 10. i-na ki-ri-ib a-li-ia 11. Ašur^{ki} 12. šum-šu a-ab-bi 13. i-nu-ma bīt ^dEn-lil 14. be-li-ia 15. e-bu-šu 16. maḥîr a-li-ia 17. Ašur^{ki} 18. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 19. 2 gur šeim 20. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 21. 25 ma-na šipât^{im} 22. a-na 1 šiḫil kaspim 23. 12 ka šamn^{im} Col. IV. 1. i-na maḥîr a-li-ia 2. Ašur^{ki} 3. lu-u iṣ-ša-am 4. i-nu-mi-šu 5.

L. 23. The restoration of the first two signs is conjectural. On the other hand the restorations in lines 16 to 22 are based on parallel texts (cf. p. 73 of KAA).

Col. II. L. 4. This form shows that the word *admānu* is derived from a root 𐎠𐎫𐎧 not 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺. Cf. the forms *wardum*, *warku*, etc., in the Code of Hammurabi.

L. 9. The second sign is *me* (cf. KAA, p. 73). The last is conjectural, but the traces point to *iḫ*, as does the context.

L. 10. *Itinûtim*, abstract (?) noun from a root *adānu* or the like. Cf. Brunnow 9117 (= II R. 58. 59b), where the god DIM is equated with the god Ea *ša i-din-ni*. Ea, as NU-DIM-MUD, is called *ša nabnîti*, that is (god) of creation (IIR 58. 54). The sign DIM has the value *banû*, to build, and in view of the forms quoted it seems reasonable to infer that it also had a value *adānu* with a similar meaning. For the whole passage compare the expression in Sennacherib, Prism, VI, 54 f., *ina šipir amêl dim-gallê mûṣab bēlûtia ušêpiš*. Esarhaddon built the foundation of the temple of Marduk according to the teaching of NU-DIM-MUT, *uššêšu ušaḫiza* ^dNU-DIM-MUT aršip, BA, III, 248, ll. 26 f. [See also Landsberger's note in ZA, XXV, 384 f., which reached me after my article was in type.]

L. 11. Permansive III₂ of 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺.

temple of Enlil, 19. which Erishum 20. son of Ilushuma 21. had built, 22–23. and whose structure had fallen to ruins: Col. II. 1. the temple of Enlil 2. my lord, 3. a magnificent shrine, 4–5. a spacious abode, 6. the dwelling of Enlil 7. my lord, 8. which, according to the plan 9. of wise 10. architects (?) 11. had been planned, 12–13. in my city Ashur, 14–15. (that) temple I roofed with cedars; 16–19. in the entrances I placed doors of cedar, covered with gold and silver. 20—Col. III. 2. The walls of (that) temple—upon silver, gold, lapislazuli, sându-stone, cedar-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-walls. 3. The temple of Enlil 4. my lord, 5. I enclosed (with a wall), and 6. Eamkurkurra, 7. “the temple of the wild-ox of the lands,” 8. the temple of Enlil 9. my lord, 10–11. in my city Ashur, 12. I called its name. 13–15. When I built the temple of my lord Enlil, 16–17. the (standard) price(s) in my city Ashur (were as follows): 18–19. For one shekel of silver, two gur of grain, 20–21. for one shekel of silver, twenty-five mana of wool, 22–23. for one shekel of silver, twelve ka of oil, Col. IV. 1–3. according to the (standard) price(s) of my city Ashur, were bought. 4. At that time, 5. the tribute of the

L. 14. The *erinam* is conjectural, but seems to be the reading demanded by the context. Such expressions as “beams of cedar, etc., *elišu ušalil*, *erinum šulûlišu*, *ana šulûli . . . ušatriš*,” are common in the building inscriptions. If the restoration suggested is correct, the expression here used is parallel to these, differing only in the syntactical arrangement of the words.

L. 15. Last two signs partly conjectural.

L. 18. Cf. the usual expressions for the covering of doors: *dalâte erini taḥlubti siparri*, *iḥiz kaspi ḥurâši u taḥlubti siparri*, *mêsir kaspi u siparri*. *Mul* probably has a similar meaning. To be derived from לורה (*lamû*, *lawû*)? Cf. Heb. לִירָה.

Ll. 20f. Cf. Shalmaneser, No. 14, Col. IV, 23f.

Col. III. L. 5. III₂ of צבא, which, according to S^c 39. 40, has same meaning as *lamû*.

Ll. 6f. Cf. the common custom of translating the Sumerian names of the temples in the neo-Babylonian period.

Col. IV. L. 6. Cf. *Turuḫi* of the inscriptions of Adad-nirari, Nos. 8f., of which *Tuḫriš* may be an earlier form.

L. 15. *Labân*, hardly, as Streck (*ZA*, XX, 460) suggests, the same as *Labanada* of the Cappadocian tablets. In the same place he suggests the

bi-la-at šarrânim^{pl} 6. ša Tu-uḫ-ri-iš^{ki} 7. u šar ma-a-tim 8. e-li-tim 9. i-na ki-ri-ib a-li-ia 10. Ašur^{ki} 11. lu am-ta-ḥa-ar 12. šu-mi ra-bi-e-im 13. u na-ri-ia 14. i-na ma-a-at 15. La-ab-a-an^{ki} 16. i-na a-aḥ tâmtim 17. ra-bi-i-tim 18. lu-u aš-ku-un 19. i-nu-ma bîtum i-na-ḥu-ma 20. ma-am-ma-an 21. i-na šarrânim^{pl} 22. ma-ri-ia Col. V. 1. ša bîtam u-ud-da-šu 2. te-im-me-ni-ia 3. u na-ri-e-ia 4. šamnam li-ib-šu-uš 5. ni-ḫi-a-am li-iḫ-ḫi-ma 6. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu 7. li-te-ir-šu-nu-ti 8. ša te-im-me-ni-ia 9. u na-ri-e-ia 10. šamnam la i-pa-aš-ša-šu 11. ni-ḫi-a-am la i-na-aḫ-ḫu-ma 12. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu 13. la u-ta-ar-ru-šu-nu-ti 14. u-duš(?) ma na-ri-e-ia 15. u-na-ak-ka-ru-u-ma 16. šu-mi u-ša-za-ku-ma 17. šum-šu i-ša-aṭ-ṭa-ru 18. i-na e-bi-ri-im 19. i-ḫi-bi-ru 20. a-na me-e 21. i-na-ad-du-u 22. šarrum ša-a-ti Col. VI. 1. [^dEn-lil u] ^dAdad 2. . . . ma-a-tim 3. . . . šu 4. -ku-tu 5. [i-na] pa-an šarrim 6. [na]-ki-ri-šu 7. . . -aš] u um-ma-na-tu-šu 8. . . -a] i-ib-ri-ḫu 9. ^dNergal 10. i-na ka-aš-ka-ši-im 11. i-ši-it-ta-šu 12. u i-ši-it-ti ma-ti-šu 13. li-ir-ta-ad-di 14. [^dIstar ilat kabli] 15. [be]-li-it ta-ḥa-zi-im 16. i^{ṣu}kakka-šu u i^{ṣu}kak 17. um-ma-na-ti-šu 18. li-iš-bi-ir 19. ^dSin ilum tal-lim-ia 20. [lu-u]-ra-bí (?) 21. li-mu-ti-šu 22. a-na da-ri-e-tim

identity of Tigrîš in Urartû and Tuḫriš. Whether this name is to be connected with Lebanon, or Laban, or not, it seems better to regard the "great sea" as the Mediterranean, rather than the Black Sea (Meyer, *op. cit.*, § 593), for which the name "upper sea" would have been more fitting. Tiglath-pileser I, Cyl. Insc., Col. IV, 96f., uses the term "upper sea," tâmtim elinîti, for the sea of the Nairi region, while in Col. VI, 43f., the upper sea of the west (ša šalâmu Šamši) is located in the Hatti country. Certainly in the later inscriptions the term "great sea" usually refers to the Mediterranean. As a rule the context gives the clue as to which region is referred to. In the rock inscription of Sebeneh Su, III R. 4, No. 6, Tiglath-pileser distinguishes between the great sea of the land of Amurru and the sea of the land of Nairi. The determinative ki shows that Labân was a city.

kings of 6. Tukrish 7-8. and of the king of the upper country 9-11. I received in my city Ashur. 12. A great name 13. and a (lit. my) memorial stela 14-18. I set up in the country of Labân on the shore of the great sea (the Mediterranean). 19. When that temple shall have fallen to decay, and 20-22. one of the kings of my line (lit. someone among the kings, my sons) Col. V. 1. shall restore it, 2-4. let him anoint my foundation-cylinder and my memorial-stela with oil, 5-7. let him pour out libations upon them and return them to their places. 8-10. Whoever does not anoint my foundation-cylinder and memorial-stela with oil, 11-13. does not pour libations upon them and does not restore them to their places, 14-15. but shall rebuild the temple (?) and shall alter my memorial stela, 16. shall blot out my name 17. and inscribe his own name (upon it), 18-19. or shall cover it with earth, 20-21. or throw it into the water: that king, Col. VI. 1. (may Enlil and) Adad 2. land 3. . . . his . . 4. 5. before (?) a king 6. who is his enemy (?) 7. . . and his forces 8. strike with lightning. 9-13. May Nergal in violence bring about his destruction and the destruction of his land. 14. (May Ishtar, goddess of battle, 15. mistress of war) 16-18. shatter his arms and the arms of his hosts. 19-22. May Sin, my patron, increase (?) his evil for all time to come.

Col. V. 16. Cf. the common *usazakûni* in the older texts, Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, 163, 164, 167, 171, 181, and *ušazik* in the Code of Hammurabi (Harper, under *nazâku*). The form in the later texts is *ušamsaku* (Delitzsch, *HWB*, *masâku*). It is interesting to note the parallels between the curses of this and the later Assyrian inscriptions and those in the epilogue to the Code. They had probably become stereotyped long before Hammurabi's day.

Col. VI. 1-8, badly rubbed.

Ll. 14-15. The restoration of the first line is conjectural, but based on the probable reading of the following line.

L. 19. Tallimia, companion, here patron, cf. Arabic *weli*.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU I

No. 6 (*KAA*, 63)

1. ^mA-šir-ri-im-ni-še-šu. 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šir 3. mâr
^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri 4. pa-te-si ^dA-šir mâr ^dA-šir-rabû 5. pa-
 te-si dûru ša ^mKi-ki-a ^mI-ku-nu-um 6. ^mŠar-ki-en-
 ka-te-^dA-šir 7. ^dA-šir-ni-ra-ri mâr Iš-me-^dDa-gan
 8. ab-ba-ia u-ub-bi-šu-ni e-na-aḥ-ma 9. a-na ba-la-ṭi-ia
 u ša-la-am ali-ia 10. iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di ša-ap-ti-šu
 11. e-bu-uš u zi-ga-ti-šu a-na aš-ri-si-na 12. u-te-ir
 ru-ba-u ur-ki-u 13. e-nu-ma dûru šu-tu e-nu-ḥu-ma
 14. e-ib-bu-šu ^dA-šir u ^dAdad 15. ik-ri-bi-šu i-ša-mi-
 u-šu 16. zi-ga-ti-šu a-na aš-ri-si-na 17. lu-te-ir.

L. 9. Cf. the expression ana balâṭišu u balâṭ ališu in the inscriptions of Irishum (Nos. 2 and 3).

L. 10. Šaptu, coping, cf. šapat būri.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU II

No. 7 (*KAA*, 58)

1. . . A-šir-ma a-na . . 2. . . li-šu dûru rabû . . 3. . .
^mPu-su-ur-^dA-šir . . 4. dûru šu-a-tu dûru
 e-bu-šu 5. . . dûru rabû ša lib-bi a-lim ḳa-du nâri
 6. u-la-ab-bi-is-su 7. -du ša-ap-ti-šu
 e-bu-uš 8. aš-ku-un ru-bu-u ur-ki-u 9.
 e-nu-ḥu-ma e-ib-bu-šu 10. ^dAdad ik-ri-bi-šu
 11. zi-ig-ga-ti 12. lu-te-ir.

ASHUR-UBALLIT I

No. 8 (*KAA*, 64)

1. ^mA-šur-uballiṭ 2. pa-te-si ^dA-šur 3. mâr Erba-
^dAdad 4. pa-te-[si] ^dA-šur-ma 5. e-nu-ma ^dA-šur be-li
 6. Pa-at-ti-duḥ-di 7. a-bi-la-at ḥegalli 8. u nuḥsu 9.
 a-na e-pi-ši lu id(?) -di(?) -na 10. būru ša U-bal-iṭ-še-šu
 šum-ša 11. ša ia-a-ar-ḥi-ša ku-tal(?) tam-li-e 12. 10 i-na
 am-me-ti 13. šu-pu-ul-ša a-di me-e 14. ša i-na pa-na
 15. ^mA-šur-na-din-a-ḥi 16. pa-te-si ^dA-šur 17. iḥ-ru-ši

L. 6. Ashur-nasir-pal, in his rebuilding of Calah, dug a Pattiḥegalli canal, beginning at the Upper Zab. (*Annals*, Col. III, 135).

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU I (*ca.* 1450 B.C. ?)

No. 6

1. Ashir-rim-nishe-shu, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Ashir-nirari, 4. patesi of Ashur, son of Ashir-rabu, 5. patesi. The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, 6. Shar-ken-kate-Ashir, 7. Ashir-nirari, son of Ishme-Dagan, 8. my ancestors, had built, had fallen to ruins and 9. for my life and the safety of my city, 10. from its foundation to its coping, 11. I rebuilt it and returned its phallic cylinders to their places. 12. May some future prince, 13. when that wall shall have fallen to ruins, 14. restore it. Ashur and Adad 15. will hear his prayers. 16. His phallic cylinders let him return to their places.

L. 11. For a discussion of the word *zigâti* (*zikâti*) see *MDOG*, No. 32, 25n. In No. 22. 26, there is published an illustration of a clay phallus, which seems to have been the original of the "cones" of the earlier period (Gudea, etc.), as well as of the barrel-shaped *temena* of later times.

ASHIR-RIM-NISHE-SHU II (*AFTER ca.* 1400 B.C. ?)

No. 7

1. . . . Ashur and to . . 2. his city (?), great wall . . . 3. . . which Pusur-Ashur had built (?) . . . 4. that wall . . . 5. . . the great wall which is in the midst of the city, up to the river. . 6. I (?) enclosed 7. . . . to its coping I rebuilt it 8. . . . (my memorial stela) I set up. May some future prince . . 9. (when that wall) shall have become weak, restore it, 10. (and Bel and) Adad will hear his prayers. 11-12. . . phallic-cylinders let him return (to their places).

ASHUR-UBALLIT I (*ca.* 1400 B.C. ?)

No. 8

1. Ashur-uballit, 2. patesi of Ashur, 3. son of Erba-Adad, 4. patesi of Ashur. 5. When the lord Ashur 6-9. commanded the construction of the Patti-duhdi (canal), which brings plenty and abundance, 10. the well whose name is Uballit-sheshu, 11. whose *iarhi* the terrace, 12. ten cubits was 13. its depth, (reaching) to the (nether) waters, 14-15. which Ashur-nadin-ahi 16. patesi

L. 11. I am not able to offer a translation of this line. *Ku tal* (?) *tamlê*, cf. No. 13, Rev. 2.

18. i-na pi-li ku-du(?) -ri(?) 19. a-gur-ri pi-li 20. i-na
 ři-bi řa būri kun-nu 21. a-na ři-bar ^{isukirí} 22. e-pi-ři
 lid-da na-da-a 23. e-pi-ra lu-u-me-li-ři 24. a-na arkāt
 ūmê^{pl} ūmi(mi) 25. řarru řa būru řa-a-ti 26. i-ħa(?) -řa-
 ħu-ři 27. ib-ri-řa 28. li-ře-la-am-ma 29. u me-e-řa 30.
 li-ik-řu-ud.

L. 21. ři-bar or ři-par(?) Meaning not clear.

L. 24. Ūmê is written twice. The second to be translated "when?"

ADAD-NIRARI II

No. 9 (KAA, 3)

Obv. 1. ^{md}Adad-nirari ru-bu-u el-lu si-mat ili 2. e-ti-
 el-lu řa-ka-an-ki ilāni^{pl} 3. mu-ki-in ma-ħa-zi ni-ir
 dap-nu-ti 4. um-ma-an Kař-ři-i Ķu-ti-i Lu-lu-me-i 5. u
 řu-ba-ri-i mu-ħi-ip kul-la-at 6. na-ki-ri e-li-iř u řap-
 li-iř 7. da-iř ma-ta-ti-řu-nu iř-tu Lu-ub-di 8. u ^{mat}Ra-
 pi-ķu a-di E-lu-ħa-at 9. řa-bi-it ki-iř-řa-at ni-ři 10.
 mu-ra-pi-iř mi-iř-ri u ku-du-ri 11. řarru řa napħar ma-
 al-ki u ru-be-e 12. ^dA-nu ^dAřřur ^dřamař ^dAdad u ^dIřtar
 13. a-na ře-pi-řu u-ře-ik-ni-řu 14. řa-an-gu-u ři-ru řa
^dEn-lil 15. mār ^mA-ri-ik-di-en-ilu řa-ak-ni ^dEn-lil 16.
 iř-řa-ak-ki ^dAřřur ka-ři-id 17. ^{mat}Tu-ru-ki-i u ^{mat}Ni-
 gi-im-ři 18. a-di pa-ař gi-im-ri-řu gi-me-ir 19. ma-al-ku
 řadī(i) u ħu-ur-řa-ni 20. pa-ař Ķu-ti-i ra-pal-ti 21. gu-
 nu Aħ-la-me-i u Su-ti-i 22. Ia-u-ri u ma-ta-ti-řu-nu
 23. mu-ra-pi-iř mi-iř-ri u ku-du-ri 24. mār māri řa
^{md}En-lil-nirari 25. iř-řa-ak-ki ^dAřřur-ma řa um-ma-an
 26. Kař-ři-i i-na-ru-ma u na-ga-ab 27. za-e-ri-řu ħa-su
 ik-řu-du 28. mu-ra-pi-iř mi-iř-ri u ku-du-ri 29. li-ip-
 li-pi řa ^{md}Ařřur-uballiř 30. řarru dan-nu řa řa-an-gu-su
 i-na ekurri 31. ra-ař-bi řu-tu-rat u řu-lu-um řarru-ti-řu
 32. a-na ru-ķa-ti ki-ma řa-di-i ku-un-nu 33. mu-si-pi-iħ
 el-la-at ^{mat}řu-ba-ri-i ra-pal-ti 34. mu-ra-pi-iř mi-iř-ri
 u ku-du-ri 35. e-nu-ma dūr ali eřřu řa pa-ni nārī 36.
 řa ħal-ři-ti-sa-ri 37. řa ^mPu-řur-^dAřřur a-bi řarru a-lik
 pa-ni-ia 38. i-na pa-na e-bu-řu 2½ libittu ku-bar-řu

of Ashur 17. had dug aforetime, 18. with limestone 19–20. a wall of limestone reaching to the bottom of the well. 21–22. To make of a park, I threw down its falling (walls), 23. and filled it with dirt. 24. In the days to come, 25. when some king desires (to use) that well, 27–28. let him have the dirt removed 29–30. and then he may reach its waters.

L. 26. The second sign is probably *ḥa*. *Ši* is evidently the suffixed pronoun, and the verb a Qal present.

ADAD-NIRARI II (*ca.* 1300 B.C.)

No. 9

1. Adad-nirari, illustrious prince, honored of god, 2. lord, viceroy of the gods, 3. city-founder, destroyer of the mighty 4. hosts of Cassites, Kuti, Lulumi, 5. and Shubari; who destroys all 6. foes, north and south; 7. who tramples down their lands from Ludbu and 8. Rapiku to Elúhat; 9. who captures all peoples, 10. enlarges boundary and frontier; 11. the king, to whose feet all kings and princes, 12. Anu, Ashur, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar 13. have brought in submission; 14. the exalted priest of Enlil, 15. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Enlil, 16. viceroy of Ashur, who conquered 17. the lands of Turuki and Nigimti 18. in their totality, together with all of their 19. kings, mountains and highlands, 20. the territory of the wide-spreading Kuti, 21. the region of the Ahlami and Suti, 22. the Iauri and their lands; 23. who enlarged boundary and frontier; 24. grandson of Enlil-nirari, 25. viceroy of Ashur, who destroyed the armies 26. of the Cassites, whose hand overcame all of 27. his foes, 28. who enlarged the boundary and frontier; 29. great-grandson of Ashur-uballit 30. the mighty king, whose priesthood in the great temple 31. was glorious, the peace of whose reign 32. to distant lands was established (firm) as a mountain; 34. who destroyed the armies of the wide-spreading Shubari, 34. who enlarged boundary and frontier. 35. When the wall of the new city (or the new wall of the city) which is opposite the river (faces the river) 36. (and) which is provided with an encasing-wall (?), 37. which my ancestor Pusur-Ashur who reigned before me 38. had built aforetime; (when) two and one-

39. 30 ti-ip-ki mu-la-šu e-na-aḥ iḥ-ta-bi-it 40. u mi-lu
 it-bal-šu ašar-šu u-ni-ki-ir 41. dan-na-su ak-šu-ud 10
 libittu i-na na-al-ba-ni-i 42. rabi-i u-ḫi(?) -bi-ir iš-di-šu
 i-na ki-ši-ir šadî(i) 43. dan-ni lu ar-me iš-tu uš-še-šu
 44. a-di ga-ba-di-bi-šu e-bu-uš na-a-bi-šu 45. . . lu-ut
 mē^{pl} i-na [pi-l]i a-gu-ur-ri. (Rev.) 1. u ku-up-ri ak-si-
 ir i-na 2. i-na ki-si-ir-ti pi-li a-gur-[ri] 3. u ku-
 up-ri pa-ni-nâri-šu aš-bat 4. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 5. a-
 na ar-ka-at ûmē^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 6. e-nu-ma dûru šu-
 u u-šal-ba-ru-ma 7. e-na-ḥu u lu-u mi-lu i-tab-ba-lu-uš
 8. an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš na-ri-ia u šu-me šaṭ-ra 9. a-na aš-
 ri-šu lu-te-ir ^dAššur ik-ri-be-šu 10. i-še-im-me ša šu-me
 šaṭ-ra i-pa-ši-ṭu-ma 11. šu-um-šu i-ša-ṭa-ru u lu-u na-
 ri-ia 12. u-ša-am-sa-ku a-na ša-aḥ-lu-uḫ-ti 13. i-ma-
 nu-u i-na mi-lim i-na-du-u 14. i-na e-pi-ri û-ka-ta-mu
 u(?) i-na iššati 15. i-ḫa-lu-u a-na mē^{pl} i-na-du-u a-na
 bît asaki 16. a-šar la a-ma-ri u-še-ri-bu-ma 17. i-ša-
 ka-nu u lu-(u) aš-šum ir-ri-ti 18. ši-na-ti-na na-ka-ra
 a-ḥa-a ia-a-ba 19. li-im-ma li-ša-na na-kar-ta 20. lu-u
 ma-am-ma ša-na-a u-ma-a-ru-ma 21. u-ša-ḥa-zu u lu
 mi-im-ma 22. i-ḥa-sa-sa-ma e-bu-šu 23. ^dAššur ilu ši-ru
 a-ši-ib E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra 24. ^dA-nu ^dEn-lil ^dE-a u
^dIštar 25. ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} ^dI-gi-gu ša šamê(e) 26. ^dA-
 nun-na-ku ša ir-ši-ti i-na napḥar-šu-nu 27. iz-zi-iš li-
 ki-el-mu-šu-ma 28. ir-ri-ta ma-ru-uš-ta ag-gi-iš 29.
 li-ru-ru-uš šu-um-šu zêra-šu el-la-su 30. u ki-im-ta-šu
 i-na ma-ti lu-ḥal-li-ḫu 31. na-aš-pu-uḥ mâti-šu ḥa-la-
 ak ni-ši-šu 32. u ku-du-ri-šu ina pî-šu-nu ka-ab-ta 33.
 li-ša-am-ma ^dAdad i-na ri-ḫi-iš 34. li-mu-ti li-ir-ḫi-ṣu
 a-bu-bu 35. im-ḥul-lu sa-aḥ-ma-aš-tu ti-šu-u 36. a-ša-

Obv. 1-34 and Rev. 6 to end, cf. the inscription of Adad-nirari published in King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 4f.

L. 38. Ku-bar, perhaps foundation.

L. 39. Mula, cf. Col. II, 18, of the inscription of Shamshi-Adad (No. 5), where mul is used for the usual taḥlubti, covering. Iḥtabit seems to have the same meaning as ênaḥ. Cf. No. 10, Rev. 2. Ḥabātu usually refers to the plundering of people.

half (layers of) brick of its kubar (and) 39. thirty tipki of its encasing-wall had become weak and had given way, 40. and the waters had overflowed it and obliterated all traces of it (made its place unknown), 41. I dug down to its foundations, and ten (layers of) the (adobe) brickwork I covered (?) with a strong encasing-wall of burnt brick. 42. Its foundations I established upon huge blocks of stone from the mountain. 43. From its foundation 44. to its coping I rebuilt its nâbi 45. the . . of waters with a wall of burnt brick (Rev.) 1. and bitumen I dammed up. 2. With a quay of stone, burnt brick and bitumen 3. I enclosed its riverward-side, 4. and set up my memorial tablet. 5. In the days to come, may some future prince, 6. when that wall shall become old 7. and fall into ruins, when the high-water shall overflow it, 8. restore its ruins, return my memorial stela with (and) my inscription 9. to its place and Ashur will hear his prayers. 10. Whoever shall blot out my name 11. and write his own name (in its place), or shall break my memorial stela, 12. or shall consign it to destruction, 13. or throw it into the river, 14. or shall cover it with earth, 15. or cast it into the fire, or into the water, or shall take it into a dark chamber 16. where it cannot be seen, and 17. shall set it up therein, 18. or if anyone because of these curses shall send a hostile foe or an evil 19. enemy, or an evil tongue (that is, a slanderer), 20. or any other man, 21. and shall have him seize it, or if he plan 22. and carry out any other plot against it, 23. may Ashur the mighty god, who dwells in Ehar-sagkurkurra, 24. Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ishtar, 25. the great gods, the Igigu of heaven, 26. the Anunaku of earth all of them (lit. in their totality), 27. look upon him in great anger, and 28. curse him with an evil curse. 29. His name, his seed, his kith and kin 30. may they destroy from the land. 31. The destruction of his land, the ruin of his people and his boundary, 32. may they

L. 44. As Delitzsch pointed out in *MDOG*, 22, 73, this passage shows that the word usually transliterated taḥ-lu-bi has no connection with the verb ḥalâpu (from which, however, the noun taḥlubtu is derived), but is to be read gab-dib-bi. This explains the variant reading gab-dib-šu-nu of the building inscription of Ashur-resh-ishi (King, *Annals*, 21, n. 7), as well as the gab-bi-dib-šu of text A of the Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, Col. VII, 85 (King, *Annals*, 97, n. 3).

am-šu-tu su-un-ku bu-bu-tu 37. a-ru-ur-tu hu-ša-hu
i-na mâti-šu lu ka-ia-an 38. mâ-t-su a-bu-bi-iš lu-uš-
ba-i 39. a-na ti-li u kar-me lu-te-ir 40. ^dAdad i-na
bi-ri-iḫ li-mu-ti 41. mâ-t-su li-ib-ri-iḫ.

arab Mu-ḥur-ilâni^{pl} ûmu 1^{kam} li-mu

Ana- ^dAššur-ḫa-al-la rab Ekallim(lim).

No. 10 (KAA, 4)

Obv. (Lines 1 to 28 are the same as lines 1 to 34 of the preceding inscription, with the following exceptions: After l. 20 add, ka-ši-id^{mat} Ku-ut-mu-[ḫi] u na-gab ri-ṣi-šu; after l. 32 add mu-še-ik-ni-iš^{mat} Mu-uṣ-[ri].)

29. e-nu-ma dûru ali eššu rabâ(a) ša mu-li-e ša [pâni
nâri] 30. ša iš-tu dûri rabê(e) ša lib-bi ali a-na si . . . 31.
a-di nâri ša ^mPu-sur-^dA-šur a-bi šarru 32. a-lik pa-ni-ia
i-na pa-na e-bu-šu dûru ša-a-tu 33. ^m^dA-šur-rim(EN)-ni-
še-šu a-bi-ma u-la-bi-is-su 34. -i(?) -tu-ur e-na-aḥ-ma
35. ^mErba-^dAdad pa-te-si ^dA-šur a-bi-ma 36. šarru a-lik
pa-ni-ia a-di abullâti-šu 37. u(?) a-sa-ia-te-šu a-li-ik
dûr a-li u-la-bi-[is-su]. (Rev.) 1. dûru(?) ma-aḫ-ta
iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš 2. dûru šu-u
e-na-aḥ-ma iḫ-ta-bi-it ^m^dAdad-nir[ari] pa-te-si ^dAšur
3. an-ḥu-su u-di-iš an-ša aḫ-ta dûru(?) ma-aḫ-ta iš-tu
uš-še-šu 4. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš 14 libittu i-na
na-al-ba-ni-ia rabî u-[ki-bi]-ir 5. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un na-
ri-e ša ab-bi-ia 6. it-ti na-ri-ia-ma aš-ku-un 7. a-na
ar-ka-at ûmê^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 8. e-nu-ma dûru šu-u

L. 20. The writing Ku-ut-mu-ḫi is interesting. No doubt the name is to be read Kutmuḫi in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser as well, that is, the kat sign had the value kut as well as kum. In No. 14, Col. III, 19, the reading is Kut(tar-kut sign)-mu-ḫi. In the later inscriptions however the t was lost.

L. 29. Cf. No. 9, Obv. 35.

L. 33. It may be necessary to distinguish between Ashur-rim-nishe-shu and Ashur-bêl-nishe-shu. The names however have the same meaning, namely, "Ashur is lord of his peoples." If we read the names differently, the second Ashur-rim-nishe-shu (above p. 159) is to be replaced by Ashur-bel-nishe-shu.

decree by their fateful command. 33. May Adad overwhelm him 34. with an evil downpour, may flood and storm, 35. confusion and tumult, 36. tempest, want, and famine, 37. drought and hunger continue in his land. 38. May Adad pour his floods upon his land, 39. turn it into ruins and wastes, 40. and destroy his land with his destructive lightning.

The month Muhur-ilani, the first day; the eponymy (year) of Ana-Ashur-kalla, the major domo.

No. 10

Obv. 1-28 are the same as 1-34 of the preceding inscription with the following exceptions: After 20, add "conqueror of the land of Kutmuhi and all of its allies." After 32, add "who subjugated the land of Musri." Note that the first phrase refers to Arik-den-ilu and the second to Ashur-uballit.

29. When the great wall of the new city with a rampart facing the river (?), 30. and which extends (?) from the great wall of the middle of the city to 31. up to the river, which Pusur-Ashur, my ancestor, a king who lived before my time, 32. had built afore-time; that wall 33. my ancestor Ashur-rim-nishe-shu enclosed (with a new encasing wall) 34. . . and became weak, then 35. my ancestor Erba-Adad, patesi of Ashur, 36. a king who lived before my time, 37. covered it (with a new encasing wall) up to its gates and piers, the whole length of the city wall (?). (Rev.) 1. The wall which had fallen (or the fallen parts of the wall) he rebuilt from its foundation to its coping. 2. That wall became weak and fell into ruins (once more) and Adad-nirari, patesi of Ashur, 3. repaired it, (then) I tore it down completely (?) and rebuilt the fallen wall from its foundation 4. to its coping. I encased it with a (lit. my) great encasing wall of burnt brick, fourteen brick deep (?) 5. and set up my memorial

L. 37. Rubbed, context obscure.

Rev. 2. The restoration of the name Adad-nirari is based on Delitzsch's notes on p. 73 of *KAA*. The nirari is not certain, but the traces clearly point to this reading. If this reading is correct we must place an Adad-nirari I between the Adad-nirari of these inscriptions and Erba-Adad, unless Adad-nirari, the author of the inscription, is meant. This is not impossible.

9. u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš 10. šu-me šaṭ-ra na-ri-ia u ti-me-ni-ia 11. a-na aš-ri-šu-nu lu-te-ir ^dA-šur ik-ri-be-šu 12. i-še-me (etc. like preceding). 36. (after ^mAdad ina biriḫ mâtṣu libriḫ) ^dBêltu a-bi-iḫ mât[i-šu] 37. i-na pa-ni na-ak-ri-šu ia iz-zi-iz a-na mat(?)

^{arab}Kar-ra-a-tu li-mum(?).

No. 11 (KAA, 5)

(Lines 1 to 32 are same as preceding with the following exceptions:

8. a-di E-lu-ḥa-at ka-ši-id ^{alu}Ta-i-di 9. ^{alu}Šu-ri ^{alu}-[Ka-] ḥa-at ^{alu}A-ma-sa-ki 10. ^{alu}Hu-ur-ra ^{alu}Šu-du-ḥi ^{alu}Na-bu-la 11. ^{alu}Uš-šu-ka-ni u ^{alu}Ir-ri-di 12. si-ḥi-ir-ti Ka-ši-ia-e-ri a-di E-lu-ḥa-at 13. ḥal-ši ^{alu}Su-di ḥal-ši Ḥa-ra-ni a-di ^{alu}Kar-ga-miš 14. ša a-aḥ ^{nârî}Pu-ra-ti ṣa-bi-it kiš-šat ni-ši etc.)

22. (after paṭ Ḳuti rapalti) ka-ši-id ^{mat}Ku-ut-mu-ḥi u na-gab ri-ši-šu etc.

31. (After šarrûtišu ana ruḫâte kîma šadî kunnu) mu-še-ik-ni-iš ^{mat}Mu-uṣ-ri mu-si-pi-iḥ el-la-at 32. ^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-e etc.)

33. e-nu-ma ekallu ali-ia ^dAššur ša ^{m^d}Aššur-nirari 34. li(m)-li-it-ti ab-be-ia šarru a-lik pa-ni-ia i-na pa-na 35. e-bu-šu i-ga-ru ša ri-iš ba-a-be ša ḥaṭ-ṭi (Lower Edge) 36. ša tar-ši pi-li-e ša ki-ri-ib ekallim(lim) 37. ša-a-ti a-li parakku ša ^dAššur beli-ia (Rev.) 1. i-na kir-bi-šu ib-šu u (ša-)at-ti-ša-am-ma 2. ^dAššur be-li a-na parakki ša-a-tu a-na a-ša-bi il-la-[ku] 3. i-ga-ru šu-u e-na-aḥ-ma an-ḥu-su u-ni-ki-ir 4. u-di-iš a-na aš-ri-šu u-te-ir u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 5. a-na ar-kat ûmê^{p1} rubû ar-ku-u e-nu-ma 6. i-ga-ru šu-u u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su 7. lu-di-iš etc. 13. . . . a-na bît a-sa-ki a-šar la-ma-ri etc. 31. ^dBêltu a-bi-ik-ti mât-i-šu li-iš-kun i-na

Ll. 8 f. Taidi, etc., cf. Shalmaneser (No. 14), Col. III, 1 f.

L. 34. Lim-li-it-ti, for lil-li-it-ti. Which Ashur-nirari is here referred to?

Ll. 37 f. An interesting passage, showing that Ashur entered his shrine yearly, that is, there was a yearly procession similar to that of the zagmuk-

stela. The memorial stela of my ancestors 6. I set up beside my own. 7. In the days to come, may some future prince, 8. when that wall shall have become old and weak, 9. restore its ruins, 10. return the memorial stela with my inscription, and my foundation cylinder to 11. their places, and Ashur will hear his prayers, etc. 36. (after, "may Adad destroy his land with his lightning") may Belit accomplish the overthrow of his land, 37. before his foes may he not be able to stand (?).

The month Karātu, eponymy of

No. 11

Lines 1 to 32 are the same as the beginning of Nos. 9 and 10, with the following exceptions: 8. as far as Eluhāt, conqueror of the cities of Taidi, Shuri, [Ka]hat, Amasaki, Hurra, Shuduhi, Nabula, Ushukani, and Irridi; the whole of the Kashiari mountain region as far as Eluhāt, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran, as far as Karkamish which is on the banks of the Euphrates, etc.

22. (after "the wide spreading Kutī") who conquered the land of Kutmuhi and all of its allies.

31. Conqueror of Musri. Note that the conquests mentioned in 8 f. were accomplished by Adad-nirari himself, while those of 22 f. and 31 f. belong to the reigns of Arik-den-ilu and Ashur-uballit respectively (cf. the preceding inscription).

33. When the palace of my city Ashur, which Ashur-nirari, 34. offspring of my ancestors, a king who reigned before my time, 35. had built aforetime: the wall at the head of the Gate(s) of the Scepter (?), 36. . . . which is opposite (?) the which is in 37. that palace of the city. The shrine of my lord Ashur (Rev.) 1. he built therein and yearly 2. the lord Ashur goes to dwell in that shrine. 3. That wall became weak and I cleared away its ruins, 4. renewed it and restored it to its place. My memorial stela I set up.

festival at Babylon. The Chronicles frequently have notices like, "the gods of Dur-Sharru-ukin (or other gods) entered their shrines."

Rev. 13. Bît a-sa-ki; this gives the value of the ideogram for which King, *Annals*, p. 9, suggested ekliti. The words probably have the same meaning. Ashurnasirpal uses bît ki-li (King, *Annals*, 166).

L. 31f. This passage, although rubbed in places, makes possible the restoration of 36f. of the preceding inscription.

pa-ni 32. na-ak-ri-šu ia iz-zi-iz ^dAdad i-na bi-ri-iḫ
(Upper Edge) 33. li-mut-ti mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ a-na mâti
... 34. ḥu-ša-aḥ-ḥa li-di 35. (Left Edge) ^{arab}Kar-
rat-te ūmu 20^{kam} li-mu ^mŠa-^dAdad-ni-nu

No. 12 (KAA, 6)

1. ^{md}Adad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur 2. mâr
Arik-dên-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur 3. mâr ^dEn-
lil-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dEn-lil šangû ^dA-šur-ma 4. e-nu-ma
a-bu-sa-tu ša bâb ^dAnim u ^dAdad 5. bēlê^{pl} -ia u . . .
ši-na ša i-na pa-na 6. ib-ša e-na-ḥa . . . a-bu-sa-te
7. iš-tu uš-še-ši-[na] a-di gab-dib-bi-ši-na e-bu-uš 8.
^{iṣu}dalâti^{pl} a-šu-ḥi [paḫlu-]te ir-ri-ti 9. ši-ra-ti eššâti^{pl}
... e-bu-uš 10. i-na mi-si-ir [siparri] u-ši-bi-it 11. i-na
abulli ^dAnim u ^dAdad bēlê^{pl} -ia 12. a-na da-ra-ti u-
ki(?) -in 13. a-na ar-ka-at ūmê(me)^{pl} rubû ar-ku-u
14. e-nu-ma bît a-bu-sa-tu u ^{iṣu}dalâti^{pl} -ši-na 15. e-na-
ḥa-ma u-da- 16. ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma li-bu-uš 17. šu-mi
šaṭ-ra a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-[ir] 18. ^dA-šur ^dA-nu u ^dAdad
ik-ri-be-šu [išemû] 19. mu-ni-ki-ir ši-it-ri-ia u šu-me-
ia 20. ^dA-šur ^dA-nu ^dAdad ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} 21. a-lik
ri-ši-ia-ma(?) lik-da-me-? 22. šarru-su li-is-ki-pu šum-
šu . . 23. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-li-ḫu na-aš-pu-uḥ mâti-šu
24. ḥa-lak ni-ši-šu u ku-du-ri-šu 25. i-na pî(i)-šu-nu
kabta 26. li-ša-am-ma 27. ^dAdad i-na bi-ri-iḫ li-mu-ti
28. mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ 29. a-na mâti-šu ḥu-ša-ḥa li-di

L. 4. Abusati, see Delitzsch, *HWB*; from the expression bît-abusatu of line 14, and lines 6f., it would seem that a meaning like pylon, or pilaster, must be assigned to the word. It probably has nothing to do with אבן, as is suggested in the Ges.-Buhl Heb. Lex.

No. 13 (KAA, 65)

Obv. (1 to 25 same as No. 11, 1 f.)

26. ki-si-ir-ta ša pa-ni nâri ša iš-tu si-ip-pi- 27. e-li-e
ša bâb ^dE-a-šarri a-di si-ip-pi-i 28. šap-li-e ša bâb

5 f. In the days to come, may some future prince, when that wall shall have become old, etc. 13. to a house of darkness, etc. 31 f. May Belit establish his overthrow of his land, may he not be able to stand before his enemies, may Adad destroy his land with his destructive lightning, may bring famine to his land.

Month of Karrate, the twentieth day, the eponymy of Sha-Adad-ninu

No. 12

1. Adad-nirari, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur, 2. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur, 3. son of Enlil-nirari, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ashur. 4. When the abusatu of the gate of 5. my lords Anu and Adad and their , which had been built aforetime, 6. fell to ruins, . . . the abusate 7. from their foundations to their copings I rebuilt; 8. doors of mighty ashuhu-trees, 9. large new irriti, . . I made, 10. with a covering of copper I covered (them), 11. and in the gate of my lords Anu and Adad, I set them up 12. for all time to come. 13. In days to come, may some future prince, 14. when the bît-abusati and their doors 15. shall have fallen to ruins and . . . 16. may he renew them as I did, 17. and return my inscription to its place, 18. and Ashur and Adad will hear his prayers. 19. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, 20. may Ashur and Adad and the great gods, 21. my protectors, ——— him, 22. overthrow his kingdom, 23. destroy his name and . . from the land. The destruction of his land, 24. the ruin of his people and his boundary, 25–26. may they decree by their fateful command. 27. May Adad with his destructive lightning 28. destroy his land, 29. and may he bring famine to his land.

No. 13

Lines 1 to 25 are the same as No. 11, 1 f.

L. 26. The quay which faces the river and extends from the 27. upper threshold of the gate of Ea-sharri to the 28. lower threshold of the gate of Ninib (?), had become weak from the water 29. and the high-water came up to it and carried 30. off its (casing of) burnt brick. That quay I strengthened 31. with (bitumen) and burnt brick, four

^d MAŠ-NA-LAL ša i-na mē^{pl} e-na-[ḥu-ma] 29. mi-lu a-na ša-a šu-bu-li-šu u a-gur-[ri] 30. it-ba-lu ki-si-ir-ta ša-a-ti iš-tu ku . . . 31. u a-gur-ri ak-si-ir 4½ a-gur-ri u-

(Rev.) 1. [i]-na pi-li u ib-ri ša ali u-ba- . . 2. ku-ta-li-šu ak-si-ir u na-ri-ia aš-ku-[un . .] 3. a-na ar-kat ūmē^{pl} ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 4. e-nu-ma ki-is-ir-tu ši-i u-šal-ba-ru-ma 5. e-na-ḥu an-ḥu-su lu-di-iš šu-mi šaṭ-ra 6. na-ri-ia a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-ir etc. 13. a-na bit a-sa-ak-ki a-šar etc.

L. 26. Adad-nirari IV (usually III) mentions this quay and its builder Adad-nirari (KAA, No. 24, Rev. 6). A number of bricks of Adad-nirari also refer to the quay. KAA, 7, reads: Ekal ^mAdad-nirari patesi(?) mār Arik-den-ilu patesi-ma ša ki-si-ir-ti ša pâni nâri; "palace of Adad-nirari, the patesi, son of Arik-den-ilu, the patesi; (brick) from the quay which faces the river."

SHALMANESER I

No. 14 (KAA, 13)

Obv. Col. I. 1. ^mŠulmānu-ašaridu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 2. el-lu šakkanakku ilāni^{pl} rubû mi-gir ^dIštar 3. mu-bi-ib šu-luḥ-ḥi u nindabû 4. mu-ša-tir ana napḥar ilāni^{pl} zi-i-bi 5. tak-li-me mu-kin ma-ḥa-zi el-lu-ti 6. ba-nu E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra ki-iṣ-ši ilāni^{pl} 7. šadû(u)mâtâti BUR-GAL tab-ra-ti ri-u 8. pu-ḥur da-ad-me ša-il šak-ḡa(?) 9. tu-šu šu-tu-ra el Aš-šur ṭa-a-ba 10. ur-ša-nu ḡar-du li-u tu-ḡu-ma-ti 11. ḡa-am

Col. I. 4-5. Zîbi, corresponds to the bloody sacrifice (זֶבֶחַ) of the O.T. If the first word of 5 is to be read taklime (the variant readings do not help to determine the reading), the translation "show-bread" may bring out the meaning of the term. That is, if the word is to be derived from kalāmu; see Delitzsch, *HWB*. Zimmern, *KAT*, 600, has another equivalent for the Hebrew לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, but the later biblical books also use the term לֶחֶם הַמִּצְחָה, which would indicate that the Hebrew term is descriptive rather than a *terminus technicus*. Cf. Aurnasirpal inscription (King, *Annals*, 165), ni-da-ba-ša u tak-li-ša u-ki-in-ši.

Ll. 7-8. Instead of BUR-GAL dadme, another text has the reading pa-te-si ri-iš-tu-u šaknu ^dA-nim u ^dBêl, chief patesi (high-priest, "Defender of the Faith"), prefect of Anu and Bel. With BUR-GAL compare GAL-BUR=ušumgal, S^b 125. Ša-il šak-ḡa: šailu

and one-half (layers) of burnt brick and . . . (Rev.) 1. upon (?) a limestone (foundation?), and earth from the city I (brought) and 2. strengthened its kutalli. My memorial stela I set up. 3. In the days to come, when that quay shall have become old, etc.

KAA, 12, Ekal ^mAdad-nirari šar kiššati apil Arik-den-ilu šar ^{mat}Aššur ša ki-si-ir-ti ša kisâdî(i) narâti (var. na-ri) ša ekal-la-ti, "palace of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, son of Arik-den-ilu, king of Assyria; (brick) from the quay facing the bank(s) of the river(s), belonging to the palaces."

Rev. 2. From this passage it would seem that kutallu means the solid core of a wall or terrace. See the inscription of Ashur-uballit (No. 8), 11 f., where the old well of Ashur-nadin-ahe seems to have been dug down through the core of the terrace (kuta^l tam^{lê}).

SHALMANESER I (ca. 1295 B.C.)

No. 14

Obv. Col. I. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 2. the illustrious viceroy of the gods, favorite prince of Ishtar, 3. who restores (purifies) the cult and the freewill offerings, 4. who increases the bloody sacrifices and the 5. show-bread (?) for all of the gods. Founder of splendid cities, 6. builder of Eharsagkurkurra, the abode of the gods, 7. the mountain of the lands. Awe-inspiring despot, shepherd of all peoples, 8. counsellor of (all) creatures (?), 9. who increases the evil (?) more than Ashur the good (!). 10. Strong warrior, mighty in battle, 11. who burns

(Del., *HWB*, 634), name of a priest class; perhaps here to be translated "counsellor"; cf. the usage of šaâlu in *I*₂, where it is equivalent to malâku. The Hebrew שָׁאַל, "inquire," in a legal sense, may also be compared with this usage (Deut. 13:15). The word is clearly to be regarded as a parallel of rê'u. This seems to follow from its combination with the word šakka. Whatever may be the correct reading of this word, *II R* 36, 3 c, d, shows that it is related to bašamu, and the meaning of this is in all probability "creature"; the verb bašâmu means "to make, to form." The fact that šail šakka is parallel to the preceding rîu puhur dadmê strengthens this conclusion. A free rendering of the two phrases would be, "shepherd and counsellor of all peoples, all creatures."

L. 9. Translation doubtful.

L. 10. Uršanu, var. ur-ša-an-nu. Instead of li-u f., var. has li-hu-um tuḫumâti (GIŠ-LAL-MEŠ). This would indicate that the root is לָחַם not לָחַל.

za-a-a-ri mu-ul-ta-aš-gi-mu 12. ka-bal gi-ri-šu ša ki-ma nab-li 13. it-ta-na-aš-ra-ru e-ri-iḥ 14. ta-ḥa-su u ki-ma ḡis-par mu-ti 15. la pa-di-e te-bu-u ^{iṣu} kakkê^{pl}-šu 16. rubû ki-nu ša i-na tukulti ^dAš-šur 17. u ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} bēlê^{pl}-šu it-ta-la-ku-ma 18. ma-ḥi-ra la-a i-šu-u ṣa-bit 19. mi-iṣ-rat na-ki-ri e-liš u šap-liš 20. bēlu ša napḥar ma-al-ki u rubê(e) 21. ^dAš-šur u ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} ana šêpi-šu 22. u-še-ik-ni-šu e-nu-ma Aš-šur bēlu 23. a-na pa-la-ḥi-šu ki-niš u-ta-ni-ma 24. a-na šu-šur ṣalmât kaḫḫada(a) ^{iṣu} ḥaṭṭu ^{iṣu} kakku 25. u šipir-ra id-di-na a-ga-a ki-na 26. ša be-lu-ti iṣ-ru-ḫa i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma 27. i-na šur-ru šangûti(ti)-ia ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri 28. ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma a-na ^dAš-šur 29. u ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} bēlê^{pl}-ia ḫa-ti 30. aš-ši da-ku-ut um-manâti^{pl}-ia aš-ku-un 31. a-na ki-ṣir ḥur-ša-ni-šu-nu dan-nu-ti 32. lu e-li ^{mat}Ḥi-im-me (Lower Edge) 33. ^{mat}U-ad-ḫu-un ^{mat}Bar-gu-un 34. ^{mat}Sa-lu-a ^{mat}Ḥa-li-la ^{mat}Lu-ḥa 35. ^{mat}Ni-li-pa-aḥ-ri 36. u ^{mat}Zi-in-gu-un 8 mâtât^{pl} 37. u ellât^{pl}-ši-na ak-šud 51 alâni^{pl}- 38. šu-nu ak-kur aš-ru-up šal-la-su-nu 39. makurra-šu-nu aš-lu-ul pu-ḥur 40. ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri i-na 3-ti ûmê(me) Col. II. 1. a-na šêpi Aš-šur bēli-ia lu-še-ik-niš 2. ad-me-šu-nu u-ni-šik ^{amêl}pagri 3. a-na ar-du-ti u pa-la-ḥi-ia 4. u-ta-šu-nu-ti kab-ta bilta 5. ḥur-ša-ni a-na da-ra-ti eli-šu-nu 6. lu aš-ku-un ^{alu}A-ri-na ki-ṣa šur-šu-da 7. ki-ṣir ḥur-ša-ni ša i-na maḥ-ra 8. ib-bal-ki-tu i-še-ṭu Aš-šur 9. i-na tukulti Aš-šur u ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} 10. bēlê^{pl}-ia alu ša-a-tu ak-šud ak-kur 11. u ku-di-me e-li-šu az-ru ib-ri-šu 12. e-si-pa-ma i-na

L. 14. Gišpar, var. GIŠ-PA, that is, ḥaṭṭu for ḥaṭṭu ḥuḥaru. Cf. חבלי מור.

L. 25. Šiparra, var. ši-pi-ra, one of the insignia of office. Variant of šibirru.

L. 27. U-rat-ti; cf. 40, where the form U-ru-ḥu-ad-ri occurs as a variant reading. Probably the earliest occurrence of the name of Armenia, written Urarṭu in the later texts.

L. 28. After the verb, var. adds it-ti-ia ik-ki-ru za-e-ru-ti e-pu-šu, became estranged from me and stirred up enmity.

up the enemy, thunders (like Adad) amongst his foes; 12. who bursts forth like a flame of fire; 13. who decides the battle (or is brave in battle?); 14-15. and like the snare of certain death is the onset of his arms. 16. The legitimate ruler, who looks to Ashur 17. and the great gods, his lords, for support, 18. who has no rival; who seizes 19. the territory of the enemy north and south. 20. The lord to whose feet 21. Ashur and the great gods 22. have brought all kings and rulers in submission. When the lord Ashur 23. chose me for his legitimate worshiper, 24. and, for the ruling of the black-headed people gave me lance, scepter and 25. staff, he presented me the diadem 26. of legitimate rulership. At that time, 27. at the beginning of my priesthood, the land of Uruadri 28. rebelled, and to Ashur 29. and the great gods, my lords, I raised 30. my hands in prayer, mustered my armies, 31. went up against their mighty mountain fastnesses. 32. The lands of Himme, 33. Uadkun, Bargun, 34. Salua, Halila, Luha, 35. Nilipahri, 36. Zin-gun: eight countries 37. with their forces I conquered. Fifty-one of their cities 38. I captured, burned, their booty, 39. their property, I seized. The whole 40. land of Uruadri, in three days' time, Col. II. 1. at the feet of Ashur my lord, I brought in submission. 2. Their young men I brought down dead, 3. chose them (the survivors) to serve and fear me. 4. Heavy tribute 5. for a mountainous region (to pay?), for all time, I imposed 6. upon them. The city of Arina, a strongly fortified 7. mountain fastness, which had formerly revolted, 8. despising the god Ashur; 9. by the help of Ashur and the great gods, 10. my lords, I took that city, destroyed it, 11. and scattered kudime over its (site). Its dust 12. I gathered

L. 30. Dakûtu, cf. the usual dikûtu.

Ll. 30f. Countries lying to the northwest of Assyria, cf. Tiglath-pileser.

L. 40. One text has variant reading, U-ru-ḥu-ad-ri.

Col. II. 2. Admê, young men, probably the young warriors. Unişik amêl pagri (šalamtu), var. ina pagri: brought low as, or among the dead. Verb našâku which forms a group with nadû and maḫâtum; Del., *HWB*, 486.

Ll. 4-5. Kabta bilta ḥuršâni, tribute which is heavy for a mountainous region to pay(?).

L. Arina, cf. p. 162, above. Ki-ša, var. ki-iš-ša.

L. 11. Kudime, meaning? The custom of scattering stones, salt, and

abulli ali-ia Aš-šur 13. a-na aḥ-rat ûmê^{p1} lu aš-bu-uk
 14. i-na ûmi(mi)-šu-ma ^{mat}Mu-uṣ-ri ka-li-ša 15. a-na
 šêpi Aš-šur bêli-ia lu-še-ik-niṣ 16. e-nu-ma i-na ki-bit
 ilâni^{p1} rabûti^{p1} 17. i-na e-mu-ḳi ṣi-ra-ti ša Aš-šur 18.
 bêli-ia ana ^{mat}Ḥa-ni-gal-bat alliku-ma 19. ṭu-di šap-
 ša-ki ni-ri-be mar-ṣu-ti 20. lu ab-ti ^mŠat-tu-a-ra šar
^{mat}Ḥa-ni 21. umman ^dḤa-ti-i u Ḥh-la-mi-i 22. it-ti-šu
 lu-u-še-eš-ḥir 23. ni-ri-be u maš-ḳa-ia lu iṣ-bat 24.
 a-na ṣu-ma-me-ti u ma-na-aḥ-ti 25. ummani-ia i-na
 gi-biṣ ummanâti^{p1}-šu-nu 26. dap-niṣ lu it-bu-ni-ma
 27. am-da-ḥaṣ-ma a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu 28. aš-ku-un tab-du
 ummanâti^{p1}(ti)-šu-nu 29. ra-ap-ša-ti ana la me-ni
 a-du-uk 30. a-na ša-a-šu i-na zi-ki-it 31. ma-al-ma-li
 a-di ša-la-mu 32. ^dšam-ši lu ad-da-ra-ṣu (Lower Edge)
 33. gu-un-ni-šu-nu u-pil-liḳ 34. 4 šar bal-ṭu-ti-šu-nu
 u-ni-bil 35. aš-lu-ul 9 ma-ḥa-zi-šu dan-nu-ti 36. alu
 be-lu-ti-šu lu ak-šu-ud 37. u 3 šu-ši alâni^{p1}-šu a-na
 tilli u ḳar-me 38. aš-bu-uk umman ^dḤa-at-ti-i 39. u
 Aḥ-la-me-i ra-i-ṣu-šu 40. ki-ma zi-ir-ḳi lu-u-ti-bi-iḥ
 (Rev.) Col. III. 1. i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma iṣ-tu ^{alu}Ta-i-di
 2. a-di ^{alu}Ir-ri-di si-ḥir-ti ^{mat}Ka-ši-a-ri 3. a-di ^{alu}E-lu-
 ḥat ḥal-ši (^{alu})Su-u-di 4. ḥal-ši (^{alu})Ḥar-ra-ni a-di
 (^{alu})Ḳar-ga-miṣ 5. ša a-aḥ Bu-ra-te alâni^{p1}-šu-nu aṣ-
 bat 6. mâtâti^{p1}-šu-nu a-bil u ši-ta-at 7. alâni^{p1}-šu-nu
 i-na iṣṣati lu-u-ḳi-li 8. ar-ki-šu ^{mat}Ḳu-ti-i ša ki-ma
 kakkab šamê(e) 9. me-nu-ta la-a i-du-u ša-gal-ta 10.
 la-an ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma 11. it-ti-ia ik-ki-ru za-e-ru-ti
 12. e-bu-šu a-na Aš-šur u ilâni^{p1} rabûti^{p1} 13. bêlê^{p1}-ia
 ḳa-ti aš-ši ma-a an-na 14. ki-na e-še-ri-iṣ e-bu-lu-ni-ni

weeds(?) over the site of a city that had been razed is well known. Cf. ṣipa and ṭabtu in Del, *HWB*.

L. 16. Šattuara, var. Ša-tu-a-ra; probably an Aryan name, cf. my article → "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI, No. 2 (January, 1910), 101.

L. 17. Emûḳi, var. id(u).

L. 20. Ḥani, vars. have full form Ḥanigalbat.

L. 23. Var. maš-ḳa-a-ia.

L. 25. After mu var. adds [ra]-ap-ša-ti.

and in the gate of my city Ashur 13. I poured it out (as a witness) for the days to come. 14. At that time the whole land of Musri I brought in submission 15. to the feet of Ashur my lord. 16. When, at the behest of the great gods, 17. with the mighty hosts of my lord Ashur 18. I advanced against the land of Hanigalbat, 19. over difficult roads and narrow passes 20. I forced my way, Shattuara, king of Hani, 21. the army of Hittites and Aramaeans 22. with him, I surrounded. 23. The passes and my water supply he cut off (seized). 24. Because of (?) thirst and for a camping ground 25-26. my army bravely advanced into the masses of their troops, 27. and I fought a battle and accomplished their defeat. 28-29. Countless numbers of his defeated and wide spreading hosts I killed. 30. Against (the king) himself, at the point 31. of the spear, unto the setting 32. of the sun I waged battle. (Lower Edge.) 33. I devastated their lands, 34. 14,400 of them I overthrew and 35. took as living captives. Nine of his strongholds, 36. his capital city, I captured. 37. One hundred and eighty of his cities to *tells* and ruins 38. I overturned. The army of Hittites 39. and Aramaeans, his allies, 40. like sheep I slaughtered. (Rev.) Col. III. 1. At that time, from the city of Taidi 2. to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari mountain region, 3. to the city of Eluhath, the stronghold of Sudi, 4. the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish, 5. on the bank of the Euphrates, I captured their cities. 6. Their lands I brought under my sway, and the rest 7. of their cities I burned with fire. 8. Thereupon, the land of the Kuti, whose numbers 9. are countless as the stars of heaven, 10. even before they revolted against me and 11. fought with me, they stirred up enmity; 12. to Ashur and the great gods, my lords, 13. I raised my hands in prayer, saying: 14. "they faithfully promised me their good faith." 15. I left the camp of my army behind, 16. took the choicest of my chariots, 17. rushed into the midst of battle with them. 18. From the border of the land of Uruadri 19. to the

L. 26. Var. da-ap-ni-iš.

L. 40. Zirki; the verb uṭibiḥ shows that zirku is probably a synonym of immerum, sheep, as V R 28. 6 e, f, indicates.

Col. III. Taidi, etc., cf. No. 11 (Adad-nirari), 8f.

L. 10. La-an, var. lam.

15. ka-ra-aš ummanâtî^{p1}-ia e-zi-ib 16. ni-siḫ narka-
bâtî^{p1}-ia šu-lu-uḫ-ta 17. lu al-ḳi a-na ki-rib ta-ha-zi-
šu-nu 18. ad-di iš-tu mi-ṣir ^{mat}U-ru-ad-ri 19. a-di
^{mat}Kut-mu-ḫi ši-id-di na-as-ku-ti 20. pi-ir-ka be-ri-e
ni-su-ti 21. na-bu-ul-ti ummanâtî^{p1}-šu-nu 22. ra-ap-
ša-ti ki-ma mē^{p1} lu at-bu-uk 23. šal-mat ḳu-ra-di-šu-nu
ṣi-ra 24. ra-ap-ša lu-u-me-el-li 25. šal-la-su bu-ul-šu
e-ma-am-šu 26. u makkura-šu a-na ali-ia Aš-šur lu-
ub-la 27. ri-u ki-nu ša ^dA-nu u ^dBêl 28. šûmi-šu a-na
da-ra-ti ib-bu-u ana-ku 29. zêru da-ru-u mu-du ilâni^{p1}
30. apil Adad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 31. apil
Arik- dên-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur-ma 32. e-nu-
ma E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 33. bît Aš-šur bêli-ia ša ^m(A)-
uš-pi-a 34. šangû Aš-šur a-bi i-na pa-na 35. e-bu-šu-ma
e-na-aḫ-ma 36. ^mE-ri-šu a-bi šangû Aš-šur epuš(uš) 37.
2 šu-ši 39 šanâtî^{p1} iš-tu palê 38. ^mE-ri-še il-li-ka-ma
39. bîtu šu-u e-na-aḫ-ma 40. ^{ma}Šam-ši-^dAdad šangû
Aš-šur-ma 41. e-bu-uš 9 šu-ši 40 šanâtî^{p1} (Rev.) Col. IV.
1. bîtu šu-u ša ^{ma}Šam-ši-^dAdad 2. šangû Aš-šur e-bu-
šu-ma še-bu-ta 3. u li-be-ru-ta il-li-ku 4. iššatu ana
kir-bi-šu im-ḳut bît e-šir- 5. ta-šu ḳál ki-sa-a-gi par-
akkâni^{p1} ni-me-di 6. šu-pa-ti mi-im-ma makkuru bît
Aš-šur 7. bêli-ia i-na iššati lu-u iḫ-mi 8. i-na ûme(me)-
šu-ma bîtu ša-a-tu a-na 9. si-ḫi-ir-ti-šu u-ni-ki-ir 10.
ḳa-ḳar-šu u-še-en-šik dan-na-su 11. ak-šud iš-di-šu i-na
abnu dan-ni 12. ki-ma ki-ṣir šadî(i) u-šar-ši-id 13.
bîtu el-la ki-iṣ-ša ša-ḳa-a parakku ṣi-ra 14. ad-ma-na
ra-šub-ba ša el maḫ-ri-i 15. ḳud-me-šu šu-tu-ru na-ak-
liš ib-šu 16. a-na ta-na-da-ti šu-ṣu-u 17. a-na si-mat
ilûti-šu rabîti šar-ku 18. a-na be-lu-ti-šu rabiš(iš) šu-
lu-ku 19. a-na-aḫ-ma ana Aš-šur bêli-ia e-bu-uš 20.
a-na uš-še-šu abnu kaspu ḫurâṣu parzillu 21. eru anaku

L. 19. Šiddi naskuti, cf. No. 16, Obv. 11.

Col. IV. 4-5. The meaning of kal ki-sa-a-gi is not clear. Some part of the temple is probably meant.

L. 13. After ella var. adds ia-a-riš(?)

Ll. 20 f. This passage as well as that in the inscription of Shamshi-Adad

land of Kutmuhi, remote regions, 20. distant and inaccessible plains, 21-22. the bodies of their wide spreading hosts I poured out like water. 23. With the corpses of their warriors 24. I filled the wide plain. 25. His booty, his cattle, his family, 26. and his property I carried away to my city Ashur. 27. Shepherd, duly appointed, whose name Anu and Bel 28. named for the days to come, am I; 29. of an ancient line (everlasting seed), who knows the gods; 30. son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur; 31. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur. 32. When Eharsagkurkurra, 33. the temple of my lord Ashur, which Ushpia, 34. priest of Ashur, my ancestor, 35. had built aforetime, had fallen into ruins, 36. then my ancestor Erishu, priest of Ashur, restored it. 37. One hundred and fifty-nine (159) years passed after the reign 38. of Erishu and 39. that temple (again) fell into ruins. 40. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, 41. restored it. Five hundred and eighty (580) years elapsed, (Rev.) Col. IV. 1. and that temple which Shamshi-Adad 2. priest of Ashur had restored, 3. became old and weak, 4. fire broke out in it, its sanctuary, 5. every (?) kisâgi, the shrines, 6. glorious abodes, all the property of the temple of Ashur 7. my lord were burned with fire. 8. At that time I tore down that temple 9. in its totality. 10. I cleared away the earth from it, went down to its foundation, 11. built its foundation-walls of mighty stones 12. like the foundation of the mountains. 13. An illustrious temple, a lofty dwelling-place, a noble shrine, 14. a magnificent abode, whose front was higher 15. than (that of the) earlier (shrine), cunningly constructed, 16. manifesting glory, 17. befitting the dignity of his exalted divinity, 18. worthy of his sovereignty, 19. I restored with great care (literally: I went to much trouble and restored). 20. Over against its foundations, (tablets of) stone, silver, gold, iron, 21. bronze, lead, (together with) herbs, in herbs I placed.

III (No. 5, Obv. Col. I, 20—Col. II, 2), are to be understood in the light of the later building inscriptions, which are in turn rendered more intelligible by these. The word šīlaru is clearly the same as the well known šāllaru, that part of the mud-brick wall which rests immediately upon the stone foundation (uššu). The verb ašel, ašil (from אָשַׁל?) occurs only in this and the Shamshi-Adad passage, but must probably be assigned a meaning similar to that of בָּלַל and מָחַץ. At the same time it seems to follow from its parallel use with nadû (lu addi) that a meaning “to put, place” would

riḳḳê^{p1} i-na riḳḳê^{p1} 22. lu ad-di i-na šamni šaman ṭâbu
 šikar e-ri-ni 23. dišpu (ṭâbu) u ḥimêtu še-la-ar-šu 24.
 lu a-še-el iš-tu uš-še-šu 25. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu e-bu-uš
 26. na-ri-ia aš-ku-un ta-ši-la-su 27. e-bu-uš e-nu-ma
 Aš-šur bêlu ana bîti 28. ša-a-tu i-ba-u-ma parakki-šu
 ṣi-ra 29. ḥa-diš i-ra-mu-u ib-še-ti ni-mur-ti 30. bîtu
 ša-a-tu li-mur-ma ṣab-da-a (Upper Edge) 31. un-ni-ni-ia
 lil-ḳi taš-li-ti 32. liš-me ši-mat šu-lum šangûti-ia zêr
 šangûti(ti)-ia 33. nu-uk palê^{p1}-ia i-na pî-šu kabti 34.
 a-na ûm(um) za-a-a-ti rabiš(iš) li-taš-kar 35. na-ri-e
 ša šarrâni^{p1} maḥ-ru-ti šamna 36. ab-šu-uš ni-ḳa-a aḳ-ḳi
 ana aš-ri-šu-nu 37. u-tir ana ar-kat ûmê^{p1} rubû arku-u
 38. e-nu-ma bîtu šu-u u-šal-ba-ru-ma (Left Edge) 1. e-na-
 ḥu ib-še-it ḳur-di-ia lu-ul-ta-me ta-na-ti li-u-ti-ia li-
 taš- 2. ka-ar ki-ma ana-ku-ma na-ri-e ša rubê^{p1} maḥ-
 ru-ti ana aš-ri-šu-nu u-tir-ru 3. na-ri-ia šamna li-ip-
 šu-uš ni-ḳa-a liḳ-ḳi ana aš-ri-šu-nu lu-tir 4. ^aAš-šur u
^aBêlit bîti ik-ri-be i-še-mu-u ša na-ri-ia u-na-ka-ru
 5. šu-me šaṭ-ra u-šam-sa-ku Aš-šur ilu ṣi-ru a-ši-ib
 E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra 6. Igigi ša šamê ^aA-nu-na-ku ša
 iršitim i-na napḥar-šu-nu iz-zi-iš li-ki-el-mu-šu-ma
 7. ir-ri-ta ma-ru-ul-ta ag-giš li-ru-ru-uš šuma-šu zêra-
 šu i-na mâti lu-ḥal-li-ḳu 8. šarru bêl li-mu-ti-šu kussa-
 šu li-ṭi-ir ana ni-it-li êni-šu mât-su liš-pur

Right Edge. ^{arab} Ša-sa-ra-ti li-mu ^mMu-šal-lim Aš-
 šur

fit better than "überschütten, übergiessen" (Delitzsch). The Shalmaneser passage distinguishes between the two parts of the ceremony of laying a foundation. (1) Upon (over against) the stone sub-structure (uššêšu) of the temple were laid (lu addi) in herbs, stone, silver, gold, iron, bronze, lead, and herbs. (2) In oil, choice oil, or erini-wine, honey, and butter were laid (ašel) its mud-walls (šelaru). The Shamshi-Adad passage (igarâte bîti ina kaspu ḥurâsu ^{aban}uknû ^{aban}sându šaman erini šaman rêsti dišpu u ḥimêtu šilaram ašil, the walls of the temple,—in silver, gold, lapislazuli, sandu-stone, erini-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-wall) is to be regarded as an abbreviated account of the ceremony.

22. In oil, choice oil, erini, wine, 23. honey (?) and butter 24. I laid its walls. From its foundation 25. to its roof I rebuilt it. 26. I set up my memorial tablet, 27. I established its feasts. When the lord Ashur enters that temple, 28. and makes his joyful abode in its noble shrine, 29. may he look upon the splendid work(s) 30. (which I performed upon) that temple, 31. may he hear my prayers, 32. listen to my supplications, the decree for the peace of my priesthood, for my posterity in the priesthood, 33. for length of reign, by his exalted command, 34. for the days to come, may he mightily decree. 35. The memorial tablets of former kings I anointed with oil, 36. poured libations upon them, and to their places 37. returned them. In the days to come, may some future prince, 38. when this temple shall have become old and (Left Edge) 1. shall have fallen to ruins, may he recall the pious deeds of my hands (strength), the glory of my prowess may he proclaim. 2. As I returned the memorial tablets of former princes to their places, 3. so may he anoint my stela with oil, pour libations upon it and return it to its place. 4. Ashur and the Lady of the temple will hear his prayers. Whoever disturbs my stela 5. and blots out the writing of my name, may Ashur the mighty god who dwells in Eharsagkurkurra, 6. the Igigi of heaven and the Anunaki of earth, all of them, look with disfavor upon him and 7. with a terrible curse may they curse him in their anger. His name and seed may they destroy from the land. 8. May some hostile king seize his throne and give his land to whom he pleases (to the glance of his eye, i.e., to the one on whom his eye happens to look).

Right Edge. Month of Sha-sarati, limu of Mushallim-Ashur.

From the Gold-Ins., 32f, Silver-Ins., 40f, and others of Sargon's inscriptions we see that the silver, gold, etc., were in the form of tablets on which the king wrote his name (ina duppi ħuráši kaspi eri, etc., nibit šûmia ašturma ina uššêšu ukîn), that is, they were the well-known musarê (see Lyon, *Keilschrifttext Sargons*).

L. 23. First sign TA-ĦI, var. TA-ĦI-GA,

Left Edge 2. After maĥ-ri-ti, var. adds šamna ab-šu-[šu] ni-ka-a aĥ-ku, I anointed with oil and poured out libations upon them.

L. 7. Marulta, var. ma-ru-uš-ta.

No. 15 (KAA, 14)

Obv. 1. [aŠu]lmânu-ašaridu šaknu ^aBêl 2. šangû Aššur
 apil ^aAdad-nirari 3. šaknu ^aBêl šangû Aššur 4. apil
 Arik-den-ilu šaknu ^aBêl 5. šangû Aššur-ma e-nu-ma 6.
 E-ḥar-sag-kur-kur-ra bît Aššur 7. bêli-ia ša iš-tu ul-
 la-a 8. šarrâni^{pl} ab-bu-ia 9. e-bu-šu-ma še-bu-ta 10.
 u la-be-ru-ta il-li-ku 11. bîtu šu-u i-na ḳi-mi-it 12. gi-ra
 lu-uš-ri-pi-it 13. i-na ûme(me)-šu-ma bît Aššur bêli-ia
 14. a-na si-ḥir-ti-šu u-ni-kir 15. ḳa-ḳar-šu u-šam-šik
 16. dan-na-su ak-šud 17. uš-še-šu i-na abni dan-ni 18.
 ki-ma ki-šir šadî(i) 19. lu-u-šar-ši-id bît Aššur 20.
 bêli-ia el maḥ-ri-i 21. ut-te-ir lu-u-šar-be 22. na-ma-ri
 ša bâb ^aLamassê (AN-KAL-KAL) 23. u na-ma-ri-ma ša iš-tu
 24. muš-la-li a-na (ki)kisallu 25. ^aNUN-NAM-NIR i-na e-ra-bi
 (Rev.) 1. 2 na-ma-ri an-nu-ti 2. ša i-na maḥ-ri-i la ib-šu
 3. ki-ma a-ḥaz-ti-ma lu e-bu-uš 4. (ki)kisallu ^aNUN-NAM-NIR
 5. el maḥ-ri-i ma-diš 6. lu-u-šar-be bît Aššur 7. bêli-
 ia a-na si-ḥir-ti-šu 8. iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di 9. gab-dib-
 bi-šu e-bu-uš 10. ilâni^{pl} a-ši-bu-ut 11. ekurri bêli-ia
 12. i-na kir-be-šu u-kin 13. u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 14. rubû
 arkû šu-me šaṭ-ra 15. a-na aš-ri-šu lu-te-ir 16. ^aAššur
 ik-ri-be-šu 17. i-še-me mu-ni-kir 18. ši-it-ri-ia u šu-
 me-ia 19. ^aAššur bêlu šarrûsu(su) 20. lis-kip šuma-šu
 zêra-šu 21. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-lik.

arabŠa-ki-na-te li-mu nâdin-šumê^{pl}.

Obv. 11-12. Ina ḳimît gira lu ušripit; ḳimît, from ḳamû, conflagration. Cf. Esarhaddon text (KAA, 51, Col. II, 26), ina ḳi-mi-it ^aGIŠ-BAR uš-ri[-pit]

L. 22. Namari; the context requires some such meaning as pylon. The word occurs a number of times in the later inscriptions as namiru, or nameru. Ashur-resh-ishi (King, *Annals*, 17f.) mentions the namiru in connection with his restoration of some temple which Shalmaneser had repaired, but the context is too fragmentary to allow a translation (l. 10). In another inscription (King, *op. cit.*, 23f.), unfortunately also in poor condition, he mentions the "namiru of the Gates of the Lion's Head . . .

No. 15

Obv. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, 2. priest of Ashur, son of Adad-nirari, 3. prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 4. son of Arikden-ilu, prefect of Bel, 5. priest of Ashur. When 6. Eharsag-kurkurra, the temple of Ashur, 7. my lord, which, in the days of old, 8. my royal ancestors 9. had built, became old 10. and decayed, 11-12. and that temple had been destroyed in a conflagration by fire; 13. at that time, the temple of my lord Ashur 14. in its totality, I tore down, 15. cleared away the ground from it, 16. went down to its foundation, 17. its foundation with large stones, 18. like the foundation of the mountains, 19. I firmly built. The temple of my lord Ashur 20-21. I made larger than it had been before. 22. The namari of the Gate of the Lamasse, 23. and the namari which extends from 24. the mushlala to the court 25. of En-lil, in — (Rev.) 1. Those two namari 2. (the like of?) which had not existed before, 3. according to plan I built. 4. The court of En-lil, 5-6. I made much larger than it had been before. The temple of 7. my lord Ashur, totally, from 8. its foundation to 9. its roof I rebuilt. 10. The gods who dwell in the 11. temple of my lord 12. I established therein. 13. My memorial stela I set up. 14. May some future prince return my inscription 15. to its place, 16. and Ashur will hear 17. his prayers. But the man who blots out 18. my inscription and name, 19. may Ashur the lord overthrow 20. his kingdom, his name and seed 21. destroy from the land.

Month of Sha-kinate, year of —nadin-shume

the great court of the temple of . . . ” which he restored (enuma namiru ša abullâte(te) ša kaḫḫad nêši . . . (ki)kisallu šîru ša bît . . . 1, 3f.). Shamshi-Adad speaks of bît na-me-ru which some former prince had built (King, *op. cit.*, 150f.), but here too the context is practically gone. The latter reading recalls the abusâte and bît abusâte of the inscription of Adad-nirari (No. 12, above), to which a similar meaning has been assigned.

L. 24. Kisallu; written KI-KISAL, instead of the usual KISAL = kisallu (S^b 231). Cf. KI-KU = šubtu.

L. 25. NUN-NAM-NIR, “lord of sovereignty” = Enlil; *CT*, XXIV, 5, 43.

No. 16 (KAA, 15)

Obv. 1. ^[d]Šulmānu-ašaridu ša-ak-ni ^d[Bêl šangû Aššur]
 2. [šarru] dan-nu šar kiš-šat nîšê^{pl} 3. — tu-ul ab-ra-ti
 pa-ki-id ekurri 4. -id ilu ša-ki-i ^dNUN-NAM-NIR 5. [ka]-
 mu-u tar-gi-gi la pa-du-u 6. [u-]šum-gal ka-ab-li
 7. -ri-ir za-a-a-ri ka-šu-uš la-ma-gi-ri 8. mu-la-ak-
 ku aš-ṭu-ti 9. da-iš muš-tar-[ḫi] mu-ša-ak-ni-šu 10.
 na-ga-ab ḫur-ša-ni 11. ša a-na ši-id-di na-aš-ku-ti
 12. ra-ap-ša um-ma-an Ḳu-ti-i 13. u-na-i-lu ki-i šu-u-
 be 14. ka-ši-id Lu-ul-lu-bi-i u Šu-ba-ri-i 15. ša-li-il
 gi-ru-u za-ma-[ni] 16. e-li-iš u ša-ap-li-iš 17. mâr
^dAdad-nirari ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aššur 18. mâr Arik-
 den-ilu ša-ak-ni ^dBêl šangû Aššur-ma 19. e-nu-ma
 i-na E-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra 20. bît ^dAššur be-li-ia 21.
 [i]-na bâb el-lu-ti ša ^dlamassê (AN-KAL-KAL) 22. na-ma-
 ri ša-ḫu-ti lu e-bu-uš 23. [a-na] ri-ib siparri me-li-e
 rabûti^{pl} 24. [lu]-u u-še-iz-zi-iz 25. ^{is}uḫitte^{pl} ni-ib-ḫi
 šu-ri-ni 26. u ^{is}udalâti^{pl} siparri lu-u u-kin 27. i-na
 umi(mi)-šu-ma bît ḫi-bur-ni la-bi-ra 28. [ša] šarrâni^{pl}
 ab-ba-u-[ia] (Rev.) 1. [i-na] pa-na e-bu-[šu] 2. . . a-na
 šu-tu-ri tar-pa-ša a-na . . 3. [bît] ḫi-bur-ni ša-tu-nu
 ak- . . . 4. [nap]ḫar-šu-nu u-ni-ki-ir 5. 16 (?) i-na 1
 ammatu tar-pa-ša u-ra-ab-bi 6. [x] libittu dûri-šu be-
 ta-na-a 2 libittu dûri-šu ki-da-na-a 7. [u]-ki-be-ir

L. 5. Ḳamû; restoration conjectural. Cf. ḫa-am za-a-a-ri, No. 14, Col. I, 11.

L. 9. Muštarḫi; ḫi restored after notes and corrections, p. 76 of KAA.

L. 11. Na-aš-ku-ti, cf. šiddi naskuti, No. 14, Col. III, 19. From a root nasâku or našâku, to be remote? [See ZA, XXV, 385.]

L. 13. Šûbe; last syllable restored. Cf. Cyl. Inscription of Tiglath-pileser (King, *Annals*, 40), Col. II, 20, Kummuhima kima šûbe lušnail, and Col. V, 4-5, šâbe . . . kima šûbe ušnail.

L. 14. Lulubî, instead of the usual Lulumî. This shows that the Lulumî of the later Assyrian texts and the Lulubî of the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin are the same. So the Ḳuti and Gutium are to be connected. See n. 35, p. 162, above.

No. 16

Obv. 1. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 2. the mighty king, king of all peoples, 3. . . . peoples, who cares for the temple 4. . . of the exalted god En-lil. 5. Who burns the foe, who is unsparing. 6. Lord of the battle; 7. . . . the enemy, harsh toward the unfaithful, 8. who crushes the foe, 9. tramples on the mighty, subjugates all 10. mountain districts. 11. Who throws himself against the remote districts 12. of the wide spreading Kuti 13. like a 14. Who conquers the Lulubi and Shubari, 15. who plunders the evil foe, 16. north and south. 17. Son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 18. son of Arik-den-ilu, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur. 19. When in Eharsagkurkurra, 20. the temple of my lord Ashur, 21. in (?) the Gate of the splendid (?) Lamasse, 22. the large namari I built, 23. on a base (?) of copper, large turrets (?) 24. I placed; 25. cornice, moulding, columns (doorposts), 26. and doors of copper I set up. 27. At that time the old Hiberni-houses 28. which my royal ancestors (Rev.) 1. had built in the days gone by, 2. . . to increase the width to (?) . . . 3. those Hiberni I burned (?), 4. in their totality I tore them down, 5. sixteen (?) cubits I increased the width (?), 6. (with x layers of) burnt brick, its wall, on the interior (?), with two layers of burnt brick its wall on the

L. 15. Zamani; last syllable restored after KAA, p. 76.

L. 21. Ina(?) bâbu el-lu-ti ša ^alamassê (AN-KAL-KAL); cf No. 14, Obv. 22, namari ša bâb ^alamassê (AN-KAL-KAL). Does the adjective ellûti go with the lamassê?

L. 23. The first two signs are almost gone but the traces point to a-na. Mêlû is used together with rêšû in V R, 65, 22a, ina lâ adannišu ša bîti šuati rêšâšu ikdudû uttabbika/u mîlâšu, "before its time the pinnacles of that temple gave way and its mîlâ fell down." Delitzsch translates mîlâ, "walls." This meaning would hardly fit our context, which seems to call for a meaning similar to that of rêšû.

L. 27. What the bît-hiburni were cannot be determined from the context. Here the word is used in the singular (labira), while in the following lines the plural pronouns are used.

Rev. 7. Erinakki(?). If this is the correct reading, cf. urnakku, which, according to V R, 29, 41e, f, forms a class with bitum and zigguratum (Delitzsch, *HWB*, 136).

e-[ri]-na-ak-ki e-bu-uš 8. ḫi-bur-ni u ra-da-ti a-na
 aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ir 9. el [ša] pa-na u-te-ir iš-tu uš-še-
 šu-nu 10. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu-nu e-bu-uš 11. u-[ša]-ak-
 lil u na-ri-ia aš-ku-un 12. na-ri-e ša ab-be-ia šamna
 ap-š[u-uš] 13. . . . ki-it-ti abnu kaspu u ḫurâšu . . 14.
 [a-na] aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ir-šu-nu-[ti-ma] 15. a-na ar-kat
 ûmê^{pl} rubû a-ar-k[u-u] 16. [e-nu]-ma ši-ib-ru šu-u u-
 šal-[bi-ru] 17. e-na-ḫu an-ḫu-su-nu lu-di-[iš] 18. [ki-
 ma] a-na-ku-ma na-ri-e [šarrâni^{pl} ab-be-ia] 19. . . .
 na-ki-ru a-na aš-ri-šu-nu u-te-ru 20. [na-ri]-ia a-na
 aš-ri-šu-nu lu-te-ir 21. [^dAššur ik-ri-be-šu i-še-me 22.
 [mu-ni-kir] ši-iṭ-ri-ia u šu-me-ia 23. [^dAš]šur be-li
 šarru-su lis-kip 24. [šûma-šu] zêra-šu i-na mâti lu-
 ḫal-lik 25. [šarru bêt] li-mu-[ti]-šu kussa-šu 26. [li-ṭi]-ir
 a-na ni-it-li ênê^{pl}-šu 27. [mât-su] liš-pur

Upper Edge [^{arab}Ša] sa-ra-te li-mu

^{md}Aššur-

TUKULTI-NINIB I

No. 17 (KAA, 16)

1. ^mTukulti-^dNin-ib šar kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur 2. šarru
 dan-nu šar kib-rat irbitti ni-šit Aš-šur 3. šangû Aš-
 šur šarru ša ib-še-tu-šu 4. eli ilâni^{pl} ša šamê iršitim
 i-ṭi-ba-ma 5. kib-be-tu pu-ḫa-ad irbitti 6. a-na GIŠ-
 KIN-šu iš-ru-ḫu 7. i-na kib-ra-ti ul-te-li-ṭu-ma 8. kul-
 la-at la ma-gi-ri-šu ḫa-su 9. ik-šu-du ṣa-bit mâtâtî
 nakrê^{pl} mu-ri-piš 10. me-iṣ-ri šarru dan-nu na-mad ilâni^{pl}
 rabûti^{pl} 11. zêr be-lu-ti ša iš-tu ul-la-a 12. šangûsu-
 nu i-na ekurri u ša-pi-ru-su-nu 13. i-na kiš-šat nišê^{pl}
^dBêlu 14. u-šar-bu-u a-na-ku 15. [apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu
 šar kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur 16. [apil ^dAdad]-nirari šar
 kiššati šar ^{mat}Aš-šur-ma 17. e-nu-ma iš-tu Tar-ši-na-a
 šadî(i) 18. la-aš-ḫi be-ri-it ^{alu}Ša-si-la 19. ^{alu}Bar-pa-niš
 e-bi-ir-ti ^{narû}Za-bi 20. šu-pa-li-i iš-tu ^{mat}Su-ku-uš^{ki}
 21. u ^{mat}La-la-ar id-di 22. ^{mat}Ḳu-ti-i rapalti(ti)
 ma-ni 23. ^{mat}El-ḫu-ni-a a-di 24.
^{mat}Me-iḫ-ri ^{mat}Ka- 25. ^{mat}Bu-uš-še
 -me 26. u si-ḫi-ir-ti -ia-ri 27. ^{mat}Il-zi ^{mat}

exterior (as protection) 7. I enclosed, and built. 8. Hiburni and radati I restored to their places, 9. made them larger than they were before, from their foundation 10. to their tops I rebuilt them 11. completely, and set up my memorial stela. 12. The stelae of my ancestors I anointed with oil, 13. tablets of stone, silver and gold. . . . 14. to their places I restored them. 15. In the days to come, may some future prince, 16. when that work shall have become old and 17. weak, restore its ruins, 18. and, as I restored the stelae of my ancestors 19-20. to their places, may he restore my stelae to their places. 21. Ashur will hear his prayers, etc.

L. 8. The meaning of *radati* cannot be inferred from the context.

TUKULTI-NINIB I (ca. 1260 B.C.)

No. 17

Obv. 1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, 2. the mighty king, king of the four quarters of the world, favorite of Ashur, 3. priest of Ashur, the king whose pious works 4. are well pleasing to the gods of heaven and earth, and 5. the command to rule the four quarters of the earth 6. to his scepter (?) they gave, 7. and in all regions they made it powerful, 8. and all those who refused him submission they conquered through his hand. 10. (The king) who seizes the lands of all enemies, who extends his border(s); the mighty king, favorite of the great gods, 11. of royal lineage, whose (pl.) priesthood in the temple 12. and rule 13. over all peoples, Bel made great, am I. 15. The son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, 16. son of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria. 17. When, from Tarsina, an inaccessible mountain 18. between the city of Shasila 19. the city of Barpanish on the other side of the lower Zab, 20. from the lands of Sukus 21. and Lalar . . . 22. the land of the wide spreading Kuti the 23. Elhunias, up to 24. the lands of Miḥri Ka- . . . 25. Bushe 26. and all of the (Kashiari region?)

27. The lands of Ilzi, ... 28. Alara zi
29. Bu zi 30. all of the wide spreading

(Rev.) 1-2. (broken) 3. to . . . 4. all I established. 5. Prince . . shepherd 6. their scepter (?) . . their wall

..... 28. ^{mat}A-la-ra -zi 29. u
^{mat}Bu- -zi 30. kul-la-at rapalti(ti)
 31. a-di pa(?) ka . an 32.
 (Rev.) 1. bu 2.
^dAš-šur 3. a-na 4. kul-la-at aš-
 ku-un 5. rubû ma rêu? 6. GIŠ-KIN-su-nu
 dûru-šu-nu 7. a-na-ku i-na ûme?
 ka-at 8. ekallim-ia i-na si-ḫir-ti 9. si-kur-ra-ti ša
 ia 10. ḫa-ḫa-ri za-e .. 11. ekalla
 šu-ba-aṭ šarrûti(ti)-ia 12. ekalla ḫi-da-ti-ia 13. e-bu-
 uš u na-ri-ia 14. aš-ku-un a-na ar-kat ûmê(me)^{pl}
 15. ru-bu-u ar-ku-u 16. [an-hu]-sa lu-di-iš 17. [na-ri]-ia
 šamna lip-šu-uš 18. [ni]-ḫa-a li-ḫi 19. [a-na] aš-ri-
 šu-nu lu-te-ir 20. ^dAš-šur u ^dAdad 21. [i]k-ri-be-šu
 i-še-mu-u

arḫu X

li-mu

^mX

No. 18 (KAA, 17)

1. ^mTukulti-^dNin-ib šar kiššati šarru dan-nu 2. šar
^{mat}^dAš-šur ka-šid mul-tar-ḫi u(?) 3. la ma-gi-ri za-e-
 ru-ut ^dAš-šur 4. ni-ir ^{mat}U-ḫu-ma-ni-i 5. u Kur-ṭi-i
 la ka-ni-ši pu-ḫur 6. tar-gi-gi da-iš ^{mat}Kut-mu-ḫi
 7. um-ma-na-at Ḳu-ti-i pu-šuk 8. ḫur-ša-ni mu-si-pi-
 iḫ el-li- 9. ^{mat}Šu-ba-ri-i a-di pa-at gim-ri- 10. sa-pi-
 in ^{mat}Al-zi ^{mat}Pu-ru-kus-[si] 11. si- la kan-ši rubû
 ki-nu 12. ša i-na tukulti ^dAš-šur u ilâni^{pl} 13. rabûti^{pl}
 i-na kib-rat arbitti it-tal-la-ku-ma 14. mu-ni-ḫa [u] mu-
 a-ri-a la i-šu-u 15. ṣa-bit me-iṣ-rat nakrê^{pl} e-liš 16. u
 šap-liš šarru dan-nu li-u kabli 17. ša kul-la-at mâtâti
 Na-i-ri i-pi-lu-ma 18. [xviii or xxxvi šârrâni]^{pl} ša-pi-ri-
 šu-nu ana šêpê-[šu] 19. u-še-ik-ni-šu ^{mat}A-za-al-zi
^{mat}Še(?) -par-di-i 20. a-na mi-šir mâti-šu iš-ku-nu 21.
 [tab-du] ^{mat}Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i 22. il-[tak]-ka-nu-ma
^{mat} -ra 23. u- -u 24. šarru -du
 25. apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu šarru ^{mat}Aš-šur 26. apil
 Adad-nirari šarru ^{mat}^dAš-šur-ma (Rev.) 1. e-nu-ma
 bîtâti^{col} ekallim-ia 2. ša ali-ia ^dAš-šur 3. ša

7. I in . . . 8. my palace in its totality, 9. the towers of . . . 10. the ground . . . 11. the palace, my royal abode, 12. the palace in which I take delight, 13. I built and set up 14. my memorial stela. In the days to come 15. may some future prince 16. restore its ruins, 17. anoint my stela with oil, 18. pour out libations upon it, 19. return it to its place, 20. and Ashur and Adad will hear his 21. prayers. (Name of month and limu not given)

Obv. 6. GIŠ-KIN, probably to be read ḫaṭṭu, hardly gišgin(nu). Cf. Monolith of Ashur-nasirpal (King, *Annals*, 249), Col. V, 52.

L. 26. The Kashiari region is probably meant.

Rev. 12. Ḫidatia, reading based on var., see *KAA*, p. 76.

No. 18

Obv. 1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, the mighty king, 2. king of Assyria, conqueror of the mighty, 3. faithless enemies of Ashur, 4. destroyer of the lands of the Ukumani 5. and Kurti, who were unsubmissive and all of them evil people; 6. who tramples down the land of Kutmuhi, 7. the armies of the Kuti (in their) mountain valleys; who overthrows the forces of the 9. land of Shubari in its totality, 10. who overturns the lands of Alzi and Purukussi, 11. all of whom were unsubmissive. The duly appointed prince, 12. who, under the protection of Ashur and the great gods 13. marches to the four corners of the earth. 14. There is none who can fight him to a standstill or take him captive. 15. Who seizes the enemies' country, north and south; 16. the great king, mighty in battle. 17. Who brought under his sway all of the lands of the Nairi, and 18. brought, . . . kings, who ruled over them, in submission to his feet. 19. Who added the lands of Azalzi and Shepardi 20. to the territory of his country. 21-22. Who accomplished the overthrow of the lands of Sumer and Akkad. The land of . . . 23. and . . . 24. king . . . 25. The son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, 26. son of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria.

(Rev.) 1. When the buildings of my palace 2. in my city Ashur, 3. the great towers 4. of the temple (?) of Ashur, my lord, which at a former time, 5. Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, 6. my father, had built, fell to ruins, 7. I cleared away its ruins, 8. dug down to its foundation, restored it

si-kur-ra-te 4. rabâte ^dAš-šur bêli-ia ša ina pa-na
 5. ^{md}[Šulma]-nu-ašaridu šakni ^dBêl šangû Aš-šur 6. a-bi
 e-bu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma 7. an-[ḥu]-su u-ni-kir dan-na-su
 8. ak-šud iš-tu uš-še-šu 9. a-di gab-dib-bi-šu u-še-ik-lil
 10. u na-ri-ia aš-kun rubû arkû 11. an-ḥu-su lu-diš
 šûme šaṭ-ra ana aš-ri-šu 12. lu-te-ir ^dAš-šur ik-ri-be-
 šu 13. i-še-im-me mu-ni-kir šiṭ-ri-ia u šûmi-ia ^dAš-šur
 15. bêlu šarru-su lis-kip šum-šu 16. i-na mâti lu-ḥal-lik
 Li-mu ^mI-na-^dAš-šur-mu(?) -be

No. 19 (KAA, 18)

1. ^dTukulti-^dNi-nib šar kiššati šarru dan-nu šar
^{mat}Aššur 2. šar kib-rat arba-i ^dŠam-šu kiš-šat nišê^p
 apil ^dŠulmânu-ašaridu 3. šar ^{mat}Aššur apil ^dAdad-
 nirari šar kiššati (šar) ^{mat}^dA-šur-ma e-nu-ma dûru ali-
 ia ^dA-šur 4. maḥ-ru-u ša i-na pa-na šarrâni^p a-lik
 pa-ni-ia e-bu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma 5. la-be-ru-ta il-lik an-
 ḥu-su u-ni-kir dûru ša-a-tu ud-di-iš 6. a-na aš-ri-šu
 u-tir ḥi-ri-ša rabâ(a) ša i-na pa-na šarrâni^p a-lik pa-
 ni-ia la-a e-bu-šu 7. ḥi-ri-ša rabâ(a) a-na li-me-it dûri
 lu aḥ-ri dan-na-su ki-šir šadî(i) i-na aḫḫullât(ŠA-
 GUL-MEŠ-at) eri lu-pi-ši-id 8. 20 mu-ša-ri a-na šu-
 pa-lu mê^p na-ak-be lu ak-šud u i-na dûri ša-a-tu
 ti-me-ni-ia aš-ku-un rubû(u) arkû(u) 9. an-ḥu-su lu-
 di-iš ti-me-ni-ia a-na aš-ri-šu lu-tir ^dA-šur ik-ri-be-šu
 i-še-im-me mu-ni-kir 10. šiṭ-ri-ia u šumi-ia ^dA-šur bêlu
 šarru-su lis-kip šuma-šu u zêra ina mâti lu-ḥal-lik

No. 20 (KAA, 19)

1. . . ^dAššur bêli- . . 2. . . a-bu ilâni^p . . 3. . . ^{md}Tukulti-
^dNin-ib . . 4. . . šakni ^dBêl šangû ^dAššur . . 5. . . apil
^dŠulmânu-ašaridu šakni ^dBêl ša[ngû ^dAššur] . . 6. . .
 [Adad]-nirari šakni ^dBêl šangû ^dAššur . . 7. . . ilu . . a-
 an mâtâti . . 8. . . mâtâti a-aḥ tâmtim[e-li-ni-ti] 9. . .
 ma -a' . . 10. . . i-na šu-mur ta-ḥa-zi 11. . . a-ba-a'kul-
 la-at . . 12. . . Na-i-ri u mâtâti a-aḥ 13. . . tâmtim e-li-
 ni-ti . . 14. . . ḫa-ti ik-šu-[du] . . 15. -a . . šarrâni^p -šu-
 nu a-bil . . 16. . . u . . 17. . . na-mar-šu

from its foundation 9. to its roof, 10. and set up my memorial stela therein. May a future prince 11. restore its ruins, return my inscription 12. to its place, and Ashur will hear his prayers. 13. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, may Ashur, the lord, 15. overthrow his reign, and 16. destroy his name from the land.

Limu of Ina-Ashur-

Obv. 14. Restored from duplicate, see KAA, 76. Muaria, II, 1, part. of 𐎶𐎵, to carry off.

L. 18. Numeral uncertain, KAA, 76.

L. 21. Restored from duplicate.

No. 19

1. Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Assyria, 2. king of the four quarters of the world, Sun of all peoples, son of Shalmaneser, 3. king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria. When the wall of my city Assur, 4. the old one, which the kings who preceded me had built, fell to ruins and became old, 5. I cleared away its ruins, and rebuilt that wall and 6. restored it to its place. A great moat, such as (lit. which) none of the kings who preceded me had dug, 7. I dug around the whole wall, its foundation constructed of stone from the mountains, I widened with bronze axes (picks). 8. Twenty inscriptions I found at the depth of the water level and in that wall I set up my foundation-cylinder. May some future prince 9-10. repair its ruins, return my cylinder to its place, and Ashur will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out the record of my name, may the lord Ashur overthrow his reign and destroy his name and seed from the land.

Ll. 7-8. Cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG*, 22 (1904), 76.

No. 20

1. . . Ashur, (my) lord, . . 2. . . father of the gods . . 3. . . Tukulti-Ninib . . 4. . . prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur . . 5. . . son of Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, (priest of Ashur) . . 6. . . (son of) Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur . . 7. . . god (Ashur) . . lands . . 8. . . lands on the shore of the (upper) sea . . 9. . . 10. . . in the heat of battle . . 11. . . all of . . 12. . . the lands of the Nairi and the lands on the shore of 13. . . the upper sea . . 14. . . his hand conquered . . 15. . . their kings I brought under my sway . . 16. . . 17. . .



The Ancient History of the near East with Remarks on Western Asia

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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST¹

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED

WITH REMARKS ON WESTERN ASIA

BY DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL

No history has yet gathered together and presented the vast and complicated interaction of oriental and Mediterranean civilizations as they commingled in the Mediterranean from the days of early Crete, 3000 B.C., down through the dissemination of Christianity and the expansion of Islam till the Moslems threatened to girdle the Mediterranean; nor does any book available in English present such a survey, even for the earlier period alone, from the beginnings down to the supremacy of the Greeks, as Hall does; that is to say, a survey of the history of man in and around the Mediterranean, from the days when the Stone Age men of the Northern Mediterranean received the first metals from the Nile Valley, down through thousands of years of similar epoch-making contributions from the Orient to the West, millennia of *peaceable* interfusion of the culture of both regions, until a thousand years of experience in imperial government gave to the East, in the hands of Persia, an organization such that it could undertake the *forcible* conquest of these western lands and civilizations over which the East had already gained a supremacy till then founded on the arts of peace. Such a book is an ambitious project, an imposing program, the execution of which involves a more laborious apprenticeship in the use of archaeological tools and philological materials than is demanded in any other historical field, while requiring at the same time the most penetrating analysis and incisive criticism. It may be stated at the beginning that notwithstanding the great difficulty of the task, the author has put together a very valuable survey of the great civilizations in which the Mediterranean world was so deeply rooted. No one can take up the volume without a sense of great indebtedness

¹ *The Ancient History of the Near East: from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis.* By H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xxiii + 602.

for the long and devoted labor involved in its production. I have expressed in another journal a more general appreciation of the work¹ and it may be well in these pages to enter upon more details in its discussion than were possible elsewhere.

It is impossible to make this review even a condensed summary of the book; a critique of some of the main contentions and some suggested corrections are all that can be attempted. The author's position that the civilization of the Nile Valley was decidedly superior to that of the other eastern peoples of the time (e.g., p. 291) is one now adopted by the leading historians of the ancient world; and he therefore devotes more space to that land than to any other of the oriental countries. His chronology of the earliest Mediterranean age is, as in other modern works, based on Egyptian data. The system is not always self-consistent. The Fourth Dynasty in one place (p. 10) is put at 3500 B.C., although the beginning of the dynasties is set at 3600 B.C., notwithstanding the fact that the first three dynasties lasted, on the author's statement, over four hundred years. Again, we find the first king of the Third Dynasty, which "lasted less than a century" (p. 115), placed "two or three centuries before" the Fourth Dynasty (p. 122). The author's system of chronology is seriously affected by his date for the introduction of the calendar, viz., 2781 B.C., seeming to disregard the fact that the Pyramid Texts, which are as a whole vastly older than this date, already contain references to the five intercalary days of the calendar.² In Babylonian chronology Kugler's recent researches on the date of the First Dynasty appeared too late for the author to employ them. The author's date for the important reign of Hammurabi, which he takes from King, viz., about 1950-1900 (p. 28), must therefore be pushed back nearly one hundred seventy-five years; that is, to 2123-2081.

The relations of Asia and Egypt form, of course, one of the author's most important rubrics. He seems to labor slightly under the influence of the old extravagantly early dates for Babylonian civilization. He conjectures that "the Babylonians may well have

¹ *American Historical Review*, April, 1914.

² I am unable to understand why, in the author's table of the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 148), so important for fixing of Aegean dates, the length of Sesostri's II's reign is left uncertain. The length of this reign, like all the others of the dynasty, has long since been firmly established (cf. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XLI, 38 ff.).

passed into the age of metal at an earlier period than did the Egyptians" (p. 30), and states that "the Sumerians apparently knew the use of copper at the beginning of their occupation of Babylonia" (p. 176). But in view of the fact that we have no monuments from the beginning of the Sumerian occupation and that we do not know when it occurred, there appears to be no basis for such a statement. Moreover, the earliest metal in Babylonia is a thousand years later than the earliest metal discovered in Egypt, and the conclusion that the origin of metallurgy belongs in the Nile Valley seems to be incontrovertible. Other archaeological evidence in this connection is subject to question. The author says that the "Syrian winged sphinx" was introduced into Egypt from Asia in Hyksos times (p. 219), but the winged quadruped which is ancestor of both the winged sphinx and the gryphon already occurs on predynastic palettes of Egypt at least as old as the thirty-fifth century B.C. (cf. Capart, *Débuts de l'art*, fig. 156). This *Misch-wesen* certainly passed from Egypt to Asia. Again, the author states that "the Egyptians called the seal by the Semitic name of *khetm*" (p. 89); but the statement that *khetm* is a Semitic word is a pure assumption, for it has long since been recognized that *khetm* as found in Hebrew is a loan word drawn from Egypt, and the Hebrew form, *khôthâm*, "seal ring," displays an un-Semitic vocalization.¹ Neither are the root-consonants Semitic. The important fact follows then that the Semitic-Asiatics borrowed their word for "seal" from Egypt. We find the author also stating, without qualification, that the Egyptian Sun-god bore a Semitic name, and that he was imported from Asia into Egypt (p. 85). The actual situation is that we have in Egypt as the High God a Sun-god on prehistoric monuments a thousand years earlier than any document revealing a Sun-god in Asia, a state of affairs which was a priori to be expected in view of the fact that Egypt is a country enjoying almost cloudless skies the year round. Even if the daring etymology which sees the Hebrew 'or, "light," in *Re'*, the Egyptian Sun-god's name,² were possible, it would reverse the

¹ *Khôthâm* is from *khâthâm*, displaying the vowels: long *â*, short *â*, a combination of vowels which is not Semitic, as Barth long ago observed.

² The author equates the Egyptian "r'a" (*sic!*), the Sun-god's name, with "the Semitic 'or'" (*sic!*). Such an equation is exceedingly hazardous on any basis, but the alleged Semitic 'or (even when properly spelled with aleph, not ayin) is never used as a god's name.

author's conclusion; for the Egyptian word *Re'* is two thousand years older than the earliest occurrence of the Hebrew *'ôr*. Similarly it is perfectly clear that the Solar cult was so powerful in Egypt as to contribute to Asia the well-known winged sun-disk adopted by the Assyrians as the symbol of their national god, and then also taken over by the Persians. The only *demonstrable* borrowing is thus against the author's position.

We should like to see another interpretation of the Egyptian word which the author explains as designating "Arabs" in the time of Thutmose III (fifteenth century B.C., p. 251). The Arabs are first mentioned by name as a particular tribe of nomads under the Assyrian Shalmaneser II in the ninth century B.C.

A very common mythological designation of the lands east of Egypt, employed by the Pharaohs, is "God's Land." Our author places the territory indicated by this name ("Ta-neter") as "south of Egypt," especially in the region of the Somali coast (p. 91). This region certainly belonged to "God's Land"; but the inscriptions over and over again apply the term also to Asia, Palestine, and Northern Syria, and more especially North Syria.¹

In a historical review of a long series of civilizations it is difficult not to fall into a mechanical presentation of external events, as contrasted with a survey of processes. In order to avoid this pitfall such a review demands powerful analysis and a penetrating discernment of characteristics. Our author denies the unique individuality of Amenhotep IV, the earliest monotheist in history (p. 298), and finds no difficulty in discovering his like in mere organizers, like Hammurabi or Thutmose III. This can only be due to disregard of the facts, e.g., Hall regards it as questionable whether Osiris "was or was not actually proscribed" (p. 303) by this revolutionary monotheist. Now *every cemetery in Egypt except one is a precinct sacred to Osiris*. The people would not dream of omitting his name and his insignia in every nook and cranny of the tombs; but our monotheist's Amarna cemetery from end to end nowhere discloses either the name or the symbol of Osiris, whom the people buried there were obliged to abandon. This is evidence sufficiently

¹ See my *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 451, 773, 820, 888; III, pp. 116, 434, showing that the term is a vague indication of the East, like our Levant.

conclusive both to settle the case as regards Osiris as well as the unique character of Amenhotep IV. Perhaps these criticisms find their explanation in the fact that the author is so interested in the archaeological materials in a field where they are so plentiful and important, that the book sometimes, and in places, unavoidably becomes an archaeological commentary, a catalogue of *material* documents. The sources, written and unwritten, seem not always to have fused in his mind, to emerge in a symmetrical presentation of the human career revealed in the documents, irrespective of their form. Hence, in the Twelfth Dynasty we find no reference to the epoch-making *literary* development (p. 168), the earliest known chapter in real literary history.

A development in matters archaeological is a more tangible thing than one discernible only in social processes. Hence, as we turn to Asia, we find a full archaeological chronicle, and the question arises whether the social processes which so largely make up the career of the Hebrews should not have been outlined. Some other questions arise. We find ourselves wondering what kind of a Hebrew scribe it was who, somewhere around 1400 or 1500 B.C., before the days of the Amarna Letters and before there was a Hebrew nation, wrote down, as the author alleges (p. 195), the folk-tale of Abraham's adventure, the remarkable rescue of Lot, preserved in Gen., chap. 14. Surely the Hebrews of this age were illiterate, like all nomads, and as even the Greeks were for many centuries after their settlement of Greece. Old preconceptions seem to crop out here, as in the supposition that Jerusalem was the capital of Canaan in the fourteenth century B.C. (p. 356), or that the Hebrews were "a settled nation" in the thirteenth century B.C. (pp. 403, 404, 405, 415), a statement for which the sources furnish no basis. In a book which has employed historical analogy as well as this book has done, one would like to see some reference to the fact that the Hebrew migration was but one in a long series of movements of the nomadic tribes of Western Asia from the grass-lands to the towns, but this involves an interpretation of social phenomena with which, as already mentioned, the book so little deals. The author's dating of the Hebrew Exodus before the beginning of the Egyptian Empire places the whole period of the Judges—indeed, the whole pre-monarchical age of

Hebrew history—in the age of Egypt's sovereignty in Palestine, a sovereignty to which the Hebrew traditions preserved in the Old Testament make not the slightest reference. This would seem to make such a date for the Exodus impossible.

The author's presentation of the civilization of Babylonia is less archaeological than the other portions of his volume, and is a useful summary of recent results based chiefly, in its earlier portions, on King's *Sumer and Akkad*, although it displays commendable independence in disputed matters.

¹ [In discussing Sumerian origins, Mr. Hall rejects the theory of Professor G. Elliot Smith, who sees in the Sumerians the eastern wing of the Mediterranean brunet race, and offers instead, with much reserve, the theory that they were of Indian origin and developed their culture in the east, "perhaps the Indus valley," before coming into Babylonia. Whether this theory will meet with approval remains to be seen. However, it seems that the author lays too much stress upon the "strongly developed nose" of the Sumerians, as seen upon the early monuments, for this is due to the limitations of the primitive sculptor rather than indicative of a racial characteristic. Furthermore, the assertion, frequently seen in print today, that "the Sumerian culture springs into our view ready-made," needs to be made with much more reserve than is usually the case. The excavations in Babylonia have not been extensive or thorough enough to make any definite assertion about the beginnings of the Babylonian culture possible (see Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, I, 2, § 366). The archaeological remains found in the lowest strata at Telloh and Nippur, if they are of Sumerian origin (and nothing points to the contrary), certainly do not give one the impression of any "higher culture" of the Sumerians. The view that the Semites lived in the Euphrates Valley as early as, perhaps earlier than, the Sumerians, and that the latter adopted many of the Semitic deities, should not be spoken of as having been "adumbrated" by Professor Meyer, for this was definitely stated and backed by archaeological evidence by that scholar, and was, in fact, an epoch-making contribution to the understanding of early Babylonian history. There seems to be little evidence which can be adduced for the assertion

¹ The following to the end of the bracket is contributed by D. D. Luckenbill.

(not met with here for the first time) that there was "an ancient unified Sumerian kingdom with its capital at Nippur" (p. 179). That it was an important religious center is evident, but none of the kings' lists which have come down to us indicate that Nippur ever was a political center. The discussion of these and similar points might well have been relegated to the footnotes, for they detract from, rather than add to, the excellent portrayal of the old Sumerian and the First Dynasty civilizations.¹

The presence of an Indo-European element in Asia Minor in the middle of the second millennium B.C. has been demonstrated beyond a doubt by the Boghaz Keui documents, but the statement that "there is little doubt that the Kassites were Indo-Europeans and spoke an Aryan tongue" (p. 201) will hardly be accepted by those who have made a careful study of the thousands of Kassite personal names which we now have collected in a volume by Professor Clay (*Personal Names of the Kassite Period*). Needless to say, the chronology and succession of the Kassite kings given on pp. 262 f. are largely conjectural. In the discussion of early Assyrian history the new texts from Ashur might have been used with profit. One also regrets that so little use seems to have been made of Weber's notes to Knudtzon's edition of the Amarna Letters which have added materially to our understanding of this period of history, besides having removed so many smudges from the blackened characters of the Syrian princes.

In spite of the many points on which one finds himself disagreeing with the author,² one feels safe in asserting that next to,

¹ The names of the heroes of the Gilgamesh Epic should be read Ut-napishtim (in view of the writing U-ta-na-ish-tim) instead of Šit-napishtim; and Engidu instead of Ea-bani (see Gressmann and Ungnad, *Das Gilgamesh Epos*). Nimrod (p. 178) was a Libyan hero, as Erman pointed out years ago (Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt. u. N. A.*, I, 2, § 361). On p. 186 read Anu-banini of Lulubu and Lasirab of Gutu instead of Anubanini of Gutu and Lasirab of Lulubu; read E-ulmash instead of E-ulbar. Why Gudea should have gone to the Dead Sea region (p. 189) for asphalt when he might have found it in much greater abundance nearer home is difficult to see (Meyer, *op. cit.*, §§ 411, 441). Reasons for reviving the old theory that Sin-iddinam was "ex-king of Larsam" (p. 193) should be given. There is decided difference of opinion as to Gen., chap. 14. One may say that the majority of Old Testament scholars hold it to be one of the latest, rather than "one of the oldest parts of the Book of Genesis" (p. 194, note).

² To mention a few: The author's discussion of the bondage in Egypt and the Exodus (pp. 403 f.). There is room for much difference of opinion as to the meaning of Levi (pp. 408, 423, note). Is it correct to speak of Samuel as a monotheist (p. 424)? To speak of "a Babylonian scribe" of David's without comment is dogmatic. Was David's kingdom really as extensive as the stories of the Old Testament would have us believe (p. 430)? What does the author mean by "Baalzebel or Jezebel" (p. 450)? The

perhaps before, the discussion of the Cretan civilization, that of the history of Syria and Palestine deserves the highest praise. For freshness and vigor, many of the pages of the sections on the Westland surpass anything that has been written on the subject in recent years.—D. D. LUCKENBILL.]

This is the first book in English which places the Assyrians in their proper perspective. The noble art of the Ninevites, as displayed in relief sculpture, receives due justice, but we should have been glad to see recognized the fact that in spite of obvious limitations, the Assyrian was the first really great civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, as contrasted with the more limited culture of the merchandizing Babylonians. The treatment of Assyria, however, still suffers somewhat from the old preconception that all it contributed was derived from Babylonia.

The earlier history of the East occupies so large a portion of the book that the discussion of the Persians is less full than that of other oriental peoples. It is in the correlation of the oriental civilizations with that of the Aegean that the particular value of our author's volume lies. His acceptance of Cretan civilization as pre-Indo-Germanic, and of the Mediterranean population who created it, as to a large extent the physical ancestry of the historic Greeks—an ancestry which had meantime absorbed the Greek language, represents an undoubtedly sound position on the basis of the best evidence now available. The East has occupied so much of his space that he is obliged to make his study of early Greece, as he himself states, largely a consideration of external events, and he has therefore been unable to take up the inner development of Greek life in its earlier stages.

The number of difficult and undecided questions in a field like this is of course legion, and it is to be regretted that uncertainty should be introduced where there need be none and where the data are decisive.¹

inscription of Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'di (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 159 f.), is certainly evidence of a "Syrian state named 'Judah'" (we should say Ya'di) (p. 463).

¹ An illustration may be found on p. 234, where the author is dealing with the Asiatic revolt against Thutmose III, which extended from the Upper Euphrates to Southern Palestine. The Egyptian term for the Upper Euphrates region used here is "the marshes of the earth," which Hall says means "the marshes of the land," that is, the land of Egypt;

Few, if any, historical works in English issued in recent years involve the treatment of a mass of material so vast, so varied, and so widely scattered. It is therefore in no spirit of carping criticism, and with full appreciation of the innumerable difficulties and opportunities for going astray that the following corrections are noted. The attribution of the Greek Sphinx of Gizeh to the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 164), a hypothesis first put forward by Borchardt, to whom the author for some reason makes no reference, is a supposition long since discredited. Archaeological data have shown clearly that the Sphinx is a work of the same age which brought forth the Gizeh Pyramids behind it, of which it was the guardian. There can be no question but that it belongs to the Fourth Dynasty, and Borchardt, himself *the author of the theory of later date, has abandoned it*. The so-called "Temple of the Sphinx," the great granite building alongside it, which the author likewise attributes to the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 164), is also a work of the Fourth Dynasty, being the monumental gateway of the vast ramp, or causeway, leading up to the second Pyramid of Gizeh. Again, the magnificent temple of Amenhotep III, which once stood behind the famous "Memnon Colossi," was not destroyed by Ramses II to build his own Ramesseum (pp. 296, 317) but by Ramses' son, Merneptah (Petrie, *Six Temples*, pp. 9, 11). In the same connection it is stated that Strabo called Ramses II's temple the Memnonium "on account of its nearness to the great statues of Amenhotep III, who had long been identified with the Homeric Memnon, owing to a fancied resemblance between his name Men-ma-Ra and that of the Ethiopian hero" (p. 317). Men-ma-Ra, the name of Seti I, has been momentarily confused with Neb-ma-Ra, the name of Amenhotep III, from which it is impossible to derive "Memnon." The old supposition of Lepsius that the Egyptian word *mnw*, meaning "monument," is the source

that is, the marshes of the eastern Delta. All he offers in proof of this interpretation is the words, "this does not mean the country 'from Northwestern Judaea to beyond the Euphrates.'" Had the form of the note been something like this: "A study of the passages in which this term occurs shows," etc., it would be very welcome, for it is by such continued study and restudy of geographical terms that their full meaning may come out, and such further study, correcting an earlier scholar's results, is always to be welcomed. An examination of the fairly large group of passages in which the above geographical terms occur shows that no such study underlies the author's note and the interpretation offered represents merely a momentary *Einfall*, which a study of the term would have made impossible.

of the Greek identification of these colossi of Amenhotep III with Memnon is still the best conjecture available. It is a further misunderstanding which would represent the Egyptians as transporting stone for the marking of their northern *limes* in Asia, or their southern in Ethiopia, from the quarries near Cairo (p. 254). Amenhotep II's architect in charge of the quarry, in an inscription on the quarry wall, merely boasts, as a former achievement, of having been intrusted with the execution of the *limes* landmarks at the northern and southern extremities of the empire, but he makes no statement that he took the stone for these landmarks from the Egyptian quarries, which would have been an extraordinary occurrence indeed.

The earliest appearance of bronze as an alloy harder than copper is a very important question. Our author states that bronze was unknown in Egypt until the Middle Kingdom (p. 33), whereas, if we are to trust the examination of Mosso (*Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*, pp. 56, 57), the Pepi statues of the Sixth Dynasty contained over 6½ per cent of tin, and Petrie has also found bronze in the Old Kingdom. Presumably the author means that bronze was not in common use until the Middle Kingdom, which is of course a fact. The magnificent Soleb lions now in the British Museum, which were so much admired by Ruskin, have been a fruitful source of misunderstanding in the hands of earlier writers; the author is under a misapprehension in his statement that I have ascribed the ancient removal of these statues to King "Amenisru" (p. 274). The passage in my *Ancient Records* (II, 363, note *d*) leaves the question of the king's name open and merely calls him "the Ethiopian." In discussing the question of Cretan palace decoration, more particularly wall-painting, the author contrasts such Cretan paintings with those of Egypt by emphasizing the insertion of numerous inscriptions by the Egyptian artist (p. 51). This of course applies not to Egyptian *palaces* but to Egyptian *temples*, and the sensitive, probably mutual, interchange of influence between the wall-painting of the Cretan and Egyptian palaces is evident. At the opening of the Old Kingdom in Egypt it is of some importance to note that the tomb chamber of Khasekhemui at Abydos is not of "granite" (p. 113) but of limestone. The stonecutters of this early age were not yet ready for granite masonry, though they did lay a granite pavement. The

embossed leather of the empire displays one of the most beautiful techniques of the Egyptian craftsman, but the chariot of Thutmose IV is not of "embossed leather" (p. 294) but of incised stucco. It would be well to introduce as soon as possible Loret's demonstration that the royal bird of the Pharaohs was the falcon, and not the "hawk," which is employed by the author (pp. 93, 99, *et passim*). The usurper, Harmhab, as I and others have incorrectly supposed and the author still affirms (p. 311), did not marry Mutnezmet, a princess of the legitimate line. This misapprehension has been corrected by Sethe (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XLIV, 35-36). The Ethiopian capital of the earliest monotheist, Ikhnaton, is inadvertently placed at Napata (p. 275). This lost city, identified by the University of Chicago Expedition, was at Sesebi, at the Third Cataract, whereas Napata is at the Fourth. There seems to be a similar confusion in regard to Karoy, the southern frontier of the Egyptian empire, which was at the Fourth, not the Third, Cataract (p. 270). For the author's assertion that this region was conquered early in the Eighteenth Dynasty by Amenhotep I (p. 271) there is no evidence. The southernmost inscription of Amenhotep I was found by the University of Chicago Expedition in the Third Cataract region. It was Amenhotep's successor, Thutmose I, who conquered the Sudan and absorbed the Dongola Province. The Punt expedition of Hatshepsut cannot be dated in the year nine (p. 298), but had already returned by that year.*

* Some translations of less importance demand notice: The Pharaonic title "Golden Horus" (p. 93) is a late misunderstanding by the Egyptians themselves. We know now that, as shown in a late Greek translation, it means "Horus victorious over Set." The author's statement (p. 332) that Set and Sutekh are two different gods identified is somewhat misleading. The most recent evidence has shown clearly that they are not two gods, but one, and that the name "Set" is but a mutilation of that which we call "Sutekh." The name of the great monotheist Amenhotep IV's (Ikhnaton's) capital "Akhetaton," so familiar to Orientalists under its modern name, Tell-el-Amarna, does not mean "Glory of the Disk" (p. 301), which is a confusion with the *king's* name, but "horizon of the disk." In the archaic inscription on the magnificent Philadelphia alabaster jar of Besh, the date: "Year of smiting the northern enemy" should read "Year of smiting *and fighting* the northern enemy" (p. 112). In making new translations for historical use, as the author states he has done in some cases in his volume,

The author's style is forcible and interesting. His extraordinary fondness for the unusual word "apogee" is very noticeable; it even occurs twice in one sentence. The thirty-three plates of illustrations are excellent and well chosen. It is inevitable, as we have said before, in a work covering so large an area of history and so vast an array of sources, written and unwritten, that opportunities for difference of opinion should be very frequent and that numerous

it is important to use *all* the ancient versions as a basis. The text of the great *limes* inscription of Sesostri III in Berlin is corrupt in places; the correction of these from the duplicate discovered by Steindorff and now in Leipzig would have avoided some errors in the rendering (p. 162). The place where the Berlin copy was erected, now called "Semneh," has no connection with an ancient Egyptian "Samnin." This alleged ancient Egyptian "Samnin" (p. 161) does not exist, but is an old misreading of Maspero's perpetuated in his *History (Dawn of Civilization)*, p. 485, n. 2). The inscription cited by Maspero as containing it is misread (see my *Ancient Records*, I, § 752). The unique character of the reign of the monotheist, Amenhotep IV, would, I think, have been much more evident to the author if his translations had included the new stela of Tutenkhaton, which makes it perfectly clear how completely the monotheist swept away the old gods (see my *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 344, 345). Further use of Knudtzon's new *Amarna Letters* would also alter some important passages (p. 245).

In matters more technically philological, the reading of the Egyptian word for "foreign countries, high-lands" is not *khaskheti* (pp. 107, 157, 212 *bis*), but *h'st*; or, using our author's vocalization, *haset*. The title of the Hittite king in the treaty of peace between Ramses II and the Hittites is not *p-sar-'o n Kheta* (p. 364) but *p-wer-'o n Kheta*. A *sar* is an Egyptian official, and the title is not applied to foreigners. *Apet-esut*, that is, Karnak, has nothing to do with *Apet-resit* (Luxor) (p. 278), as the two Egyptian words thus transliterated are always written differently in hieroglyphic and are two totally different words, as has been recently shown. The rendering "Two River-Land" (p. 229) for *Naharin* is without basis as far as the "two" is concerned (for *Naharin* is a plural form) and is of course due to the author's recollection of the Hebrew form *Aram-Naharaim*, but it is doubtful whether this Hebrew term contains a dual. The "blacksmiths," *Mesniu* (p. 92), should have the consonants *msntyw*. The Egyptian word commonly rendered "troglodytes," which the author twice reads "Anu" (pp. 89, 92), should be read only *Antiu (yntyw)*, a reading which he also recognizes (p. 95). The rendering of this word as "troglodytes" is due solely to the fact that the people it designates are found commonly in regions

pitfalls of a most deceptive character should beset the way. If much of this review is devoted to such inevitable differences and corrections, I wish nevertheless again to express my appreciation of the devoted industry which the author has brought to his task and to emphasize my confidence in the usefulness of the valuable survey of man's early career which he has put together.

where Strabo places troglodytes, and is not based upon an impossible etymology connecting it with the word *ant* (*ynt*), "valley." The explanation of the epithet of Anubis in Egyptian, *ymy-wt* (*Am-U^ot*), which the author gives as "He who is in the Oasis" (p. 101), remains without demonstration and without support in the inscriptions. The corruption *ymy-wtf* (*am-u^ot-f*) assumed by the author does not exist, but arises from his confusing it with *tp-dwtf* meaning "on his mountain," a frequent epithet of Anubia.

We may add here some misprints, or clerical errors, which are not numerous in the Book: for "Nekebit" (p. 112), read "Nekhebit"; for "XI" (148 *bis*), read "XII"; for "offices" (p. 247), read "officers"; for "Rameses II (Menophres)" (p. 316), read "Rameses I"; for "Jenson" (p. 329), read "Jensen"; for "Rameses XII" (p. 390), read "Rameses XI"; for "come" (p. 557), read "came"; for "builder" (p. 136), read "building"; delete "on" (p. 95, last line).



Two Inscriptions of Mesilim, King of Kish

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TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF MESILIM, KING OF KISH

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In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXIII, Part 3 (November, 1913), pp. 295 f., Professor Barton has a note on "The Names of Two Kings of Adab." Professor Barton's discussion is based upon copies of inscriptions from Bismya published by Dr. Edgar J. Banks in his *Bismya or the Lost City of Adab*. Through the kindness of Professor Robert Francis Harper the writer is able to give scholars more accurate copies of these inscriptions which will help in correcting a number of misapprehensions.

A glance at Plate I¹ will show that the name of the king given by Dr. Banks (p. 201) as Barki, and by Professor Barton as Mêki, is undoubtedly Mesilim. Professor Barton reads line 4, IL-IL, "brought," but this reading seems doubtful. The second part of the IL-sign is usually very elaborate. The writer offers, with reserve, the reading GA-NA-GÍ or, perhaps, GA-MU-GÍ. The name of the patesi is doubtful; only the middle sign is really cut into the stone. All the signs of the inscription were first lightly scratched upon the stone, and then cut in by running the engraving instrument back and forth over the faint lines of the first sketch. The latter process seems to have been applied only to the middle sign of the name of the patesi. The last sign is scratched upon a porous section of the stone, but the lines, although very faint, are as given. Of the first sign only the vertical and horizontal lines are certain.² The inscription reads:

¹ME-SILIM ²LUGAL KIŠ ³E-SAR ⁴GA-NA(?) -GÍ ⁵SAL(?) -KISAL-SI GAR PA-
TE-SI UD-NUN-KI

Mesilim, king of Kish, to Esar has returned [this bowl], Salkisalsi being patesi of Adab.

¹ The inscription is found on a fragment of a limestone bowl whose diameter was about fourteen inches.

² There are a number of scratches upon the stone, both inside and outside the area of the inscription. This makes it all the more difficult to determine the first and last signs of the name of the patesi.

Was the patesi of Adab a woman? According to the kings' list published by Scheil, the founder of a dynasty of Kish was a woman named Azag(or Ku)-Bau.

Another inscription of Mesilim is given on Plate II (=Banks, p. 266):

¹ME-SILIM ²LUGAL KIŠ ³DUMU KI-AG ⁴(DINGIR)NIN-HAR-SAG (remainder broken away).

Mesilim, king of Kish, beloved son of Ninharsag. . . .

A fragment of what is probably an inscription of Mesilim is given on Plate II, No. 2.

In none of these inscriptions is the determinative ki added to Kish, nevertheless the writer does not hesitate to translate LUGAL KIŠ by "king of Kish." That Mesilim of Kish calls himself "beloved son of Ninharsag" seems to weaken the argument in favor of a South-Babylonian (Sumerian) Kesh; see Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte d. könig. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XLVII (1912), 1096 f., and King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 128. From *Rev. d'Assyr.*, IX (1912), 37, it would seem that Thureau-Dangin has abandoned the view put forward in *Jour. Asiat.*, sér. X, Vol. XI (1908), 131, n. 2.

If there remained any doubt as to Esar's being the name of a temple and not that of a king it would be removed by some of the other votive inscriptions. Two of these are given on Plate III.

No. 1: ¹E-SAR ²AD- . . . -DA ³(SAL) DAR- . . . ⁴DAM ⁵A-MU-RU.

To Esar, Ad . . . da, for Dar . . . [his] wife, dedicated.

No. 2: ¹E-SAR ²ENGUR-A-NA-AG ³DAM ⁴KA-UD-ZID ⁵[A-MU-R]U.

To Esar, for Enguranag, [his] wife, Kaudzid dedicated.

Professor Barton suggests that the name of the king called Da-udu by Dr. Banks should be read Lugal-da-udu. He compares this name with such names as Lugal-ušum-gal, Lugal-šag-ga, etc. Perhaps the name should be read Lugal-da-lu, which would be a phonetic rendering of the name Lugal-dalla; cf. Huber, *Personennamen*, p. 131. The writer would also prefer to read E-igi-nim-pa-è instead of Barton's E-ši-nim-pa-ud-du. The name read Me-ši-tug by Professor Barton is to be read Me-ba- The curved line of the last sign, as given on p. 264 of *Bismya*, is not part of the sign at all, but indicates the break in the vase. No restoration can be offered.

PLATE I

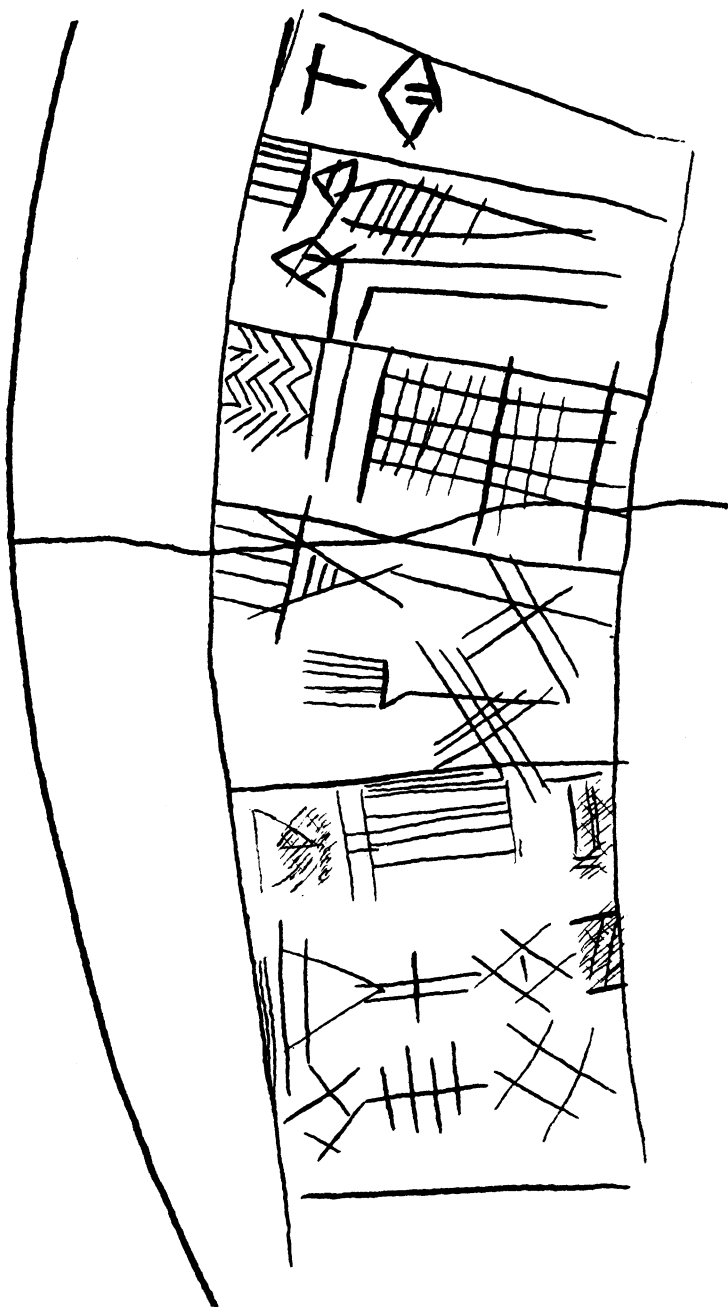


PLATE II

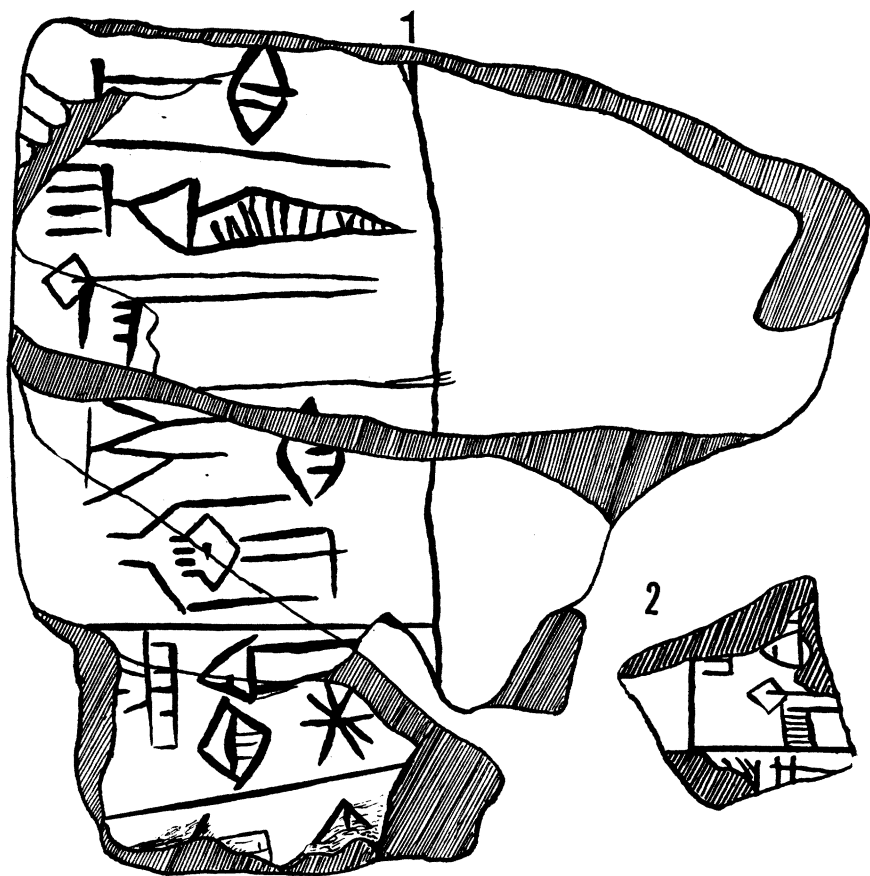
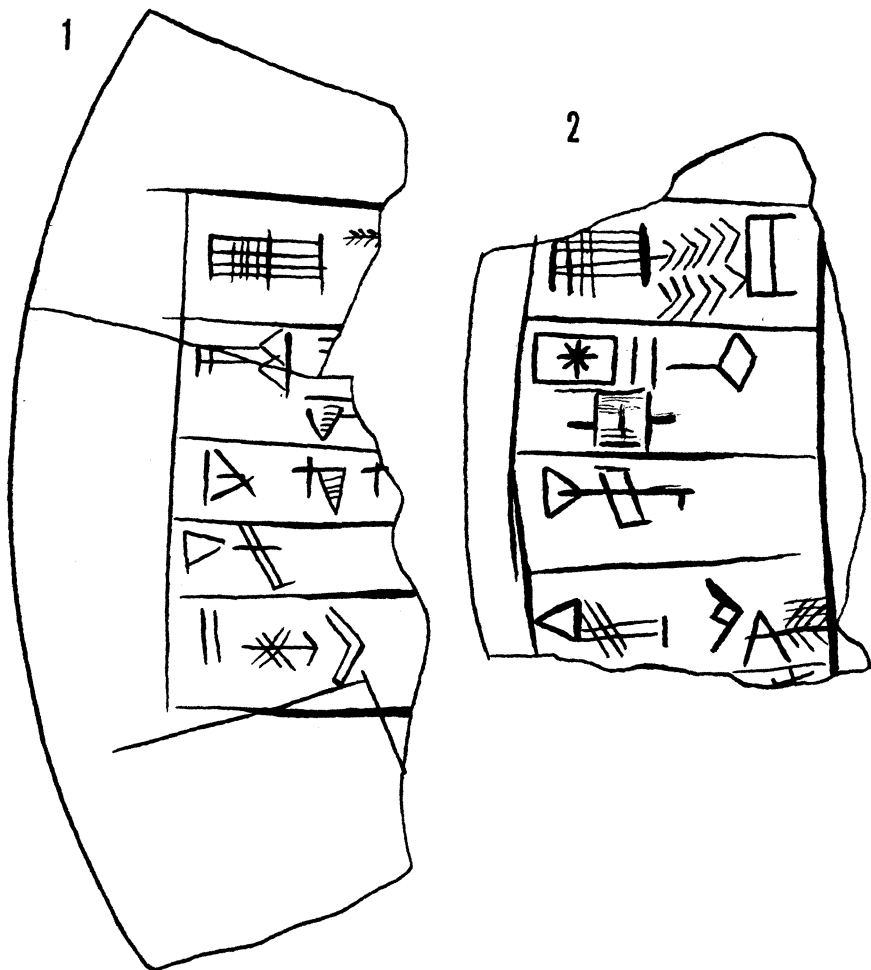


PLATE III





Notes on Some Texts from the Cassite Period

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NOTES ON SOME TEXTS FROM THE CASSITE PERIOD

By D. D. LUCKENBILL
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The texts published in the third volume of *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur* (University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, "Publications of the Babylonian Section," Vol. II, No. 2, by Albert T. Clay) have cleared up many an obscure passage of the earlier volumes ("Babylonian Expedition," Vols. XIV and XV). They have also added to the many problems that yet await solution. The writer had prepared a complete glossary of the three volumes, together with extensive notes on the new texts and corrections of his study of the texts of *BE*, XIV and XV (*AJSL*, XXIII, 280 f.), when the appearance of Torczyner's *Altbabylonische Tempelrechnungen* (Denkschriften der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. LV) made unnecessary the publication of these in full. In the following notes a few of the more important texts will be discussed.¹

II2, No. 25. ¹ ana(? or 1) duppi ši mi ša mErba-dAdad ² ša it-ti mBa-il-dMarduk ³ mâr m^d Nabû-lamassi-šu ⁴ li-ķu-u ⁵ 24 a-mi-lu-ut-su ⁶ [i]t-ti m^d En-lil-al-šaḥ ⁷ [i]l-li-ķi-im-ma ⁸ di-nam da-ba-bi ⁹ ša mAp-li-id-en-ši-il-tum (Date)

Concerning (?) the tablet of sale belonging to Erba-Adad, which from Bail-Marduk, son of Nabû-lamassišu, had been received—24 of his slaves were received from Enlil-alšaḥ; and concerning (?) the law-suit of Aplidenšiltum.

If I understand this text correctly, it is nothing but a note made by some scribe to be used in court. Evidently Aplidenšiltum had brought suit concerning slaves, and it was necessary to go into the records of sale: such records as *BE*, XIV, Nos. 2, 7, 128a. For some reason the original record was not brought into court, but instead a note stating that according to that record 24 slaves had been received from Enlil-alšaḥ. Of the questions at issue we are, of course, ignorant.

¹ The abbreviations *BE*, XIV and XV, refer to the two earlier volumes of *Documents from the Temple Archives*, etc., while the third volume will be referred to as II2.

BE, XIV, No. 42. Torczyner, *op. cit.*, p. 89, regards my interpretation of this text¹ as "verfehlt." My transliteration and translation follow:

¹dup-pi ri-ki-iš-ti ²ša ^mIn-na-an-nu ³a-na amēl riḫḫē pl
⁴u ka-zid-da ⁵ir-ku-su ⁶kurunnu ul ṭa-am-ma ⁷GAR (akālu)
 ul ba-ni-mā ⁸i-na ba-lu ^mRabā-ša-^dNergal ⁹GAR šikaru u
 me-ri-iš-tum ¹⁰i-nam-di-in-ma ¹¹i-na-du-u ¹²i-ba-ḫa-nu
¹³nap-ḫa-ar ¹⁴ši-ka-ri ¹⁵ša iš-tu arḫu Araḫšamna ¹⁶ša šatti
 1 kan ¹⁷a-na ka-ab-ri ¹⁸i-ka-na-ak. [Date and seals of the riḫḫu
 and ka-zid-da officers.]

The tablet of contract which Inannu drew up with the riḫḫu and ka-zid-da officers. In case the wine is not good and the bread is not clean, without (the consent of ?) Rabā-ša-Nergal, he (Inannu) shall give bread, wine, and new wine, and they shall deliver them, they shall . . . etc.

Torczyner translates, "Tafel des Vertrages, . . . Primabier soll nicht erzeugt werden (ṭa-am-ma=ṭab-ma), Brot nicht gemacht werden ohne Raba-ša-Nergal. Wenn er Brot, Bier und Gewürz (?) gibt, sollen sie es niederlegen und verwahren (?), etc."

His note on l. 6 reads: "ul ṭa-am-ma. Das Permansiv bezeichnet das Passiv ohne Rücksicht auf das Tempus." But one would expect a permansive of the Piel, not of the Qal, to mean "(gut) machen, erzeugen (?)," p. 118. The verb banû may have been used in Babylonian in the sense of "making" bread, but one would rather expect epû to be used. In the Adapa Myth we have epêšu used of making bread: a-ka-la u me-e . . . ip-pu-uš, l. 12. However, it seems to me that the tablet receives an entirely new, and correct, interpretation if one reads i-na-ba-lu instead of i-na ba-lu. It now reads: "The tablet of contract which Inannu drew up with the riḫḫê and the kazidda. If the wine is not good and the bread is not clean, they are to be returned. If Rabā-ša-Nergal shall give bread, wine, or must (?), they shall be deposited and a receipt shall be given for them (?). All the wine, etc."

As Torczyner has shown, *op. cit.*, p. 9, the amēl riḫḫê is evidently a brewer. On pp. 9 and 87 f., he discusses the kazidda, and concludes that he was the miller. If we assign a somewhat broader meaning, one which would include the idea of baker as well, the contract in question would become perfectly clear. Inannu insists,

by contract, that the brewer and miller-baker shall furnish good wine and clean bread, otherwise these will be sent back. Read i-na-ba-lu, IV from apâlu; cf. the usage in the Code of Hammurabi. Or one might regard it as the IV of abâlu, and translate, "shall be taken away," that is, "refused." If Rabâ-ša-Nergal delivers the bread, wine, or must (?), *for the brewer and baker*, they are to be "put down," that is, received. The meaning of i-ba-ka-nu remains uncertain. My suggestion that it is to be connected with the term buḫānu still seems plausible to me. That this word should be written with *g* or *k* rather than with *k* follows from the form bu-ga-na-. . . šu-tu-uk (*Rec. d. Trav.*, XVII, 306).¹ The passage would then mean that in case Rabâ-ša-Nergal, instead of, or for, the brewer and baker, delivered the bread, etc., they are to be deposited and a receipt is to be given, Rabâ-ša-Nergal guaranteeing the quality of the goods.

II2, No. 55. ¹ m^d Nin-ib-e-a mâr m^m Man-nu-tukulti (ti)
² m^m Ar-du-tum kaš-šu-u ³ ù m^d Šamaš-tak-la-ku šu-ḫi-tum
⁴ i-tu m^m E-til-pi ⁵ mâr m^m Di-maḥ-di-d Uraš ⁶ a-na bal-ri
 šap-rum ⁷ amēlu ša m^m E-til-pu ⁸ i-nam-di-na-aš-šu-nu-ti
⁹ i-na-kar-ru-u-ma ¹⁰ [i]-liḫ-ku-u-ni ¹¹ [i]-ḫal-la-ku-[u-ma]
¹² [pa]-nu-šu-nu ul ib-b[a-ba-l]u ¹³ is-sa-ni-ku a-na bīt el-la
¹⁴ uk-ta-an-nu.

Ninib-ea, son of Mannutukulti, Ardutum, the kaššû, and Šamaš-taklaku, the šubītum, together with Etilpu, son of Dimahdi-Uraš, to the other side of the river were sent. The (work)men whom Etilpu shall give them—if they are assembled, they shall take them; if they run away, they shall not be protected, they shall be bound, and to the illustrious temple (bīt-ella) handed over.

L. 4. According to II2, No. 130, 5 f., there were 43 king's servants in the "stronghold of Etilpu, Du-un-ni ša m^m Etilbu."

L. 7. Cf. No. 51, 14, a-mi-la-a-ma, and Peiser, *Urkunden*, No. 88, 7, a-mi-li-e. Perhaps to be read as singular in the sense of *every* man or slave. The plural a-me-lu-u, a-me-li-e, occurs frequently in the Letters of Hammurabi (King, *op. cit.*, vocabulary).

L. 9. i-na-kar(!)-ru-u-ma, from כרה.

L. 12. For this phrase see Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 357.

¹ For a recent discussion of the buḫānu ceremony see Duncan, *AJSL*, XXX, 172 f.

L. 6. šap-rum; read plural and cf. No. 20, 8f.: 3 teams ša ištu Parak-mâri^{ki} im-ḫi-su-nim-ma a-na pi-iḫ-di[a]-na tamtim ša-ab-rum; also No. 116, 1: šabê ki-lum.

II2, No. 51. ¹[^mRab]â-ša-^dNin-ib mâr ²[^{md}E]n-lil-nâdin-aḫê^{pl} mâr ^mKi-lam-da-šu ³Ī-lf-ia-a-tu ^mRak-rib-ba-ti ⁴^mUbbulti(ti)-lîšir mâr ^mŠu-ḫi-la ⁵napḫaru 2 ^{amēl}KA-LU-MEŠ ù 2 kaš-šu-u ⁶it-ti ^mAr-ra-bi ^{amēl}NI-SUR ⁷a-na Bît-d ^{ki} ⁸ù a-na ^{ki} ⁹ummânucolša ḫal-ḫu-ti ¹⁰a-na a[ḫ] tamtim (?) š]ap-rum ¹¹la ša-a-ra ¹²ù s[a-ar-]ta ul ib-bu-šu ¹³mi ḫa-a-ti ¹⁴ul . . ru-su a-mi-la-a-ma ¹⁵ul u-maš-ša-ru ¹⁶immeru ul i-na-ki-su ¹⁷karpātu rabītu ul i-ra-as-sa-an-nu ¹⁸ummânâte (or šabê)^{pl} ša i-li-iḫ-ḫu-u-ni ¹⁹bītâte^{pl}-šu-nu u-pa-ḫa-du ²⁰kar-ṣu-šu-nu in-na-ka-lu-ma ²¹pa-nu-šu-nu ul ib-ba-ba-lu ²²iš-ša-a-lu is-sa-ni-ḫu ²³a-na bīt el-la a-na GIŠ-BAR uk-ta-an-nu ²⁴arḫu Araḫšamna ūmu ^{22kam}šatti 12^{kam} ²⁵dŠa-ga-ra-aḫ-ti-šur-ia-aš ²⁶zu-pur ^mRabâ-ša-^dNin-ib ²⁷^{md}En-lil-nâdin-aḫê^{pl} ^mĪ-lf-ia-[a-tu] ²⁸ù ^mUbbulti(ti)-lîšir kīma [kunukki]-šu-nu.

Rabâ-ša-Ninib, son of , Enlil-nadin-aḫê, son of Kilamdašu, Iliatu, son of Rakribbati, Ubbulti-lîšir, son of Šuḫila: total 2 KA-LU and 2 Kaššû (officials), together with Arrabi the NI-SUR (official) to Bît (a town) and (another town) the workmen of which (?) were fugitives, to the seashore (?) are sent. They shall not circulate slander (or lies), and rebellion they shall not raise, ... of the hand they shall not restrain (?), slaves they shall not set free, a lamb they shall not slay, a large vessel they shall not empty. The workmen whom they shall seize—their houses they shall watch; if they (the workmen) are slandered, they are not to be protected, they are to be questioned, they are to be bound, to the illustrious temple (bīt-ella) they are to be handed over on account of the service (or tax) due. [Date and thumb nail impressions, instead of their seals, of Raba-ša-Ninib, etc.]

L. 5. ^{amēl}KA-LU-MEŠ. Cf. II2, No. 48, which contains lists of artisans, and *BE*, XIV, No. 120, which contains the same lists as No. 48, but is dated some eight years earlier. No. 48 has five totals: 4 ^{amēl}GIR, 2 ^{amēl}BI-LUL, 5 ^{amēl}MU(nuḫatimmu), 2 ^{amēl}KU, 4 ^{amēl}KA-LU(?)—MEŠ. The totals in *BE*, XIV, 120, are as follows: 26 ^{amēl}SAG ([?], see below), 2 KA-KU (!), x ^{amēl}BI-LUL, 4 ^{amēl}GIR, 3 ^{amēl}MU, 2 ^{amēl}KU. That the last total of No. 48 and the second of No. 120 refer to the same class of artisans is evident. Torczyner, *op. cit.*, p. 118, reads the total in *BE*, XIV, 120,

ka-zid and that in No. 48, KA-LU-MEŠ. Whether we are to read KA-LU-MEŠ or not remains uncertain, as does also the meaning of the term.

L. 10. Restoration conjectural; cf. No. 55, 6 f.

L. 12. Cf. No. 126, 3: 6 amêlê^{p1} ša sa-ar-ta i-bu-šu.

L. 27. Bît-el-la. Cf. No. 126, 4 (and perhaps 10, bît el-la-ti). Torczyner, *op. cit.*, 113, "Haus der Reinheit, Name eines Gefangnisses." The temple itself is probably referred to. Cf. Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 13, Col. IV, 13 f.: bîta el-la (var. adds ia-a-ka; see Muss-Arnolt, *Dic.*, under âku) ki-iš-ša ša-ka-a parakka ši-ra ad-ma-na ra-šub-ba, etc. Also the Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet I, Col. IV, 37, a-na bîti el-lim mu-šab^d Anim u^d Ištar; l. 44, a-na bîti el-lim kud-du-ši mu-šab, etc.

A-na GIŠ-BAR uk-tan-nu: Torczyner avoids any discussion of this GIŠ-BAR. Its meaning will become clear from the following remarks.

Nos. 51 and 55 must be interpreted in the light of the other documents of these archives. A number of documents, *BE*, XIV, 58, for example, are lists of quantities of grain, etc., paid out by the temple (or palace) as stipends. That the men (and their families) thus paid were not always voluntary servants of the temple may be inferred from the note "ḫalḫu (ḪA-A, *zaḡ*) = fugitive," which frequently appears in connection with their names. From the letters of Ḫammurabi to Sin-idinnam we know that a large amount of forced labor was exacted by the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, III, pp. li f.). It is reasonable to assume that in the Cassite period as well as in the time of the First Dynasty the church and the state, the temple and the palace, could and did demand of the people much revenue or its equivalent, service. My interpretation of No. 55 is as follows: A number of officers, Ninib-ea, Ardutum, and Šamaš-taklaku, are sent across the river with Etilpu, who seems to have had general oversight over a large number of slaves or serfs (cf. note on l. 4, above). From him they are to receive such men as were already assembled for the corvée, and to apprehend such as might run away to escape service. No. 51 refers to four officers who are to accompany Arrabi, the ni-

SUR official, to two villages from which a number of workmen had fled. The services of these men were evidently due the temple at the time. The officers are to apprehend them, but in so doing are not to raise a general disturbance in the villages by acting in a high-handed manner.

II2, No. 47. A list of artisans whose services were due the temple. They were brought up from different villages and hired out.

¹ ša ul-tu ² a-lim šu-la-a ³ a-na ^mRêš-d Nergal pa-ki-d ⁴ a-na šakni (GAR-ni) i-nam-din-šu ⁵ ^mAmêl-d Adad amêl¹ KU ⁶ ^mDaian-d Nin-ib amêl¹ KU ⁷ Ub-bu-ul-ti-li-šir amêl¹ KU ⁸ ^fTa-rib-tum ama-a-ni ⁹ nap̄haru ⁴ amêl¹ KU-MEŠ ¹⁰ ultu AN-ZA-KAR-ša-bīt-šu-mi-ia ¹¹ ù ^{al}u A-bu^{ki} šu-lu-ni ¹² a-na ^mArkât-d Nergal paḳ[du] ¹³ ^mI-ri-ba-d Marduk amêl¹ MU(nuḫatimmu) ¹⁴ Mâr ^mZu-un-du-ri NU-GIŠ-ŠAR ¹⁵ nap̄haru ² ultu Dûr-ili^{ki} ¹⁶ šu-lu-ni ¹⁷ a-na ^mIlu-(mu)muraššu-ri-ma paḳ-du. [Date.]

(Name of man) who was brought up from (town), to Rêš-Nergal he was bound out [lit. intrusted]. Amêl-Adad, etc., total four KU [artisans of some kind; Torczyner suggests "tailor"] who were brought from two villages and bound out to Arkât-Nergal. Iriba-Marduk (and) Mâr-Zunduri, total two, who were brought up from Dûr-ilu and bound out to Ilu-muraššu-rima.

II2, No. 126. ¹ 6 bi-ri-tum i-na si-mi-ri-ši-[na eru] ² 1 biltu 36 ma-na *ki-lal-bi* ³ 6 amêlûti^{p1}šša sa-ar-ta i-bu-šu ⁴ na-du-ma i-na bīt-el-la ka-lu-u ⁵ ḳât ^mI-li-a-a-ba-aš ⁶ 16 biltu 6 1/2 ma-na erê^{p1} ⁷ in siparri^{p1} ⁸ ri-e ⁹ ka-an-da ¹⁰ la-ti i-na-di-e ¹¹ šunigin ¹⁷ biltu 6 1/2 ma-na erê^{p1} ¹² ḳât ^mŠa-ilu-ba-na-a.

Into six bonds in whose rings there was copper, 1 talent, 36 mana in weight, 6 persons who had raised rebellion were cast and in the illustrious temple (bīt-ella) were restrained. [The remainder is too fragmentary to warrant an attempt at translation. Lines 6 and 7 show that some bronze objects were made from a quantity of copper.]

II2, No. 48. Discussed above in note on l. 5 of No. 51; cf. *BE*, XIV, 120. Torczyner, *op. cit.*, 104, translates NU-ŠI by "nicht sehend." But we expect *nu-igi-tug* to express blindness. Perhaps it would be better to read NU-ŠI as equivalent to "la innamar, not seen." They were not seen because they were in jail, ka-lu-u.

II2, No. 118. Payments to different persons and for different objects. *BE*, XIV, 73, records payments to the same persons, probably at another time. A comparison of the names recorded in ll. 35-43 of No. 73 and those recorded in ll. 30-40 of No. 118 shows that the term ^{amêl} SAG of l. 44 of the former is the same as the tab-bi-ḥu-u of l. 41 of the latter. That is, ^{amêl} SAG = tabbiḥu. Torczyner, *op. cit.*, 129, reads ^{amêl} SAG as “rêšu, Diener.” ^{amêl} SAG may mean either officer or slave (Delitzsch, *HWB*, 606). In view of the use of the term arad šarri (king’s servant) in these texts, it is not probable that SAG šarri is to be translated “servant of the king,” but rather “royal official.”

II2, No. 50. ¹ 1 ṣub^at^bkubuš kaḳḳadi ²ša^m Nûr-^d Marduk a-na tam-ši-li ³iddinu-ma i-na ḳât^{md} Šamas-nâšir ⁴im-ḥu-ru ⁵ul i-tar-ma ⁶m Nûr-^d Marduk ⁷aš-šum kubšu nadnu(nu) ⁸ul i-rag-gu-um ⁹i-rag-gu-um-ma ¹⁰ku-nukki-šu ^m Nûr-^d Marduk ¹¹i-na pan ^dNin-ib iḥappi(*gaz*)-ma ¹²md Šamas-nâšir kubša i-ta-na- ¹³pa-al. (Date and seal of Nûr-Marduk.)

I head-band . . . which Nûr-Marduk for duplication had given, and from the hand of Šamas-nâšir has received. He shall not have recourse, and Nûr-Marduk shall not enter a claim on account of the head-band which had been given (Šamas-nâšir). If he does enter a claim, Nûr-Marduk shall break his seal (tablet) before the god Ninib and Šamas-nâšir shall give him a head-band.

L. 1. Kubšu; cf. *BE*, XIV, 157, 23, 67, 79, and II2, No. 139, 2.

L. 2. tamšili; “Gleichung, Gleichheit,” etc. The form corresponds to the Arabic infinitive of the II stem. It is interesting to note that the Assyrian nouns of this form are usually connected in meaning with the intensive stem (Delitzsch, *Gram.*², § 91, d).

L. 3. Šamas-nâšir is mentioned in a tablet dated about two years before this one (*BE*, XIV, No. 128, 9) as receiving a certain amount of wool. He was evidently a weaver.

Ll. 16 f. The Hammurabi Code furnished many instances in which disputes were to be settled before the deity (e.g., §§ 106-7, Harper’s edition). Here breaking the tablet before Ninib seems to mean the denial of the receipt of the head-band, and Šamas-nâšir must give another.

II2, No. 69:

- ¹ GIŠ-MES-NÁ-MEŠ ša i-na šatti 6^{kam}
 mI-lu-ni ik-ki-is-su
 15 10 i-na am-ma-ti ar-ri(?) -ku(?)
 25 9 u
⁵ 28 8 u
 29 7 u
 19 6 u
 4 5 u
 napḥaru 120 ki-ib-lum ku-nu-ku-tum (or šu-nu-šu-tum?)
¹⁰ 20 ab-bu ša 9 i-na am-ma-ti
 20 ab-bu ša 8 u
 20 ab-bu ša 6 u
 40 ab-bu ša 4 u
 napḥaru 120(!) ab-bu ša GIŠ-MES-NÁ
¹⁵ ša i^šukirê^{p1} ša Lu(?) -ub-di
 11 10 i-na am-ma-ti a-ri-ik
 8 9 u
 29 8 u
 23 7 u
²⁰ 23 6 u
 5 5 u
 napḥaru 99 GIŠ-MES-NÁ ki-ib-lum *ta-am*
 20 ab-bu 9 A *ta-am* 24 ab-bu *ta-am*
 25 ab-bu 6 A *ta-am* 30 ab-bu A *ta-am*
²⁵ napḥaru 99 ab-bu ša ^{alu}Ši-id-u-la
 10 10 i-na am-ma-ti a-ri-ik
 7 9 u
 2 8 u
 3 7 u
³⁰ 8 6 u
 napḥaru 30 ki-ib-lum
 4 ab-bu 9 A *ta-am* 5 ab-bu
 6 A *ta-am* 10 ša A *ta-am*
 30 ab-bu ša ^{alu}Dûr-SAG(?) -^m.
³⁵ ^dEn-lil

The MES-NÁ-wood which in the year 6, Iluni cut.

15 (logs) 10 cubits long

25 " 9 "

etc.

total, 120 kiblum kunukutum

20 abbu which were 9 cubits (long)

20 " which were 8 "

etc.

total, 120 abbu of MES-NÁ-wood which (were taken from) the woods of Lubdi

11 (logs) 10 cubits long

8 " 9 "

etc.

total, 99 MES-NÁ kiblum

20 abbu 9 cubits (long) etc.

total, 99 abbu from the city Šidula

10 (logs) 10 cubits long

etc.

total 30 kiblum

4 abbu 9 cubits (long) etc.

(total) 30 abbu from the city Dûr Enlil

Torczyner, *ZDMG*, LXVII, 144, has given a brief discussion of this text. He reached the conclusion (reached independently by me) that the A of ll. 23 f. = a m m a t u, cubit (cf. a = a p l u?).

L. 1. GIŠ-MES-NÁ-MEŠ; cf. *BE*, XIV, No. 163, 17.

L. 9. ku-nu-ku-tum: Torczyner suggests "Gesiegelte?" (*Alt. Tempelrechnungen*, p. 128). Possibly to be read šunušû-tum, from šanâšû (Muss-Arnolt, p. 1075).

L. 10. ab-bu: ^{iš}u ab-ba^{p1} of various lengths are mentioned in a letter of Hammurabi (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, III, 52), No. XXII, l. 4, ^{iš}u ab-ba^{p1} a-na ši-ki-ir ma-ag-ga-ri. By comparing the totals it will be seen that there were 120 kiblum and 120 abbu, 99 kiblum and 99 abbu, 30 kiblum and 30 abbu. From this one might infer that the abbu was made from the kiblum, that is, that the abbu was the finished product and the kiblum the rough log. In the letter of Hammurabi, the abba were to be sent to the metal workers of Dûr-gurgurri. Only vigorous (green) abba were to be sent.



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THE HITTITES

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There can be no doubt that it was their interest in the Bible, their desire "thus to confirm the scattered references to the Hittites in sacred history,"¹ that led scholars in the past to devote so much time and energy to the exploration of the lands of the Hittites and to the copying and decipherment of their inscriptions. While no Hittite monument ever aroused the intense enthusiasm which followed George Smith's discovery in 1872 of the Babylonian account of the Deluge and led to redoubled efforts to bring to light the ancient civilizations which lay buried under the mounds of Mesopotamia, still the interest in the "sons of Heth" has been perennial. In passing judgment upon the work of the older scholars, many of whose conclusions have proved to be unwarranted, we must not forget that their sources were much more limited than ours and that they were often blinded by their zeal for the cause in whose defense their efforts were put forth. Today we are no longer defending the Bible but trying to understand it. The task which the student of the Old Testament sets himself is to trace the cultural and religious development of the Hebrew people in Canaan, bearing in mind all the while that they must have been influenced by their physical and social environments, the same as any other people. It is of the greatest importance that he be acquainted with the history of the civilizations with which the Hebrews came in contact, namely, the Egyptian on the Nile, the Babylonian-Assyrian on the Euphrates and Tigris, the Hittite in Asia Minor, and the Minoan in the Aegean. Little wonder then that the many problems of Hittite history which still await solution are being vigorously attacked from every side.

As early as the year 1736, Otter found hieroglyphic inscriptions at Ivriz, which lies across the Taurus range from Tarsus.

¹ Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, p. vii.

In 1812, the famous traveler Burckhardt found an inscription at Hama (Hamath) on the Orontes, and some years later, in 1834, Texier discovered some sculptures and inscriptions at Boghaz-Keui in northern Asia Minor.¹ About all that could then be said about these inscriptions was that the hieroglyphs in which they were written were not Egyptian. In his *Unexplored Syria*, Burton published the inscription found by Burckhardt at Hama, together with similar ones from the same neighborhood. This was in 1872. In the same year Dr. W. Wright secured all of the Hama inscriptions for the museum at Constantinople. From this time until the present day new monuments have been coming to light in increasing numbers in Syria and Asia Minor. If the distribution of their monumental remains gives any certain indication of the extent of the territory occupied (more or less permanently) by the Hittites (and this seems to be a reasonably safe assumption) the boundaries of the Hittite lands are roughly these:

Our southerly frontier reaches to Hamath on the Orontes. Eastward our boundary is the Euphrates, flowing past Malatia, Samsat, and Jerablus. Westward the monuments follow the inner edge of Taurus as far as the Kara Dag, with not a single site under the southern slope of these mountains. In the north we have no clear boundary. Eyuk and Boghaz-Keui are found in the middle of the circuit of the Halys, with no places nearer than those which lie in the valley of that river. Across the river a single line of monuments, including Giaour-Kalesi, Yarre, Doghanlu, and Bey-Keui, seems to lead on towards the Lydian coast, to where Sipylus and Kara-Bel are found between Sardis and Smyrna.²

In other words, the Taurus ranges, with the Zagros spur running off to the Persian Gulf, formed the boundary between the Semites on the one hand, and the Hittites and other non-Semitic peoples of western Asia on the other; and, although it has been crossed temporarily by tribes from either side, this boundary even today separates the Semite from the non-Semite.

¹ Cf. Jensen in Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 755 f.

² Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 84. Herodotus (II, 106) saw two figures which he was told were statues of Sesostris, the one on the road from Sardis to Smyrna, the other on the road between Ephesus and Phoea. These were probably the Hittite monuments which were rediscovered, the one by Renouard in 1839, the other by Beddoe in 1856; cf. Jensen, *loc. cit.*

This brings us to the question of race. The older scholars were largely influenced in their conclusions as to the "nationality" of the Hittites by the biblical genealogy of the tenth chapter of Genesis, where Heth is declared to have been the grandson of Ham, and by the language which their decipherment of the hieroglyphs led them to believe the Hittites spoke. So, for example, Wright, in his *The Empire of the Hittites* (1884), concluded that the Hittites were a non-Semitic people, and, in view of the biblical genealogy, that they were Hamitic in origin.¹ Conder, on the other hand, in his *Altaic Hieroglyphs* (1887) and *The Hittites and Their Language* (1898), proved to his own satisfaction that the Hittites were a Mongol tribe, and that their language was clearly Mongolian and not Aryan or Semitic. Hommel connected them "with the Scythians, and the first appearance of the Iranians in history,"² while Jensen found in them the ancestors of the modern Armenians and regarded their inscriptions as "the most ancient monuments of our Indogermanic speech."³ Still others connected them with the Pelasgi⁴ or the "White Syrians" of Strabo.⁵ Without enumerating any more of the hypotheses put forth by scholars in the past—hypotheses reared upon the most insecure foundations—we may conclude this part of our discussion with a word on the theory of the racial affinity of the Hittites which has found favor with the anthropologists of today.⁶

In prehistoric times, a brown-skinned, dolichocephalic race of men occupied the whole Mediterranean basin, spreading to Britain on the west and India on the east. This is the "Brown" or "Mediterranean" race of the anthropologists. North of the regions occupied by this race there stretches a series of mountain ranges, beginning with the Pamirs in the east, continued by the Armenian Mountains and the Taurus ranges in Asia Minor, taken

¹ Pp. 86 f.

² Cf. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 140.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 793.

⁴ Cf. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, pp. 448 f.

⁵ Cf. Tomkins, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XVIII, 227.

⁶ Cf. Ripley, *op. cit.*; Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*; G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*; von Luschan, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XIX.

up in Europe by the Balkans, and ending with the Alps and Pyrenees to the west. Into these mountains there pushed, probably from the east (the highlands of the Pamirs) and still before the dawn of history, a heavily bearded, brachycephalic race, known to anthropologists as the "Armenoid" or "Alpine" peoples. Just as the earliest Egyptians were a pure "Mediterranean" people, so it seems probable that the Hittites were predominantly "Armenoid." We know that the "Semite" of historical times was a mixture of the two. The anthropologist determines the race to which a people belongs on somatological, not on linguistic grounds.

Working without any Rosetta stone, scholars arrived at the most widely divergent results in their attempts at deciphering the hieroglyphs of the Hittite monuments. Some of these have already been noticed. Professor Sayce, who has worked most industriously upon this problem for many years, has offered a number of decipherments,¹ but, while many of his conclusions will probably stand the test of future discoveries, his translations cannot yet be used in the reconstruction of the history of the Hittites.

The problem has been simplified considerably by recent discoveries. Among the Amarna Letters there were found two documents written in the language of Arzawa,² and one in the language of Mitanni.³ Like the rest of the Amarna Letters, they were written in the syllabic cuneiform script of the Babylonians, and consequently it was comparatively easy to determine the structure of the languages in which they were written even if no final translation was possible. As early as 1903, Professor Sayce recognized the probable identity of the language of the Arzawa letters and the non-Semitic, and evidently Hittite, language of some fragments of cuneiform tablets which Chantre had found at Boghaz-Keui in northern Asia Minor.⁴ This conclusion has been confirmed by Professor Winckler's epoch-making discovery of the capital of the Hittite state on this site.⁵ Here there came

¹ In the different volumes of the *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* (abbreviated *PSBA*); cf. in particular, XXIX (1907), 207 f.

² See below, p. 42.

³ See below, p. 37.

⁴ *PSBA*, XXV (1903), 144.

⁵ Preliminary report by Winckler in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 35 (1907); hereafter abbreviated *MDOG*.

to light a large number of documents written in the cuneiform script but partly in the Hittite, partly in the Babylonian language, containing the royal archives of a dynasty of Hittite kings. So far only a preliminary report on these documents has appeared, but when they are published in full, the Hittite language will undoubtedly soon be as familiar to scholars as are the Egyptian and Babylonian, and the decipherment of the hieroglyphs will soon be accomplished. Furthermore, the determination of the linguistic group to which the Hittite dialects belong should then be a simple matter. Indeed, if the Mitannian and Hittite dialects are related, as there is every reason for supposing them to be, the problem has already been solved, for Professor Bork, by his study of the letter mentioned above, has shown that the language of Mitanni was an ancient representative of the linguistic family known as the Caucasian.¹

The Boghaz-Keui documents have also cleared up another problem. It had long been recognized that many of the non-Semitic personal names found in the Amarna Letters and in the Assyrian inscriptions were clearly Aryan, and it was because they made these names the starting-point of their investigations that a number of scholars reached the conclusion that the Hittite language was Indo-European. We are now able to account for the presence of these names. It seems that a group of Aryans succeeded in uniting a number of Hittite peoples into the state known to us through a long period of history as Mitanni, probably in much the same way as the Turks have since built up kingdoms in the same region. As we shall see below, this state was organized under its dynasty of Aryan kings some generations before the northern Hittites were united into the kingdom of Hatti with its capital at Boghaz-Keui. As guardians of the treaty whereby the Mitannian state under Mattiwaza became subject to Subbiluliuma of Hatti, there are mentioned among others the Indo-European deities Mithra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya.²

¹ *Die Mitannisprache*, in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 14 (1909), 1 f. Modern representatives are the Georgian, Circassian, Lesghian, etc., dialects. Bork's work discusses the previous attempts at decipherment of the Hittite and Mitannian languages.

² *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 51.

Any adequate discussion of the art and religion of the Hittites would require much more space than is at our disposal; we must, therefore, pass these by and proceed at once to sketch the history of the Hittite peoples.

Although, as we shall see presently, we have indirect evidence of their presence in western Asia at a much earlier date, the Hittites first emerge into the history of the Near East in the latter half of the twentieth pre-Christian century. In a chronicle concerned with events in early Babylonian history,¹ which was found in the famous library of Assurbanipal of Assyria, we read this brief and tantalizing statement: "In the reign of Shamsi-ditana the Hittites [came] against the land of Akkad (Babylonia)." Shamsi-ditana was the last king of the First (Amorite) Dynasty of Babylon, which had reached its zenith in the reign of Hammurabi, the sixth and greatest of a line of eleven kings. The date of this dynasty has recently been definitely established on astronomical grounds,² so that we are now able to assign the exact date, 1956-1926 B.C., to Shamsi-ditana.

Confirmation of this invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites seems to be contained in an oracle (also from the Nineveh library) to which Professor Sayce has called attention.³ It reads: "To the land of the Hittites, I (Marduk) have gone; the Hittites I question; the throne of my divinity I have set up therein; twenty-four years therein shall the sons of Babylon [remain]." And, although we are anticipating somewhat, we may call attention at this point to another document which has received a new interpretation in the light of the chronicle quoted. The Cassite king Agum II (Kakrime), who reigned *ca.* 1650 B.C., like Cyrus and other conquerors, showed great zeal for the temples and cults of the lands which he held in subjugation. In his inscription, which refers to the restoration and endowment of Esagila, the Marduk temple of Babylon, Agum tells of his bringing back to Babylon from the land of Hani the statues of Marduk and his consort Sarpanit.⁴

¹ King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, 22.

² Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II, 2, Heft 1.

³ Sayce, *Expository Times*, XIX (1908), 379.

⁴ Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, 1, 134 f.

Hani is probably a shortened form of Hanigalbat,¹ another name for Mitanni.

It has been conjectured that the Hittite incursion in the time of Shamsi-ditana brought about the fall of the declining Amorite dynasty and paved the way for the invasion of the Cassites, another mountain people from the east, who established a dynasty at Babylon a century and a half later (1761 B.C.). The similarity between the personal names of the Cassites and those of the Hittite-Mitannians, as well as the identity of some of their deities, has been pointed out by a number of scholars,² but any attempt to draw conclusions as to their racial or political affinities must at the present time be regarded as premature. The fact that it was the Cassites and not the Hittites who established themselves in northern Babylonia would indicate that the invasion by the latter was for plunder rather than for the conquest of new territory. It is evident that there was a considerable shifting of peoples in the Near East during these centuries (twentieth to eighteenth B.C.), but the course of events is as yet obscure. From the personal names occurring in documents from Dilbat³ in northern Babylonia, and dating from the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (2225-1926 B.C.), it is clear that a Hittite-Mitannian element was gradually and no doubt peaceably invading Babylonia long before some powerful chieftain led his followers thither in the time of Shamsi-ditana. The building inscriptions from Ashur, the old capital of Assyria, mention Ushpia and Kikia⁴ as the earliest rulers of that city, the former as founder of the temple of Ashur, the latter as builder of the city-wall. The form of the names of these kings has suggested to Professor Ungnad⁵ the possibility that Ashur was founded by Mitannians. Now the fifth of the known rulers of Ashur, Ilu-shuma by name, was a contemporary of Sumu-abum, the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The date of Sumu-abum is 2225-2212 B.C. Ushpia and Kikia must have lived

¹ For references cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, § 463.

² See the literature cited in Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, p. 28.

³ Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VI, 5, 1 f.

⁴ See Luckenbill, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXVIII (1912), 154.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

at least a century earlier. Indeed it is not improbable that before the arrival of the Semitic Assyrians (possibly Amorites), the whole of Subartu, which is the old name for the region later known as Assyria, was occupied—from time immemorial—by Hittite-Mitannian tribes.

In resuming the discussion of the events of the period following the Hittite invasion of Babylonia, we take up first of all the inscription of Shamshi-Adad of Assyria. Professor Eduard Meyer has assigned the approximate date of 1600 B.C. to this ruler, but the writer,¹ on linguistic and other grounds, has suggested an earlier date. Shamshi-Adad is the first of the rulers of Assyria known to have used the title of king. His predecessors styled themselves *patesi*. The inscription² opens with the words: "Shamshi-Adad, king of the universe [*shar KISH*], builder of the temple of Ashur, who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates" (Col. I, 1-8). After this short introduction, Shamshi-Adad goes on to relate the story of the rebuilding of the temple of Enlil; tells of his fixing standard prices for the city of Ashur; and continues: "At that time, the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and the king of the Upper Country, I received in my city Ashur. A great name and a memorial stela I set up in the country of Laban on the shore of the great sea (the Mediterranean)" (Col. IV, 4-18).

Professor Streck³ has proposed to identify Tukrish with Tigrish, an Armenian city mentioned in a letter from the Sargonid (late Assyrian) period, and it probably would not be regarded as too daring to see in the "king of the Upper Country" some Hittite-Mitannian chieftain. It is significant that Shamshi-Adad has nothing to say of conflicts between himself and the Cassites with whom his successors waged a chronic warfare, but that all of his campaigns were conducted against the peoples to the north and west of Assyria. The fact that he regarded himself as the guardian of the territory between the Tigris and the Euphrates seems to point to a date when the Babylonian dynasty was exhausted or overthrown but when the Cassites had not yet succeeded in establishing themselves in the land.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 157, n. 17.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 167 f.

³ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XX, 460.

We may note in passing that the Hyksos domination of Egypt, which falls between 1788-1580 B.C., even if it does not represent an actual invasion by the Hittites themselves as was suggested years ago by Dr. Wright and others, was probably the result of pressure brought to bear upon Egypt's subject states in Syria by Hittite peoples who were encroaching upon their northern frontier. But in spite of statements to the contrary, none of the Hyksos names has yet been definitely identified as Hittite (or Mitannian).

Our earliest references to the Hittites in the Egyptian records occur in the annals of the Syrian campaigns of Thutmose III (1501-1447 B.C.), which accomplished the final overthrow of the Hyksos power and the recovery of Syria to Egypt. That the Hittites were probably known to the Egyptians at an earlier date (2000 B.C.) has been shown on linguistic grounds by Professor W. Max Müller.¹

In the annals of his eighth and sixteenth campaigns² Thutmose speaks of receiving the tribute of Heta the Great, and on the tomb of his treasurer, Menheperreseneb,³ there is depicted a scene in which this official of the Pharaoh is receiving the tribute of Asia and Africa. Two lines of Asiatics bring forward vessels of silver and gold. Among them is the chief of Heta. The superscription, most of which has unfortunately been lost, contains the acclamations of the Asiatics: "Thou hast overthrown the lands of Mitanni; thou hast hacked up their cities, their chiefs are in caves." This line seems to show that Heta the Great, which lay in the interior of Asia Minor, although it was known to the Egyptians of Thutmose's day, and even sent presents (for this is probably all we are to understand by the word "tribute") to the victorious Pharaoh, had not yet become a political factor in Syria, but that it was the other branch of the Hittite peoples, the Mitannians, with whom Thutmose and his immediate successors came in direct contact in Naharin (northern Syria). This is borne out by the trend of subsequent events and seems to be confirmed by Thutmose's "Hymn of Victory."⁴ In this there is no reference to

¹ *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* (hereafter *OLZ*), No. 10 (1909), 427 f.

² Breasted, *Ancient Records* (hereafter *BAR*), II, §§ 485 and 525.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 772 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, §§ 655 f., 659.

Heta, but only to the lands of Mitanni—after references to Keftiyew (probably Crete) and Cyprus.

The seventeen Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose brought Syria once more under the complete control of the Pharaoh. Tribute from the subject provinces now flowed in a steady stream into the treasuries of Egypt. The Egyptian empire had reached its zenith. And yet, on the death of Thutmose, his son Amenhotep II was compelled to put down a serious rebellion involving the whole of Naharin and the north-Phoenician coast cities. We may be sure that it was the Mitannian princes who instigated the revolt. Indeed Rib-Addi (see below) of Byblos reminds a later Pharaoh (probably Amenhotep IV) of these days: "Formerly the king of Mitanni was the enemy of your fathers but your fathers did not abandon my fathers to their fate" (Kn. 109:5 f.). Amenhotep seems to have been able to crush the rebels in one great campaign (1447 B.C.),¹ and in commemoration of his victory erected a stela in Naharin as his predecessors had done before him. In a building inscription from Karnak he tells us how the "chiefs of Mitanni came to him, their tribute upon their backs, to beseech his majesty that there may be given them his sweet breath of life."² We may be sure that most of this is vain boasting and that, while some Mitannian chiefs may have sent their gifts, it is not likely that the Mitannians or the Hittites ever regarded the Egyptian Pharaoh as their overlord. Indeed it is quite probable, in view of the evidence of the Amarna Letters, that the Pharaoh *exchanged* gifts with these princes, hoping thereby to keep them from encroaching upon the territory of his subjects in Syria and from fomenting rebellion among them. In fact Thutmose IV, the next Pharaoh after Amenhotep II, although he found it necessary to conduct a campaign against Naharin,³ saw the futility of waging an eternal warfare against his northern neighbors and so, as it would seem, in order to have a friendly buffer state between his dominions in Syria and Heta (Hatti), now rising to dangerous prominence in central Asia Minor, negotiated a matrimonial alliance with Artatama, the Mitannian king, of whom we shall learn more presently.

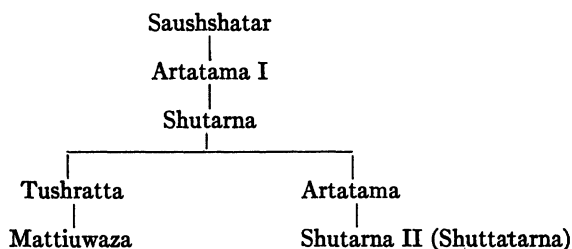
¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 780 f.

² *Ibid.*, § 804.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 816 f.

Artatama's daughter became the mother of the next Pharaoh, Amenhotep III.

We now enter upon a period in the history of the Near East in which diplomacy took the place of the endless succession of campaigns which had hitherto been the rule and when the powers seem to have been content to try to maintain the *status quo*. Our principal source of information for the events of the period is the rich mass of diplomatic literature known as the Amarna Letters.¹ Part of these letters form the correspondence between the Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV and their "brothers," the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, Arzawa, Alashia (Cyprus), and Hatti, but the bulk of them are letters to the Egyptian court from the Syrian vassal princes. In 1907 our sources were considerably augmented by the preliminary report² of Professor Winckler on the royal archives which he had discovered at Boghaz-Keui. This village, which lies east of the Halys in central Asia Minor, occupies the site of the classical Pteria (Herodotus, I, 76), the more ancient Hatti, the capital of the Hittite state. From the Boghaz-Keui documents Professor Winckler was able to reconstruct a dynasty of Mitannian kings who ruled contemporaneously with the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty from *ca.* 1450-1350 B.C. Their names follow.



We have already called attention to the fact that these names are clearly Iranian and show the presence of an Aryan ruling class in Mitanni. How much earlier the Aryans may have pushed into Asia Minor we cannot tell. However, it has not been possible up

¹ We shall quote from Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, using the numbering of this edition (Kn. 25:6 = Knudtzon, No. 25, line 6).

² See n. 5, p. 27.

to the present time to identify as Aryan any of the "Mitannian" names found in the Babylonian documents (from Dilbat, etc.; see above) of earlier date than the Amarna period.

Saushshatar was probably a contemporary of Amenhotep II (1448-1420 B.C.). That he was an energetic ruler we may infer from a document of Mattiwaza which records the fact that he carried off from Ashur a "door of gold and silver" and set it up in the palace of the city of Waraganni. Perhaps this was one of the "doors of cedar, covered with gold and silver" which Shamshi-Adad placed in the entrance to the temple of Enlil at Ashur.¹ Mattiwaza adds that Shutarna restored it to Ashur, together with other valuables.

Whether the Mitannian kings actually held Assyria as a vassal state from Saushshatar's day until after the death of Tushratta, as a number of scholars hold, is still to be proved.²

We have already called attention to the fact that the daughter of Artatama, the successor of Saushshatar, became the wife of Thutmose IV (1421-1413 B.C.). Our evidence for this is found in a letter of Tushratta to Amenhotep IV, which also gives some interesting details of the Pharaoh's wooing. "At the time when . . . the father of Amenhotep III (Thutmose IV) sent to Artatama, my grandfather, and asked him for the daughter [of my grandfather, the sister of my father], he sent five times, six times, but he would not give her. A seventh time he sent to my grandfather and then he was constrained to give her" (Kn. 29:16 f.). The meaning of this is evident. Thutmose thought it advisable to have an ally in Asia in the person of a father-in-law. Artatama knew this, but he had also heard wonderful stories of the gold of Egypt which was said to be as plentiful as the dust of the streets. Hence it required seven embassies from the Pharaoh to persuade the Mitannian king to give up his daughter.

Artatama was succeeded by Shutarna, of whom we know little except that he became the father-in-law of Amenhotep III, his sister's son. According to Tushratta, who is again our source of information, Amenhotep's wooing was not quite so long drawn

¹ See *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 38, and *AJSL*, XXVIII, 169 (Col. II, 16-19).

² See references in *AJSL*, XXVIII, 160.

out as that of his father. It required but six embassies to obtain Shutarna's consent (Kn. 29:18 f.).

Tushratta is the best known of the kings of Mitanni. The Amarna documents contain seven of his letters to Amenhotep III, one to the widow of that Pharaoh, and three to Amenhotep IV.¹ He came to the throne at an early age, but the regent, Tuhi (Kn. 17:11 f.), "had done something not good in that he killed the ruler of the country, Artashumara" (evidently an older brother of Tushratta), and prevented Tushratta from writing to the Pharaoh at an earlier date. Once he was his own master, however, he hastened to open correspondence with the Egyptian king in order to re-establish friendly relations between Egypt and Mitanni. He informed the Pharaoh that he had overthrown the Hittites who had invaded his territory, and was sending him part of the spoils as a gift. This was the beginning of a brisk correspondence between the two rulers.

Through his ambassador Mane, Amenhotep sued for the hand of Tushratta's daughter (Kn. 19:16 f.). Tushratta readily gave his consent but held back the girl. He was making the *karashk* of his grandfather and needed much gold. Amenhotep understood the meaning of this and made a better offer, but even this was not satisfactory. Tushratta is unable to understand why the Pharaoh should be so stingy. He is exceedingly polite but firm. Finally the Pharaoh made a satisfactory offer and Tadu-Hepa was sent to Egypt together with many good wishes and a large number of costly presents for her future husband. One of the gifts was a splendid rosary which Tushratta hoped might adorn the neck of the Pharaoh for a hundred thousand years (Kn. 21:33 f.). In spite of this pious hope, however, Amenhotep III died soon after these negotiations came to an end. A hieratic note written on another of the Mitannian's letters (Kn. 23) shows that it reached Egypt in the thirty-sixth year of Amenhotep, that is, at the very end of his reign. The letter accompanied the statue of Ishtar of Nineveh to Egypt. The very plausible inference has been drawn that the Pharaoh was suffering from what proved to be his last illness and that Tushratta sent him a statue of the goddess

¹ Besides list of presents, Kn. 17-29.

whose healing virtues he held in high esteem. Incidentally we learn that the same statue had once before been sent to Egypt, in the time of Shutarna.

Although requests for gold seem to be the principal burden of the messages of Tushratta, there is one letter (Kn. 24) whose theme is different. Like the rest of the Amarna Letters it is written in the cuneiform script, but unlike them in the Mitannian language, and it has formed the basis of the valuable study of this dialect by Professor Bork.¹ Although it contains numerous passages which are yet obscure, the letter seems to be taken up chiefly with negotiations concerning two cities, Harwuhe and Mashrianni, the former of which, together with the surrounding territory, was to belong to the Pharaoh, the latter to Tushratta. In other words, it forms part of the correspondence carried on between the two rulers with reference to the demarkation of the boundary between their domains.

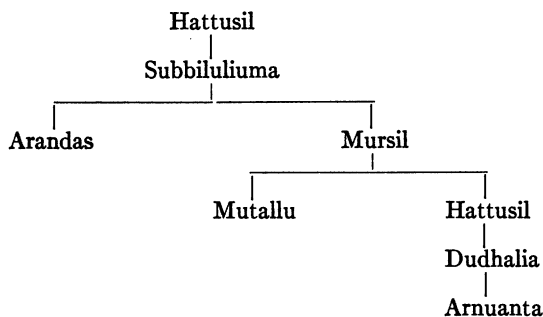
On the death of Amenhotep III, Tushratta sent a letter to Tiya (Kn. 26), the queen-mother, who wielded great influence over the young Pharaoh, complaining that neither she nor the new ruler had sent him any presents as Amenhotep III used to do. He expressed the hope that she would use her influence toward maintaining fraternal relations between the rulers of the two nations. A letter to Amenhotep IV (Kn. 27) expresses similar sentiments. We need not go into the details of a long correspondence (Kn. 28-29) about some presents which the late Pharaoh had promised Tushratta but had failed to deliver before his death. Amenhotep IV had undertaken to carry out the promise of his father but when the gifts reached Tushratta he found them of inferior quality and protested vigorously. The death of Tushratta brought the unfinished negotiations to an end. Of much greater interest to us is a matter mentioned incidentally in one of these letters (Kn. 29:173 f.), which gives us an insight into the diplomatic relations existing between the two countries.

Two Mitannians, Arteshupa and Asali, who had committed some crime in Egypt, had been brought before their lady, evidently Tadu-Hepa, in Egypt, and later the matter came before Tushratta

¹ See n. 2, p. 27.

himself. Finally the criminals were deported to a border city but for some reason escaped with a light punishment and were not put to death as the Pharaoh had hoped they would be. Amenhotep expressed his dissatisfaction with the mildness of the punishment inflicted, but Tushratta merely replied that he had not in the first place indicated the nature of the penalty he thought should be imposed.

While the letters of Tushratta thus deal almost exclusively with his personal affairs, such as the amount of gold he needs for the completion of his grandfather's *karashk*, or the value of the presents he is willing to receive for, and give with, his daughter, there are a few indications in them of the troubled state of affairs in the world of international politics. We recall the reference to his defeat of the Hittites. On the other hand, in the correspondence carried on between the princes of the subject states in Syria and the Egyptian court, we are able to trace the rapid decline of Egyptian authority in Asia and the rise to prominence of the northern Hittite state. The Boghaz-Keui documents supplement the Amarna Letters in every way. Indeed it was not until these archives came to light that we discovered that the Hittite encroachment upon Egyptian territory in Syria was part of the program of conquest of a strong dynasty of Hittite kings who had established themselves east of the Halys in central Asia Minor. The documents contain the royal archives of a line of seven kings extending over five generations (from *ca.* 1400-1250 B.C.).



The founder of the dynasty seems to have been Subbiluliuma, who had a long and glorious reign. His father, Hattusil, who is

called king of Kussar, was probably the ruler of one of the many petty city-states of the Hittites.¹ As we have already seen, the Mitannians with their dynasty of Aryan kings had been the Hittite (in the larger sense) *Grossmacht* until they were forced to become the vassals of Hatti by Subbiluliuma. We owe our knowledge of the events leading up to their fall to the introductory paragraphs of the treaty Subbiluliuma drew up with Mattiuwaza, the subject Mitannian king.²

It seems that Subbiluliuma had maintained peaceful relations (by treaty) with Artatama of Mitanni, but that Tushratta, on becoming ruler of that country, "rose up in rebellion against the Great King." The real meaning of this will become clear presently. Subbiluliuma marched against him, plundered the lands on the left bank of the Euphrates, and took possession of the whole Niblani mountain region. Tushratta defied him a second time, threatening to lay waste the Hittite king's territory on the right bank of the river. Subbiluliuma was not slow in taking up the challenge. He crossed the Euphrates and devastated the land of Isuwa. Tushratta marched forth, but no battle was fought. Incidentally an interesting bit of history comes to light in connection with the account of these operations.

In the time of Hattusil, the father of Subbiluliuma, the inhabitants of certain Hittite cities rebelled against the king, and Subbiluliuma was sent against them. Those who escaped his hand fled to Isuwa, evidently Mitannian territory, where they lived as clients. When Subbiluliuma invaded this region in response to the challenge of Tushratta, he seized those Hittite refugees, punished them, and sent them back to Hatti, his capital (Boghaz-Keui).

It was probably at this time, in the early stages of the warfare between the two kings, that Tushratta succeeded in checking one of the advances of the Hittites into his territory. We may be sure that Subbiluliuma, like the Egyptian Pharaohs and the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, did not believe that the record of any reverses he may have met would make interesting reading, so he

¹ *MDOG*, No. 35, pp. 17 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f., and *OLZ* (1910), 289 f.

passed them over in silence. At any rate we know that his next operations were directed against another quarter.¹ He crossed the Euphrates and laid waste northern Syria from the river to Aleppo and beyond. At Ni,² the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding country rose up against Takua their king. They were led by Akit-Teshub, the brother of Takua. Subbiluliuma intervened, put down the revolt, and handed over the government of the city to Akia, king of Arahti. But the *mariannu*,³ Aryan nobles or "barons," who evidently formed the military ruling class here as well as in Mitanni, soon had Arahti in their own hands, and Subbiluliuma was compelled to interfere again. He now thought it advisable to take the leaders, Akia, who must have gone over to the rebellious *mariannu*, and Akit-Teshub, along with him to Hatti. At the same time he deported the people of Katna⁴ to his capital—for what transgression we do not know.

Subbiluliuma now moved upon Nuhashshe.⁵ Sarrupsi, the king, who had on a former occasion asked the aid of the Hittite king against Tushratta—an act which has always been regarded in the East as recognition of overlordship—was now in rebellion. But on the approach of Subbiluliuma he fled and one of his servants was placed on his throne.

From Nuhashshe, Subbiluliuma advanced upon Abina,⁶ which may have belonged to the "lands of Nuhashshe." On the way he was compelled to make a detour against Kinza (Kadesh on the Orontes) which he had not planned to attack until Sutatarra and his son Aitakama came out to meet him with their troops. These he drove back into their city and continued his march toward Abina, besieging a few more cities on the way. Ariwana, king of Abina, bravely marched forth to meet the Hittite king but suffered defeat at his hands and was taken, together with his nobles, to Hatti. On the return journey, the Hittite king stopped

¹ *MDOG*, No. 35, pp. 34 f.

² Location not certain; but probably on the Euphrates, below Karkamish, where the river bends toward the southeast.

³ Evidently the Vedic *marya*, "man," hero, cf. Winckler, *OLZ* (1910), 291.

⁴ Location uncertain; but probably near Hamath on the Orontes.

⁵ Probably near Aleppo.

⁶ Written Abi and Ube in the Amarna Letters. The biblical Hobah.

at Kinza and took with him from there Sutatarra, Aitakama, and the *mariannu*. We shall hear more about Aitakama presently.

Subbiluliuma sums up the account of this extensive campaign by declaring that he was compelled to lay waste all of these countries "in one year" on account of the "insubordination of Tushratta." Another passage makes clear what he meant by Tushratta's insubordination.¹

It appears that Tushratta's claim to the throne was contested by his brother Artatama, who had the backing of the Harri (Aryan) element of the population and acknowledged the overlordship of the Hittite king. This fact explains the anxiety of Tushratta to maintain friendly relations with Egypt. Tushratta's position cannot have been an enviable one. When he finally met his death through a plot of his son and his servants, Sutatarra, the son of Artatama, was proclaimed king of Mitanni; but Mattiwaza claimed his father's throne. Subbiluliuma watched with great interest the civil war which ensued. For some reason Sutatarra, whose father had acknowledged the Great King as his overlord, received no aid from that quarter but was compelled to look elsewhere for assistance. He gave back to Ashur the door of gold and silver (see above) which Saushshatar had taken from there years before, and squandered the "palace and the houses of the Harri" (that is, their property) in his efforts to gain the support of Assyria and Alshe. Finally he and the "barons" made an attempt to assassinate Mattiwaza, who now fled to the Hittite king. Subbiluliuma regarded this as the opportune moment for intervention, and consequently "the god Teshub decided in favor of Mattiwaza." Subbiluliuma "took Mattiwaza by the hand" and placed him upon the throne of his father; of course, as his vassal. Rib-Addi of Byblos seems to refer to this final overthrow of Mitanni as an independent state (Kn. 75:35 f.). "May the king, my lord [the Pharaoh], know that the king of Hatti has conquered all the lands which belonged to the king of Mitanni [written Mitta] even (?) the king of Naharin [written Nahma]." Mattiwaza received for his wife the daughter of the Hittite king with the proviso that he was to give up his other wives; that

¹ Winckler, *OLZ* (1910), 294, and *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 36.

Subbiluliuma's daughter alone should be queen and that her son should succeed to the throne.

There is an obscure passage¹ which relates the adventures of a group of Harri people, who, as we saw above, fared ill at the hands of Sutatarra. It reads: "But Akit-Teshub escaped with two hundred chariots and betook himself to Babylonia. The king of Babylonia seized upon the two hundred chariots which Akit-Teshib had with him, together with their charioteers, and pursued Akit-Teshub and his barons with the intention of putting them to death. With the exception of Mattiwaza, the son of Tushratta, the king, he killed (?) them. Him (Mattiwaza) I (Subbiluliuma) rescued from his hand." From which it would seem that Mattiwaza had fled to the Babylonian king before seeking refuge with Subbiluliuma.

According to the preliminary report of Professor Winckler,² the land of Arzawa, well known from the Amarna Letters, is frequently mentioned in the Boghaz-Keui documents, always as closely related to Hatti. But that it was nevertheless an independent state seems probable from the fact that Tarhundaraba, king of Arzawa, carried on a correspondence with Amenhotep III (Kn. 31-33). Tarhundaraba was probably a contemporary of Subbiluliuma. The preliminary study of the Boghaz-Keui archives has also brought out the fact that the Hatti and Arzawa dialects are closely related if not identical. But the location of Arzawa is yet to be definitely established.

On the accession of Amenhotep IV to the throne, Subbiluliuma sent him a letter (Kn. 41) urging the continuance of the brotherly relations which had obtained between him and Amenhotep III, but the Pharaoh does not seem to have cared to have anything to do with him. Indeed it must have been evident to him that most of the disturbances in Syria were due to the Hittite king's agents.

It is at this point that we may conveniently take up the discussion of the effects of the Hittite aggression upon the domains of the Pharaoh. For the most part our sources will be the letters from the Syrian vassals to the court in Egypt. As aforesaid, these

¹ *Ibid.* (OLZ), 294.

² *MDOG*, No. 35, pp. 40 f.

letters form the bulk of the Amarna documents. But in using them we must not at any time lose sight of the fact that it is exceedingly difficult for us to determine the chronological order in which they should be arranged. However, scholars have given this matter a large amount of attention and we may approach the subject with some confidence.

In order to furnish a setting for the events described in detail in the following paragraphs, it may be well to give in a very few words a general picture of the shifting of peoples which took place during the Amarna period.

At the same time that the Hittites were encroaching upon the northern portions of Syria and stirring up sedition among the subjects of the Pharaoh, there were steadily advancing into the fertile regions of Syria and Palestine groups of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes from the desert and steppeland to the eastward, attaching themselves to any local dynast who could pay them well, or to any free-lance who could guarantee them booty, and, in general, creating havoc wherever they went. This movement was one of a number of waves of Semitic migration which have from time to time in the course of the centuries overflowed the borders of Arabia, "the cradle of the Semites," carrying hordes of hungry beduin down into the fertile river valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates or spreading them over the rich coast plains along the Mediterranean. Here they have settled down as Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Arameans, etc. The wave which we find rolling over Syria-Palestine in the Amarna period brought the Arameans into Syria, and the Hebrews, with their cousins the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, into their later homes. In the Letters these nomadic tribes meet us as Sutiu or Habiri.¹ We assume with most scholars that the Hebrews of a later day were part of the Habiri.

Going back again for a moment to Subbiluliuma: we recall that he found it necessary, in view of the "insubordination" of Tushratta, to conduct a campaign into Syria, in the course of which Nî, Nuhashshe, Katna, Kinza, Abina, and some other cities suffered

¹ The identity of the SA-GAZ and Habiri of the Amarna Letters, long regarded as probable, seems raised beyond doubt by the Boghaz-Keui documents. Winckler, *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 25.

severely. Sutatarna and his son Aitakama of Kinza (Kadesh on the Orontes) were defeated and carried captive to Hatti. But it is evident from the Amarna Letters that Aitakama found favor in the eyes of the Hittite king, for we find him back at Kinza looking after his own and the Hittite's interests.

Akizzi of Katna, whose inhabitants, we remember, Subbiluliuma had deported to Hatti, wrote a number of letters (Kn. 52-55) to Amenhotep III asking for immediate aid from Egypt to save him from Aitugama (Aitakama), who had, in company with the Hittite king, come out against him and was "seeking his head." The Pharaoh is also informed that Aitakama, assisted by Teuwatti of Lapana and Arzauiia of Ruhizzi, is devastating the land of Ube¹ with fire and sword; that the kings of Nuhashshe, Nî, Zinzar, and Tunanat² are still loyal to the Pharaoh, but that, unless troops arrive from Egypt at once, Aitakama will gain possession of the whole country. Amenhotep evidently paid no attention to Akizzi, and things went from bad to worse. When Akizzi was writing his final letter, Aziru of Amurru was taking captive the inhabitants of Katna, while the Hittite king had already carried off the ancient sun-god of the city.

And so Akizzi, like many another Syrian prince who tried to remain loyal to his overlord, found Egypt a broken reed. Whether he followed the example of others and went over to the Hittite as Aitakama kept urging him to do, or went under in the struggle, we have no means of telling.

Nor is Akizzi our only witness to the activities of Aitakama and his Hittite backer. His account of the devastation of Ube is confirmed by Namiawaza, ruler of one of its cities or possibly of the whole district (Kn. 194-97). Furthermore, three governors, Bieri of Hashabu, Ildaya of Hazi, and another whose own name and that of his city have been lost—all of them located in Amki (the Beka, Coele Syria)—complain in similar letters to the Pharaoh (Kn. 174-76) that Aitakama has joined the troops of Hatti and is burning the cities of the king. Again, Ilirabih of Byblos (Gubla, modern Gebail) warns the Pharaoh that Aziru has sent his troops to help Aitakama and is laying waste Amki (Kn. 140: 24 f.).

¹ Cf. n. 6, p. 40.

² All cities of northern Syria.

From these and other letters it is clear that Aitakama was an out-and-out pro-Hittite and a worthy successor of "that wretched foe of Kadesh," whom Thutmose III succeeded in overthrowing only after seventeen campaigns. Still he had the face to write to the Pharaoh (Kn. 189), protesting his loyalty and insisting that Namiawaza "had made him bad before the king" and was burning his cities, beginning with Kadesh. But the Egyptian king was probably at no time deceived by Aitakama's protestations of loyalty. In fact in a letter to Aziru he reproves him severely for having dealings with "the man of Kadesh (Aitakama)."

An even worse enemy, in the end, of the Pharaoh's interests than Aitakama was Aziru of Amurru, who has already been mentioned a number of times. However, before taking up the account of his doings, we must say a word about his father, Abd-Ashirta.

According to Abd-Ashirta's own letters to the Pharaoh (Kn. 60-65), he was the "servant of his king, a dog of his house," and guarded the whole land of Amurru for his lord. But when we turn to the letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos, Abd-Ashirta is pictured as the arch-enemy of the Pharaoh's loyal subjects. It used to be assumed, in view of this discrepancy, that in addition to being a traitor Abd-Ashirta was a consummate liar. But a new and certainly more charitable interpretation¹ has of late been gaining ground among scholars. It is now believed that Abd-Ashirta started out as a loyal and faithful servant of the Egyptian king; that he was appointed governor of the large district of Amurru, whose principal city was Sumur; that he really defended Amurru and Sumur from the enemies of the king, and that it was only after he had been hard pressed by the Habiri and Hittites and had looked in vain to the Pharaoh for help, that he made terms with the enemy and became the terror of all northern Syria. His letters are, according to this interpretation, to be placed before those of Rib-Addi in point of time, and to be regarded as expressing perfectly genuine sentiments of loyalty to his king.

Once turned enemy, Abd-Ashirta certainly seems to have entered with whole-hearted zeal upon the task of spreading discord among the Pharaoh's subjects. Rib-Addi's early letters

¹ Cf. Weber in Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 1128 f.

(Kn. 69-95) are almost exclusively devoted to the misdeeds of the prince of Amurru. "Who is Abd-Ashirta, the slave, the dog, that he should take to himself the land of the king?" (Kn. 71:16 f.). "Who is Abd-Ashirta, etc.? The king of Mitanni and the king of Kashshi (the Cassites-Babylonians) is he in that he is attempting to seize all the lands of the king" (Kn. 76:9 f.). And so Rib-Addi goes on, reporting the capture of one city after another. He finds his own situation in Byblos like that of "a bird in a cage." Letter after letter is dispatched to Egypt but little attention seems to have been paid them. In one of them he insists on some sort of a reply: "Send me an answer, or I will make a treaty with Abd-Ashirta as Yapa-Addi and Zimrida (of Sidon) have done (Kn. 83:23 f.). . . . Furthermore, does it seem good to my lord the king that all of his lands have joined themselves to Abd-Ashirta, the dog?" (Kn. 84:6 f.). After years of anxiety and futile efforts to rouse the Pharaoh, Rib-Addi was finally permitted to see a ray of hope dawning on a nearer horizon. "Abd-Ashirta is sick, who knows but he may die" (Kn. 95:41 f.), he joyfully writes the Pharaoh. But it was no illness which removed the sheich of Amurru from the scene. A letter from a citizen of Byblos (Kn. 101:29 f.) shows that he met a violent death, probably at the hands of some dissatisfied mercenaries. His removal may have improved the situation of Byblos and other cities for a time, but we soon begin to hear of the crimes of the "sons of Abd-Ashirta," of Aziru in particular. The cities which the father had captured or persuaded to throw off their allegiance to Egypt had probably for the most part fallen again into the hands of parties friendly to the Pharaoh, but the sons of Abd-Ashirta gained them back one by one. "Formerly," says Rib-Addi (Kn. 109:44 f.), "at the sight of an Egyptian the kings of Kinahhi (Canaan) fled before him, but now, behold the sons of Abd-Ashirta strike terror into the Egyptians." "Who are the sons of Abd-Ashirta that they take the land of the king? The king of Mitanni are they, the king of the Cassites, and the king of Hatti" (Kn. 116:67 f.). "I have heard about the Hatti people that they are burning all the lands with fire. I have written repeatedly, but have received no reply. All of the king's lands are being captured by the enemy, and yet

the king holds back. Behold now they are bringing on soldiers from the Hatti lands to take Byblos" (Kn. 126:51 f.).

Rib-Addi's situation grew most desperate. The people of the city as well as the members of his own family urged him to make terms with the sons of Abd-Ashirta, but this he refused to do. He went to Beirut for help, and on his return found the gates of his city closed against him. The people had risen in revolt led by his brother, who was in favor of going over to Aziru (Kn. 137-38).

Rib-Addi was probably one of a few whose blind loyalty to the Pharaoh—who seems to have been painfully slow in grasping the seriousness of the situation—kept them faithful to the end. His reward? Loss of city, exile, and, probably, a dagger-thrust.

On the other hand, Aziru, who like his father was ever on the alert to drive the best bargain, and was now on the side of the Hittite, now making his peace with the Pharaoh, had a much easier, if at times more exciting, career.

The loss of Byblos seems to have roused the Pharaoh to action. The situation required desperate measures. So negotiations were opened with Aziru, who had by some untoward stroke of fortune been forced out of Amurru (Kn. 156). Perhaps it was Aziru who began the correspondence. He wrote to the Pharaoh (Kn. 157), complaining that he had been prevented from showing his loyalty earlier by the nobles of Byblos. Furthermore the Hittite king was pressing him hard. The Pharaoh reinstated him as ruler of Amurru and ordered him to rebuild Sumur which he had destroyed during his struggle with Rib-Addi. He was given a year to show the Pharaoh that he was acting in good faith. But for some reason Aziru was unwilling or unable to carry out the king's orders with reference to Sumur. He offered as excuse the hostility of the kings of Nuhashshe (Kn. 160:20 f.). The Pharaoh becomes impatient and among other things wants an explanation of his reported dealings with the man of Kadesh (Aitakama) (Kn. 162:22 f.). "Why," says the Pharaoh, "have you entertained (?) the messengers of the Hittite king? My messengers you have not entertained" (Kn. 161:47 f.). Aziru is ordered to appear at the court in person or send his son (Kn. 162:47 f.). This he is not yet ready to do, and he informs the Pharaoh that he is needed in Amurru

because the Hittite king has arrived in Nuhashshe and may invade his territory at any moment. He is very anxious to look upon the "beautiful countenance" of the king (Kn. 165:6 f.), but circumstances prevent him from doing so. Finally he was unable to put the matter off any longer, and went to Egypt. We learn of this through a letter of one of his sons to an Egyptian official (Kn. 169), who asserts that the kings of Nuhashshe have accused him of selling his father to the Egyptian king for gold (ll. 17 f.), while the Sutu (Beduin) say, "Aziru will never return from Egypt" (ll. 25 f.). Before the discovery of the Boghaz-Keui letters it was assumed that it was improbable that Aziru should have fared well at the hands of the Egyptian king and that the predictions of the Sutu had probably come true. But we now know differently. Hattusil of Hatti writes: "At the time of Subbiluliuma my grandfather, Aziru king [of Amurru] went over to Egypt (?), but later threw himself at the feet of my grandfather Subbiluliuma. My grandfather pardoned him. He made a treaty with him, fixing the boundaries of Amurru as they had been under his fathers, and gave it (Amurru) to him."¹ From this record it is evident that Aziru had escaped from Egypt with or without the consent of the Pharaoh. We know from the inscriptions of Ramses II that Subbiluliuma entered into treaty relations² with some king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, possibly with Amenhotep IV himself. The treaty must have fixed the boundary between the two nations, but where this ran we do not know. It is not impossible that Aziru's restoration to Amurru may have been one of the articles of the treaty. The dynasty of Amorite kings henceforth ran parallel with that of Hatti, and remained, in spite of occasional friction, subject to it.

After the death of Subbiluliuma, his son Arandas ruled for a short time and was followed by his brother Mursil.³ Although a number of documents dating from Mursil's time were found at Boghaz-Keui, our main source for the events of his own and his successors' reigns are the inscriptions of the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹ *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 43.

² *BAR*, III, § 377.

³ *MDOG*, No. 35, pp. 18 f.

In Egypt the monotheistic sun-cult of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) had been overthrown and with it the Eighteenth Dynasty. The kings of the new dynasty were again worshipers of Amon, who gave them abundant success in war as he had given to Thutmose III and his successors. Haremhab seems to have maintained peaceful relations with the Hittites, but with Seti I began anew the struggle for the mastery in Syria. During the fierce struggles of the Amarna period the last vestige of Egyptian authority in Syria had disappeared and it was the task of the Nineteenth Dynasty to regain what the last kings of the Eighteenth had lost.

Seti's campaigns¹ were taken up with the pacification of the Shasu-beduin (evidently the Habiri of the Amarna Letters) of southern Palestine and the restoration of Egyptian authority in the cities along the Phoenician coast. Cities northward of Simyra (Sumur) and Ullaza are mentioned. But he does not seem to have come into direct conflict with the Hittites: this was reserved for Ramses II. The Hittites maintained Kadesh on the Orontes as their southern outpost and their king Mutallu,² who had succeeded his father Mursil, entered into a treaty with Seti.

On account of the limited space at our disposal, we must omit details in our discussion of the struggle between Ramses II and the Hittites.³

Like Thutmose III, Ramses' first move was to secure the harbors on the Syrian coast. Meanwhile Mutallu was gathering an enormous army, probably no less than 20,000 men, including "all the old enemies of Egypt, the kings of Naharin, Arwad, Karkamish, Kode, Kadesh, Nuges, Ugarit, and Aleppo," together with mercenaries from Asia Minor, Lydians, Mysians, Cilicians, and Dardanians. Ramses collected an army of similar proportions from all parts of his empire and in April of his fifth year (1288 B.C.) set out for Syria. The two armies met outside of Kadesh, where a terrible battle was fought. Both sides suffered severe losses, the Egyptians more than the Hittites, and the chief glory of Ramses was that he succeeded in extricating himself from a very dangerous situation. In spite of the numerous inscriptions reciting,

¹ *BAR*, III, §§ 83 f.

² *Ibid.*, § 377.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 294 f.

and reliefs depicting, the Pharaoh's mighty deeds of arms, which are found on the walls of the temples at Abu-Simbel, Thebes, Luxor, Abydos, etc., there is no mention of the capture of Kadesh. Indeed it is quite evident that the Hittites had fought the Pharaoh to a standstill. But after three more years of fighting, he seems to have had better success. He conquered Naharin as far as Tunip, and captured some cities in the Orontes valley. But while he may have driven the Hittites back from northern Syria temporarily, it is not probable that he held this region for any length of time.

After some fifteen years of warfare, the Hittite king Mutallu died and was succeeded by his brother Hattusil II, who entered into a lasting treaty with the Pharaoh.¹ The caption of this treaty follows: "The treaty which the great chief of Heta, Hattusil, the valiant, the son of Mursil, the great chief of Heta, the valiant, the grandson of Subbiluliuma, the great chief of Heta, the valiant, made, upon a silver tablet for Ramses II, the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the son of Seti I, etc., the good treaty of peace and brotherhood, setting peace between them forever." After recalling the former warfare between the two countries, the treaty states that there shall be no hostilities between them forever. The former treaties between Subbiluliuma, Mutallu, and the Pharaohs are reaffirmed, and a defensive alliance is entered into. Provision is made for the extradition of political fugitives from either country. After some more articles covering points of minor importance, the gods of Egypt and Hatti are called upon as witnesses to the compact. A copy of this treaty in the Hittite language, but written in the cuneiform, was found at Boghaz-Keui.

It has been regarded as very remarkable that the boundary between the two countries does not seem to have been fixed by the treaty. Perhaps it had been fixed in the treaties of Subbiluliuma and Mutallu, and since these were reaffirmed, there was no occasion for taking up the matter again. But since we know nothing more about these former treaties than that they existed, we are not in a position to say how much of Egypt's ancient Syrian domain fell to Ramses. Thirteen years after the signing of the treaty the

¹ BAR, III, §§ 370 f.

Hittite king (probably Dudhalia) visited Egypt to celebrate the marriage of his oldest daughter to the Egyptian king.¹ The good relations between Hatti and Egypt were maintained throughout the long reign of Ramses, indeed it seems that the Pharaoh received a second daughter of the Hittite king in marriage.²

A document from Boghaz-Keui, dating from the reign of Dudhalia, the son of Hattusil II, throws some interesting light upon the situation in Amurru in Mursil's day. "When Mursil . . . became king, the people of Amurru . . . became vassals of the king of Egypt. . . ."³ Evidently during the struggle between Ramses and the Hittites the Amorites sided with the Pharaoh, but when he was not able to maintain himself in Syria, they went back to Hatti (as is evident from the rest of the document), and one Shabili was set up as their king.⁴ From Hattusil's account of the relations existing between Hatti and Amurru⁵ we learn many more details but these cannot yet be definitely harmonized with references found in other documents. However, if we understand the preliminary report of Professor Winckler correctly, the history of Amurru after Subbiluliuma's day runs somewhat as follows. After the death of Aziru, Temen-Teshub and later Abbi-Teshub were kings of Amurru. The treaty of Subbiluliuma remained in force. This was in the time of Mursil. When Mutallu came to the throne in Hatti, he deposed Put-Achi, who had succeeded Abbi-Teshub, evidently because of his relations with Egypt (see above), and placed another (probably Shabili) on the throne. Thereupon Hattusil persuaded his brother Mutallu to hand over Put-Achi to him. He kept him in honorable confinement in the city of Haggamissa, and later, on his accession to the throne, restored him as ruler of Amurru. To cement the friendly relations

¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 410 f.

² *Ibid.*, §§ 427 f., and Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 440.

³ *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.* Amurru seems to have been a general term for the regions west of Babylonia from earliest times, just as later the term Hatti-land was used for the whole of Syria-Palestine. In the Amarna period it was evidently restricted to the region about Damascus. Any more definite delimitation does not seem possible. The term "Amorite" in the Old Testament seems just as indefinite.

⁵ *MDOG*, No. 35, p. 43.

between the two countries, he gave his daughter Gashuliawi to Put-Achi, while his son Nerigga-Shams married the latter's daughter. Of course, Amurru remained a vassal state.

Hattusil also maintained brotherly relations, by treaty and marriage, with the Cassite kings of Babylonia.¹ On the death of one of these, Kadashman-Turgu, his son had difficulty in gaining the throne and Hattusil wrote the Babylonians a letter threatening to invade their country if they refused to recognize the son of his "brother" (Kadashman-Turgu) as their king. On the other hand, if they did submit to the rule of Kadashman-Turgu's son and any enemy threatened their country, they had only to call upon him and he would come to their aid at once. The Babylonian minister regarded this letter as an attempt on the part of the Hittite king to interfere in the internal affairs of his country, and told him so. "Babylonia is an ally (brother) of Hatti, but not its vassal." The matter was amicably adjusted, the son of Kadashman-Turgu recognized as king of Babylonia, and friendly relations were once more established. The subject of much of the correspondence between the two kings was the incursions of the beduin (Ahلامي-Arameans). The Assyrians also seemed to interfere with the embassies sent from one country to another. Another section² of the correspondence is concerned with a demand made by the Babylonian king for damages, because some of his tradespeople had been murdered on their way through Amurru. The Hittite king replies that the deed had not been committed on Hittite soil, but that the murderers would be handed over for punishment to the relatives of those who had met their death. Even more interesting is Hattusil's reply to the Babylonian king when he complained that Banti-shinni "was raising disturbances in his land." From other documents we know that Banti-shinni was the Hittite form of the name of Put-Achi. Now Banti-shinni had had a claim of thirty talents of silver against the Babylonians which he did not seem to be able to collect by ordinary means so he began a series of reprisals. Hence the letter of the Babylonian king. Hattusil informs his brother that his vassal Banti-shinni shall be tried

¹ *MDOG*, No. 35, pp. 22 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

"before the god," and that he himself will see to the carrying-out of the punishment if he is found guilty, for, says he, "if he injures my brother does he not also injure me?"

The queen-mother, Putu-Hepa, reigned as co-regent with Dudhalia, the son of Hattusil. We possess a number of documents from his reign, one of which is an edict regulating the internal affairs of the kingdom, another a copy of a treaty with the king of Aleppo.¹

The reigns of Hattusil and his son mark the decline of the Hittite state. The conquests of the Assyrians under Shalmaneser I (*ca.* 1290 B.C.) and his son Tukulti-Ninib (*ca.* 1260 B.C.) must have weakened or brought an end to the Hittite control in many regions. Shalmaneser came into deadly conflict with the Hittites in Musri. The Assyrian says: "At that time the whole land of Musri I brought in submission to the feet of Ashur my lord I advanced against the land of Hanigalbat. . . . Shattuara, king of Hani (vars. read Hanigalbat), the army of the Hittites and Arameans (Ahلامي) with him, I surrounded. . . . I fought a battle and accomplished their defeat. . . . I devastated their lands; 14,400 of them I overthrew and took as living captives. Nine of his strongholds, his capital city, I captured. One hundred and eighty of his cities to *tells* and ruins I overturned. . . . At that time from the city of Taidi to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari mountain region, to the city of Eluhāt, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Haran as far as Karkamish on the bank of the Euphrates, I captured their cities."²

Shattuara, who is not mentioned in the Boghaz-Keui documents—so far as the preliminary report shows—was evidently one of the successors of the dynasty of Saushshatar of Mitanni, whose last kings were the vassals of the kings of Hatti. This inference is based upon the fact that the name Shattuara is clearly Aryan and that Hani or Hanigalbat is but another designation for Mitanni. It would seem as if Mitanni once more held the primacy among the Hittite kingdoms. Although aided by the Arameans, Shattuara was no match for the Assyrian, who boasts that his conquests

¹ *MDOG*, pp. 27 f.

² *AJSL*, XXVIII, 189.

extended "from the border of the land of Uruadri (evidently Urartu-Armenia) to the land of Kutmuhi (Commagene)." In addition to rivaling the deeds of his father in these regions, Tukulti-Ninib succeeded in capturing Babylon.

Arnuanta, son of Dudhalia, is the last king of the dynasty founded by Subbiluliuma whose name has come down to us.¹ Two fragments of edicts and a large land register are the only documents from his reign which have come to light. The latter is interesting because of the three seals attached to it. The first of these contains the name of Arnuanta, the second those of "the lady Tawashi" (the queen-mother?) and "the lady Munidan, the Great Queen." On the third stood the name of the daughter of Dudhalia, but it has been lost.

The final overthrow of the Hittite dynasty was not, however, accomplished by the Assyrians, although they had done much to break its power, but by another migration of peoples. Once more the Egyptian records come to our aid.²

For centuries, perhaps, the Indo-European tribes had been crossing from Europe into Asia by way of the Balkan peninsula, but it was not until the time of Ramses III (1198-1167 B.C.) that they became a menace to the Hittite state and even to Egypt. Along the coast in vessels and across the plains in heavy two-wheeled carts, carrying their wives and children with them, they came. "Lo, the northern countries," says Ramses, "which are in their isles, are restless in their limbs, they infest the ways of the harbor-mouths."³ They invaded Syria. "The countries . . . the northerners in their isles were disturbed. . . . No one stood before their hands, from Heta (Hatti), Kode, Karkamish, Arwad, Alasa (Cyprus), they were wasted. They set up a camp in one place in Amor (Amurru). They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward to Egypt. Their main support was Peleset (the later Philistines), Thekel, Shekelesh, Denyen (Danaans, Greeks), and Weshesh."⁴ Ramses succeeded in turning these northerners back

¹ *MDOG*, No. 35, pp. 28 f.

³ *Ibid.*, § 75.

² *BAR*, IV, §§ 59 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 64.

from Egypt, but they had already swept the Hittite empire from its position of supremacy in northern Asia Minor. While petty Hittite states still lingered on in different parts of this region and Syria for centuries, they were never again united under one strong line of kings such as the dynasties of Saushshatar and Subbiluliuma had been. After the redistribution of the "northerners" and the peoples they displaced, the Mushki seem to have taken the most prominent position in Asia Minor. Tiglath-Pileser (*ca.* 1100 B.C.),¹ at the beginning of his reign, met an army of 20,000 men of the land of Mushki, led by five kings. They had advanced as far south as Kummuh (Commagene). After defeating them, the Assyrian king was compelled to meet the forces of the Kurte who came to the aid of Kummuh. The names of their leaders, Kili-Teshub and Kali-Teshub, are Hittite. The same is true of the name of Shadi-Teshub, the son of Hattu-shar, the king of Urratinash, another district plundered by Tiglath-Pileser. While he succeeded in traversing and harassing the lands to the west of Assyria as far as the Mediterranean, Tiglath-Pileser always found coalitions of Hittite and other kings, as high as twenty and thirty in number, waiting to dispute his progress. He did not succeed in establishing a permanent hold upon the kingdoms of the West. The policy of incorporating the conquered states as provinces of the empire, whereby the later Assyrian kings succeeded in blotting out every vestige of independence, was not yet adopted. "For something like a century and a half, until about 950 B.C., some semblance of Assyrian authority may still be traced on the near side of the Euphrates, but in view of the history of these times it may be said that during the tenth century B.C., until the revival of Assyrian invasions (about 850 B.C.), the Hittite states of Syria were free, and their works illustrate to us their latent vitality and the revival of their traditions."² The gradual withdrawal of both Assyrians and Mushki "was marked by a cycle of Hittite works which proved how deep-rooted was their civilization. . . . At Boghaz-Keui a new palace, unadorned, however, with sculptures, sprang up

¹ King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, pp. 35 f.

² Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 371.

on the site of that of the Great Kings, which was now completely ruined. It is possible that the great walls of the citadel as they are now seen were the product of this age."¹ The sculptures and inscriptions found in the neighborhood of Tyana point to a considerable kingdom in the region later occupied by the Hilakku (Cilicians). Eastward of this the Assyrians found a fairly large state which they called Tabal. Other little kingdoms were Milid, Gurgum (around the modern Marash), Yaudi, Samalla, Hamath on the Orontes, and Karkamish. The boundaries of these kingdoms were shifting continually. Besides, the Arameans were gradually gaining the upper hand in many of them.

Beginning in 885 B.C., the armies of Ashurnasirpal and his son Shalmaneser visited the Westland year after year. At first some of the Hittite kings sent tribute, but later Karkamish, Bit-Adini, Gurgum, Samalla, Kue, and Hattina formed a league to check the aggression of the Assyrians. While Shalmaneser's army was away in Armenia, they crossed the frontier and invaded the Assyrian territory. After considerable fighting the league was broken up, and henceforth, although there were occasional uprisings, the almost yearly campaigns of the Assyrian kings kept the western states from forming any dangerous leagues. The prestige lost through the indecisive battle of Karkar (854 B.C.), at which Ahab of Israel and the kings of Hamath and a number of other Hittite states fought on the side of the king of Damascus, was regained by subsequent successes. In 838 and 837, the kings of Tabal paid tribute, while in 835, Shalmaneser claims to have received the tribute of the whole Hatti-land (the Westland in general). But the West was not yet conquered.

Another period of Assyrian decline followed the reign of Shalmaneser, and a century later, when the revival came under Tiglath-Pileser, the Hittite states were paying tribute to the king of Armenia. In 743, Tiglath-Pileser met the armies of Sarduaris of Armenia, and his Hittite allies from Agusi, Gurgum, Kummuh, and Milid, and routed them with great slaughter. After some more fighting they submitted to the Assyrian yoke. In 732 B.C.,

¹ Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

the fall of Damascus made opposition in the West hopeless. However, in 718, Midas of Phrygia induced Pisiris of Karkamish to revolt, but on the approach of Sargon, Midas fled and Karkamish was made an Assyrian province. One after another the western states lost their independence and were incorporated into the empire. In 709, Gurgum, the last of the little kingdoms to maintain some sort of independence, was made a province. Finally the Cimmerian invasions of the seventh century blotted out the last vestiges of the Hittite states. Croesus of Lydia took Pteria (Boghaz-Keui) in the middle of the sixth century, and after the conquest by Cyrus, the Hittite lands came under the sway of Persia.

There remains to be said a final word about some of the Old Testament passages in which the Hittites are mentioned.

The Hittites were known in Palestine in the time of the kingdom of David and Solomon. This is evident from the presence of Hittite "soldiers of fortune," Ahimelech and Uriah, in the Israelite army (I Sam. 26:6; II Sam. 11:3 f.; 23:39). Toi, king of Hamath, whose name is identical with that of the vizier of Tushratta (Tuhi; see above, p. 36) and who was probably the descendant of one of the old lines of Hittite kings of northern Syria, is said to have sent his son to David with gifts, "to salute and bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer and smitten him: for Hadadezer had wars with Toi" (II Sam. 8:9 f.). Among the many foreign women whom Solomon loved were women of the Hittites (I Kings 11:1). Solomon's merchants seem to have carried on a brisk trade in horses which they brought from Musri (a Hittite state in Asia Minor; see p. 53, above) and sold to the kings of the Hittites (evidently of such states as Hamath) and the kings of Syria (I Kings 10:28 f.).¹

That Hittite or Mitannian leaders had carved out petty kingdoms for themselves all over Syria and Palestine (after Egypt had lost control in these regions) is evident from the Amarna Letters. We think at once of Abdi-Hepa of Jerusalem whose name bewrayeth him. The memory of these days is preserved in the traditions

¹ Read Musri instead of Misraim, and cf. II Kings 7:6, where the same correction is to be made.

which make the father of the faithful the contemporary of the sons of Heth who lived at Hebron. Furthermore in almost every one of the twenty-two passages¹ in the Old Testament where the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan are enumerated, the Hittites (along with the Amorites and Canaanites) are given a prominent position. Well might Ezekiel in reproaching Jerusalem say: "Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite: the Amorite was thy father, and thy mother was a Hittite (16:3, 45)."

¹ Deut. 7:1; Jos. 3:10; 24:11; Gen. 15:18, 20; Exod. 3:8, 17; 23:23, 28; 33:2; Deut. 20:17; Jos. 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; Judg. 3:5; Neh. 9:8; Exod. 13:5; Ezra 9:1; I Kings 9:20; II Chron. 8:7; Exod. 23:28; Gen. 13:7; 34:30; cf. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, pp. 63 f.



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OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS FROM BISMYA

BY D. D. LUCKENBILL
University of Chicago

NO. 2¹ SIN-ÊRISH TO ELMÊSHUM

CONTENTS.—Elmêšum does not see how he will be able to pay back more than one of the five *gur* of grain he owes Sin-êrish. The latter urges immediate settlement, since the grain is needed for the sowing. Elmêšum is also requested to collect and forward some outstanding money.

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na El-me-e-šum* ² *ki-be-ma* ³ *um-ma* ⁴ *Sin-êriš-ma* ⁴ *Šamaš li-ba-al-li-īt-ka* ⁵ *ki-ma i-na* ⁵ *Še-Gur* ⁶ *ša ta-na-ad-di-nam* ⁷ ¹ *Še-Gur ta-ga-am-mi-la-šum* ⁸ *[a]t-ta u-la ti-i-du* ⁹ *šu[m-m]a i-na ki-tim* ¹⁰ *a-ḫi at-ta* ¹¹ *še-a-am* ¹² *ša ta-aḫ-bu-u* ¹² *ar-ḫi-iš i ba-in-ma* ¹³ *eḫlam(lam) la in-na-ad-di* ¹⁴ *u kaspam* ¹⁴ *ša* ¹⁵ *Zi-da-lum* ¹⁵ *aš-pu-ra-am* ¹⁶ *šu-di-na-am-ma* ¹⁷ *šu-bi-lam*.

TRANSLATION.—To Elmêšum speak: Thus saith Sin-êrish: May Shamash grant thee life. (You say) you do not know how you can spare (save) one *gur* of grain out of the five *gur* which you are to give (that is: repay) me. If in truth you are my brother, the grain which you mention, repay at once so that the field may not lie fallow. Further: I have written you about the money of Zidalum. Collect and bring it.

NOTE

L. 12. *i ba-in*: Imperative of 𒀭𒁺, with precative particle. Delitzsch, *AGr*², § 106. Cf. No. 5, ll. 7, 11, and 28.

NO. 3. UBARRUM TO SIN-ÊRISH

CONTENTS.—Concerning the place of enrolment of the “gentleman” *Adi-mati-ilu*. The logical connection, if there is any, between the clauses of the second half of the letter is not clear.

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na* ⁴ *Sin-êriš* ² *ki-be-ma* ³ *um-ma* *U-bar-rum-ma* ⁴ *Šamaš mu-ḫi-t[i] li-ba-a[l-li-īt-ka]* ⁵ *aš-šum*

¹ No. 1 appeared in *AJSL*, XXXII, 98 f.

^mA-di-ma-ti-ilu a-wi-[lam] ⁶ i-na tu-up-pi-ia ša-te-[ir] ⁷ a-wi-lam
a-na tu-up-pi-i[a] ⁸ ša I-a-mu-ut-ba-li-im ⁹ la tu-ma-ša ¹⁰ a-wa-
tum it-ti be-li-ia ¹¹ du-un-nu-na ¹² aš-šum mu-ru-iš li-bi-ka ¹³ ša
ta-aḫ-bi-a-am ¹⁴ lu-zi-iz-ma ¹⁵ da-aḫa-nu-tam li-ta-ḫi-er-ma ¹⁶ a-wi-
lam ta-ša-da-ar-ma ¹⁷ a-na ^dŠamaš-u-ku(?) -du-ka ¹⁸ [l]a-ḫi-a-šu
ma-am-ma-an ¹⁹ u-la i-li-e ²⁰ u AD-HU-ka ta-pa-ra-as

TRANSLATION.—To Sin-êrish speak: Thus saith Ubarrum. May Shamash, who searches my heart, grant thee life. Because (the name of) Adi-mati-ilu, the “gentleman,” is written in my tablet, you do not find the gentleman’s (name) on my tablet of Yamutbal. The matter is confirmed (lit., strengthened) with my lord. Because you are annoyed, I will take in hand what you have commanded me. Let him receive(?) the judgeship. The (name of the) man you will write. No one is able to take him to Shamash-ukuduka(?). Further: You will render your decision(?).

NOTES

Ll. 15 f. Meaning obscure. *li-ta-ḫi-er*: Probably II₂ of *mahâru*.

L. 20. AD-HU: ideogram for *piristu*? Cf. *ad-ḡal*, etc.; Delitzsch, *Sum. Gl.* 8.

NO. 4. SHAMASH-GÂMIL TO UBÂTUM

CONTENTS.—Shamash-gâmil sends Ili-turam to Ubâtum for punishment, mentioning certain counter charges made by Ili-turam.

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ a-na U-ba-a-a-tum ² ki-be-ma ³ um-ma
^dŠamaš-ga-mil-ma ⁴ a-na ši-gi-il-ti ⁵ ^mI-li-tu-ra-am ⁶ a-ta-er-ka
⁷ ki-ma ta-ga-bu-u-ma ⁸ i-ba-ga-ru-ka ⁹ ^mI-li-tu-ra-am ¹⁰ ik-
bi-a-am ¹¹ ki-be-ma du-ub-bu-ub-ta-am ¹² la i-[ša]-aš-ši ¹³ [a]n-ni-
[t]a-am a-wa-ta-am ¹⁴ e-li-ka i-šu-u

TRANSLATION.—To Ubâtum speak: Thus saith Shamash-gâmil. I have sent you Ili-turam for punishment. When you give the command, they will make complaint to(?) you. Ili-turam spoke to me as follows: Say: “He shall not make complaint.” This matter he has against you.

NOTES

L. 6. *ata'er*: I₂ pret. of 𒀠𒀭.

L. 12. The usual writing is *la i-ša-aš-si*. Cf. the phrase *ana dububtim maman la išašsi*.

NO. 5. NIN-SHUBUR-ÊPUSH TO ISHUM-NIN-SHUBUR

CONTENTS.—Nin-shubur-êpush sends Mâr-Amurrim to Ishum-Nin-shubur for a *gur* of grain. This grain is for the latter’s mother.

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na I-šum-^dNin-šubur* ² *ki-be-ma*
³ *um-ma* ^d*Nin-šubur-êpuš(uš)-ma* ⁴ ^d*Nin-šubur li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka*
⁵ *a-nu-um-ma Mâr-^dAmurrim* ⁶ *it-ta-al-ka-a[k-k]um* ⁷ *1 gur še-*
a-am i ba-iš-šum ⁸ *ap-pu-tum ri-ku-us-zu* ⁹ *la ta-ta-ar-ra-da-šu*
¹⁰ *1 gur še-am a-na um-mi-ka* ¹¹ *i ba-in-ma* ¹² *e-ri-iš ši(?) -i-ta*
¹³ *la wa-aš-ba-at* ¹⁴ *u-ul i-t[a-a]p-pa-lu-ka* ¹⁵ *Ut(?) -na-pi-iš-tim*
¹⁶ *u tu-bu-ul-li-im* ¹⁷ *u ši-me-(?) -e-im(?)* ¹⁸ *u-ul ma-ru-uš*
¹⁹ *a-nu-um-ma UN-NE-du-tum* ²⁰ *bi-el-ti-ia a-na* ^d*Nanna-tum*
²¹ *aš-šum na-gi-ri-i[m] u tu-ḫi* ²² *it-ta-al-ka-a-am* ²³ ^m*Mâr-*
^d*Amurrim* ²⁴ *li-ṭe-iḫ-ḫi-i-ma* ²⁵ *me-ḫi-ir lu-du-ki-im* ²⁶ *li-ri-iš*
²⁷ *1 gur še-a-am a-na um-mi-ka* ²⁸ *i ba-in la tu-bu-ul-lu-um* ²⁹ *u*
ṭe-dam u li-bi-it-ta-a-am ³⁰ *li-iz-bi-lu-nim* ³¹ *ap-pu-tum*

TRANSLATION.—To Ishum-Nin-shubur speak: Thus saith Nin-shubur-êpush: May Nin-shubur grant thee life. Mâr-Amurrim is coming to you now. Give him a *gur* of grain, if you please. Do not send him away empty-handed. For your mother give a *gur* of grain, and plant (the field?). (That) she(?) is not dwelling here, they did not tell you. Ut(?)-napishtim either or is not sick. And now Unnedutum, my lady, is coming to Nanna-tum on account of the overseer and *tuḫi*. Let her bring Mâr-Amurrim. A reply let her(?) ask for. Give a *gur* of grain for your mother. No. Further: Clay and brick let them bring, if you please.

NOTES

- L. 3. ^d*Nin-šubur-êpuš(uš)*: The second element is uncertain.
 L. 7. *i ba-iš-šum*: *ba-in* with suffix.
 Ll. 12 f. Translation conjectural.
 L. 15. The reading *Ut-napištim* is doubtful, but *ma-ru-uš* of l. 18 calls for a masculine proper(?) noun as subject.
 L. 16. With *tu-bu-ul-li-im* of this line and *tu-bu-ul-lu-um* of l. 28 I can do nothing. There is a *tubullû* = *KI-SAG-DU* (Meissner *SAI*, 7328), but the meaning is unknown.
 L. 19. *UN-NE-du-tum*: *UN-NE* = *nišê*, but how this is to be combined with the two following elements is not clear.
 L. 24. *li-ṭe-iḫ-ḫi-i-ma*: This shows that the *uḫ*-sign also has the value *iḫ*.
 L. 29. The extra *a* in *li-bi-it-ta-a-am* is hard to account for.

NO. 6. APIL-ILISHU TO HIS SON

CONTENTS.—The father sends Ili-êrish to his son for wool to be used in paying his stated temple contribution.

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na ma-r[i]-ia ša* ^d*Marduk u-ba-al-li-ṭu-šu* ² *ki-be-ma* ³ *um-ma A-pil-il[i-š]u-ma* ⁴ ^d*Šamaš u*

^dMarduk a-n[a d]a-ri-a-tim li-ba-al-li-tu-ka ⁵ a-nu-um-ma ^mI-li-
êriš ⁶ aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-kum ⁷ 20 ma-na šipâtim dam-ga-tim ⁸ ki-ma
gi-ni-ia ⁹ šu-bi-lam

TRANSLATION.—To my son, to whom Marduk has granted life, speak:
Thus saith Apil-ilishu. May Shamash and Marduk forever grant thee life.
I am sending Ili-êrish to you; 20 mana of fine wool as my regular temple
offering, send me.

NOTE

L. 1. *uballitûšu*: The present tense is generally used in this formula.

NO. 7. KAWIUM TO SHALLURUM

CONTENTS.—Kawium urges the delivery of pitch concerning
which he has written for the fifth time.

TRANSLITERATION.— ¹ a-na Ša-al-lu-r[u-um] ² ki-be-ma
³ um-ma Ka-wi-um-ma ⁴ ^dŠamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka ⁵ a-na $\frac{1}{2}$ še
iddî ḥa-am-ši šu-u ⁶ aš-bu-ur-ra-ak-kum-ma ⁷ u-ul tu-ša-ab-ba-[la-]
am-ma ⁸ iddâm i-na i-a-ši-i[m] ⁹ [a]-na a-ma-ri-im ¹⁰ u-ul i-ba-
aš-ši-i ¹¹ [$\frac{1}{2}$] še am-ra-am-ma ¹² [šu]-bi-lam ¹³ -tu-
¹⁴ . . -di(?) -ab(?) ¹⁵ i-na an-ni-tim ¹⁶ a-ḥu-ut-ka lu-
mu-ur.

TRANSLATION.—To Shallurum speak: Thus saith Kawium: May
Shamash grant thee life. This is the fifth time I have written you about the
half-*še* of pitch and you do not send it to me. I haven't any pitch (lit.,
pitch by me to see there is not). Find a half-*še* and send it. . . . Herein
let me see your brotherliness.

NO. 8. MÂRI-IRSITIM TO UKKIN-UM

CONTENTS.—Mâri-irsitim to UKKIN-um. Certain women are
to be brought to Adab where they are to thrash and receive grain.

TRANSLITERATION.— ¹ a-na UKKIN(?) -um ² ki-be-ma ³ um-
ma Ma-ri-ir-ši-tim-ma ⁴ ^dŠamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka ⁵ Na-pi-iš-tum
⁶ A-ta (or ša)-ki-tim ⁷ E-ta-ḥa-ma ⁸ ri-di-a-am ⁹ [š]a ta-ra-
di-a-am ¹⁰ ri-mu-sa še-a-am ¹¹ i-na Adab^{ki} ¹² li-ir-pi-su-u-ma
¹³ li-el-ku ¹⁴ ap-pu-tum.

TRANSLATION.—To UKKIN(?) -um speak: Thus saith Mâri-irsitim.
Napishtum, Atakitum and Etahama bring to me. Whom(ever) you bring
to me, I will pardon. In Adab let them thrash and receive grain, if you
please.

NOTES

L. 10. *rimûsa*: Some form of *šakânu* probably to be supplied.

L. 12. *lirpisûma*: From *rapûsu*, not a common word, but one whose meaning is clear from the syllabaries.

NO. 9. SIN-A——TO——

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na* ² *ki-b[e-ma]* ³ *um-ma*
^d*Sin-a*— . . . ⁴ *Šamaš aš-šum[-i-a]* ⁵ *li-ba-al-li-i[t-ka]* ⁶ *i-nu-u-ma*
⁷ *a-na-k[u]u-ma u at-ta* ⁸ *i-na* *ma(?) -al^{ki}* ⁹ *ni-in-na-*
am-[mi-ir] ¹⁰ *ki-a-am ta-ak-bi-a-am* ¹¹ *ni(?) -ma-a-ta-ma* ¹² *[i]-nu-*
u-ma ¹³ *a-na* *na^{ki}* ¹⁴ *ta-la-ak-ku-u* ¹⁵ *šina wa-ar-ki*
^{Šu-ba-ri-im} ¹⁶ *ta-ma-am-ma* ¹⁷ *^mNa -u-tim ki-a-am* ¹⁸ *u*
¹⁹ *ta(?)* ²⁰ *ap-pu-tum*

TRANSLATION.—To speak: Thus saith Sin-a——: May Shamash for my sake grant thee life. When I and you met in you said to me: we shall die(?). Now, since you are come to Two (twice?) after Shubarum you. . . and Na-utim thus . . If you please.

NO 10. ILUSHU-ELLATSU TO ——TABBÊ.

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na* ^d— *-tab-bi-e* ² *ki-be-ma* ³ *um-ma*
^{I[lu-š]u-ellat-su} ⁴ *Šamaš li-ba-al-li-i[t-ka]* ⁵ *iš-tu pa-n[a-n]u-um*
⁶ *ki-a-am ak-bi-kum* ⁷ *um-ma a-na-[k]u-u-ma* ⁸ *al-pi marê na-ša-*
ma-am(?) ⁹ *kaspam* ¹⁰ ¹¹ *lu i-na ki-*
^{ša-ad} ¹² *tu -i-im* ¹³ *la-ga-ma-r[i]* . . ¹⁴ ¹⁵ . . *kaspam*
¹⁶ *[ša] e-li-ka* ¹⁷ *bu-mu-*

TRANSLATION.—To——-tabbê speak: Thus saith Ilushu-ellatsu: May Shamash grant thee life. In time past I spoke to you: thus I spoke: fat oxen, we will buy for me(?). (Rest too fragmentary to allow of connected translation.)

NO. 11. ILI-IDINNAM TO SHALURUM(?)

TRANSLITERATION.—¹ *a-na Ša-lu(?) -ru(?) -um* ² *ki-be-ma*
³ *um-ma I-li-i-din-nam-ma* ⁴ *Šamaš li-ba-al-li-i[t-ka]* ⁵ *a-nu-um-ma*
^{ak-ka-} ⁶ *ša (u-ša)-bi-la-kum* ⁷ *iš-tu Ni-si-in^{ki}* ⁸ *ub-lam*
⁹ *ia-u-um* ¹⁰ *šum-ma i-na ki-it-tim* ¹¹ *a-ḥi at-ta-a* ¹² . . . *tu*

TRANSLATION.—To Shalurum(?) speak: Thus saith Ili-idinnam: May Shamash grant thee life. Now Akka- whom(?) I sent to you, bring from Isin. Where is? If in truth you are my brother.

NOTE

L. 1. Perhaps Shalurum. The last signs seem to have been written over an erasure.

NO. 12

TRANSLITERATION.—(Six to eight lines missing) ¹ *a-na*
² *la te-gi(?)* ³ *li-lu(?)*-*u-ma* ⁴ *mi-im-ma* *ša*
eklim(li-im) ⁵ *u bi-tim* *la e-ši-im-me-e-ma* ⁶ *li-ib-bi* *la-i-ma-ra-*
aš ⁷ *še-a-am a-na* *ma-aš-ka-ni-im* ⁸ *šu-li-a-ma a-na eklim(li-im)*
⁹ *me-e i-ba-a-ma mi-ig-ra-am* ¹⁰ *-am-ku (šu?)* - - - *šu-* ¹¹ *šu-*
ḥa-ru-u iš-tu eklim(li-im) ¹² *ba-al-ri li-šu(?)*-*nim* ¹³ *mTa-ri-bu-um*
¹⁴ *u A-bu-um-ili* ¹⁵ *tu-ur-da-nim*

TRANSLATION.—. . . let them go up(?). I do not hear anything of field or house, nor does my heart grieve. Bring up the grain to the granary. To the field the water enters. Let the helpers go from the field on the other side(?). Send me Taribum and Abum-ili.

NO. 13.

TRANSLITERATION.—(About four lines missing) ¹ *ša* ^d*Sin-m[u-*
ša-lim] ² *40(?)* . . *u* ³ *a-na* *ša-ni-[im]* ⁴ *ta-ad-di-nu*
⁵ ^{md}*Sin-mu-ša-[lim]* ⁶ *šar-ra-am im-ḥu-ur-ma* ⁷ *šar-ru-um li-*
ib-ba-ti-im ⁸ *im-ta-la ḥu-mu-uṭ la-a-ma* ⁹ *ri-šu šar-ri-im ik-?-?*
ad-ka ¹⁰ *eklim (li-im)* *a-na be-li-šu* ¹¹ *mu-ir ap-pu-tum*.

TRANSLATION.—. . . to another you gave. Sin-mushalim went to the king and the king was filled with anger. Hasten, before the officer of the king reaches(?) you, and return the field to its owner. Don't delay.

NOTE

L. 9. It seems as if the scribe had started to write *ik-šu-da-ka* and then changed to *ik-ka-ša-ad-ka*.

NO. 14

TRANSLITERATION.—(About five lines missing) ¹
² *a-am u-l[a i-šu]* ³ *šum-ma i-na ki-it-tim* ⁴ *a-ḥi at-ta* ⁵ *ku-nu-*
uk-ki(?) *an-ni-a-am* ⁶ *i-na a-ma-ri-i-ka* ⁷ *ša aš-pu-[r]a-kum*
⁸ ^m*Šamaš-na-šir* ⁹ *u-la na-ka-ar* ¹⁰ *ḥa-ta-ni ku-nu-uk-kam* ¹¹ *li-*
zi-ba-kum-ma ¹² *ut* (six to eight lines missing)
¹³ ^{md}*Nergal-* ¹⁴ *a-nu-u-ma al-[ka-a]k-ku[m]* ¹⁵ *i-na*
na-ap-ḥa-ar ṣu-ḥa-ri-e ¹⁶ *ki-a-am ta-ak-bi-a-am* ¹⁷ *um-ma at-ta-a-*
ma ¹⁸ *[i-t]a-a-ar a-wa-ta-am* ¹⁹ *u-ta-ru-ni-im-ma* ²⁰ *x gur še-a-am*

a-na-di-ik-kum ²¹ *ma ri ši-ip-ri-im* ²² [*ša aš-pu*]-*ra-kum-ma*
²³ *at-ta-a-ma* ²⁴ *ta-ri-ša(?)* ²⁵
an-ni ²⁶ *šu-lu-um* ²⁷ *li-kam-ma*

TRANSLATION.—. . . he has not. If in truth you are my brother, when you see this letter which I have written you—Shamash-nasir, he's not a stranger, he is my son-in-law, he will hand you the letter—. . . Nergal—. . . Now I am coming to you. Among(?) all the helpers you spoke to me: you said: "He will return. They will bring back word. *x gur* of grain I will give you." . . . the commission which I sent you . . . you

NOTES

L. 11. *lizibakumma*: *ezēbu*, with *kunûkkam*, hardly has the meaning "eine Urkunde ausfertigen" here (cf. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi Dynastie*, 246).

Ll. 21 f. Restore [*g*]*a-ma-ri šiprim* etc.? Translate: "the completion of the work about which I wrote you"?

NO. 15

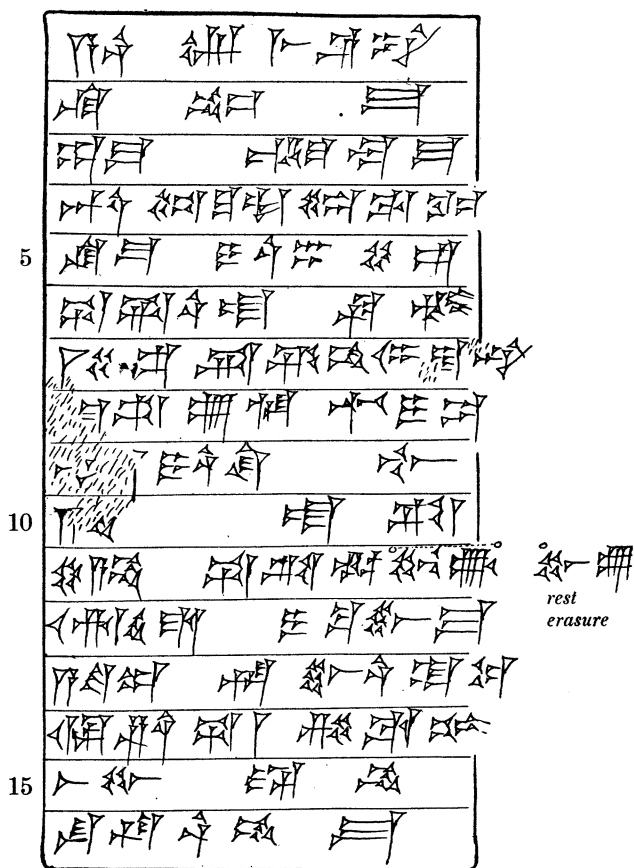
TRANSLITERATION.—¹ [*a-na X*] ² [*k*]*i-b[e-m]a* ³ *X-ma* ⁴ *aš-šum* ⁵ *a-* ⁶ *a-nu-um-ma* ⁷ *u*
⁸ *ki* ⁹ *ia-ta* . . . *n[i-i]g-t[im]* ¹⁰ *še-a-am* ¹¹ *u*
¹² . *ma at-ti-ma a-na ka-* . . . ¹³ [*x gur*] *še-a-am la it-nu* ¹⁴ [*še-a-*]
¹⁵ *am la i-ta-pa-al-* . . . ¹⁶ [*šum*]-*ma a-na âli^{ki}-šu i-li-* . . . ¹⁷ . . .
¹⁸ *ka-al-la-ti-* ¹⁹ *še-a-am i-di-in ta-bi-* ²⁰ *še-a-am at-* ²¹ *x šiḫlu*
²² *kaspim ka-la-ti-šu(?) ti* ²³ . . . -*ma a-na-ku* ²⁴ *a(?) -na*
²⁵ *pa-ni-ia la-ta-* ²⁶ *ma-am-ma-an* ²⁷ . . . *u-la ta-* ²⁸ [*ap-*]
²⁹ *p*]-*u-tum na-aš-pa-* ³⁰ *al-li-*

NO. 16

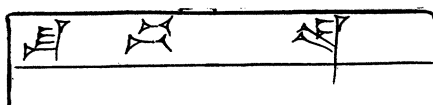
TRANSLITERATION.—¹ [*a-na X*] ² *ki-be-ma* ³ *um-ma [X-*
⁴ *ma]* ⁵ *Šamaš li-[ba-al-li-it-ka]* ⁶ *x šiḫlu kaspim* . . .
⁷ *šu-bi-lam* ⁸ *šu-bi-lam* ⁹ *šu-bi-lam a-wi-*
¹⁰ *la[m]* ¹¹ *ib ḫu iš-tu* ¹² *iš-bu-ra-am* ¹³ *šu-ri-a-am-ma*
. . . ¹⁴ . . . *kaspam(?) lu-di-kum* ¹⁵ . . . *ni ba ḫa tim* . . . ¹⁶
¹⁷ *šu-bi-lam* ¹⁸ *iš-tu ni-il-ta-* ¹⁹ *ḫa-nu*

2

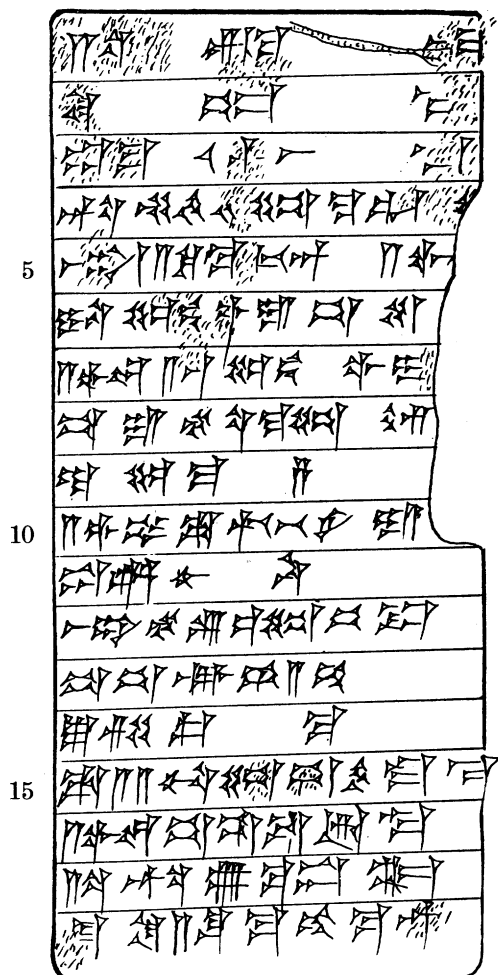
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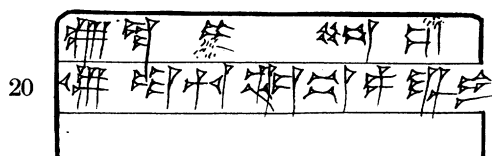
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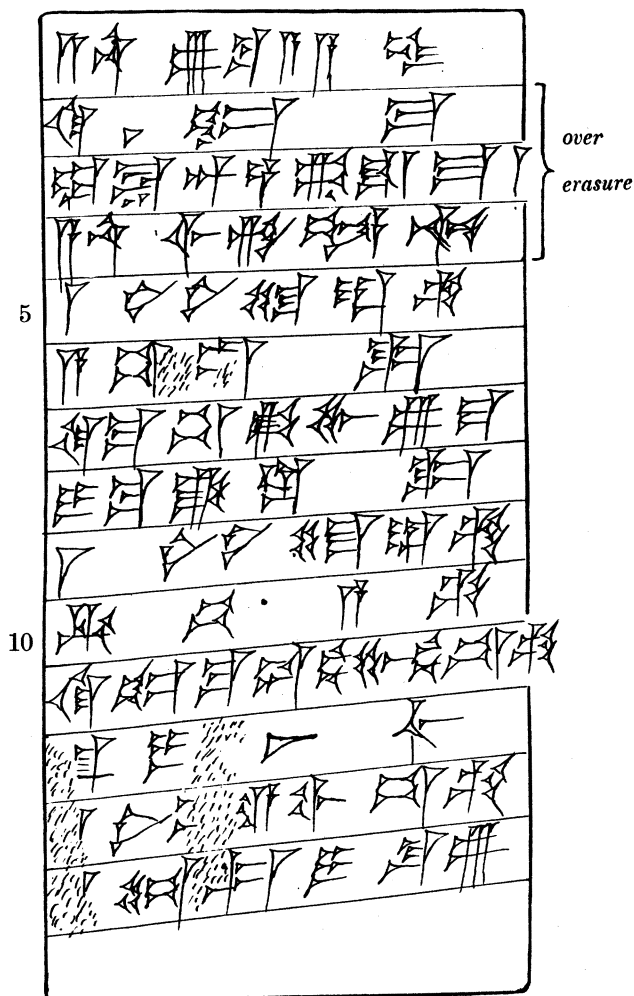


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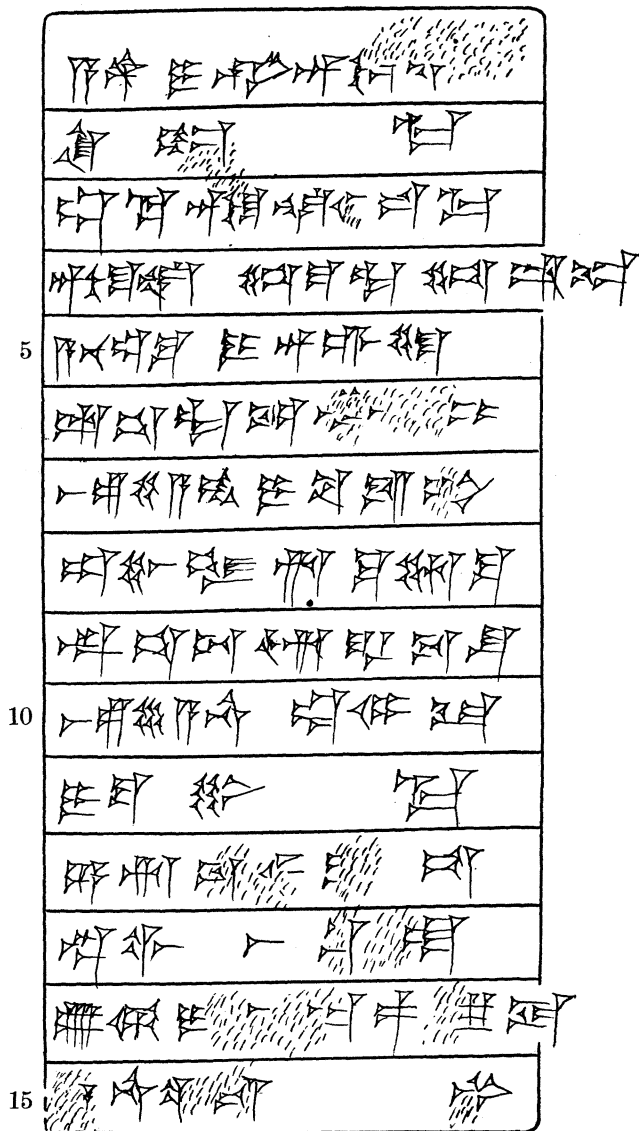


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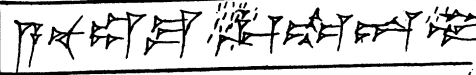
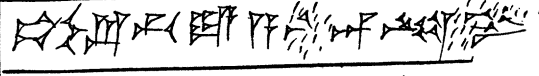
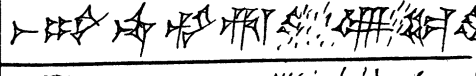
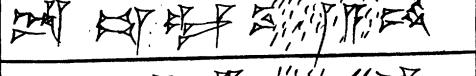
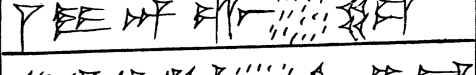
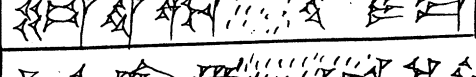
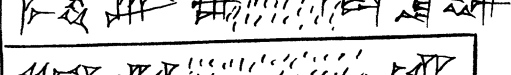
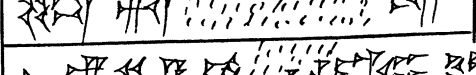
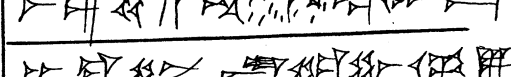
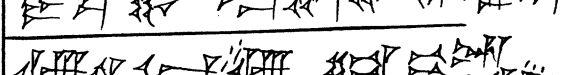
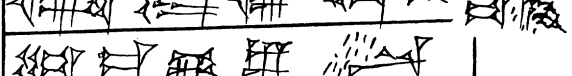
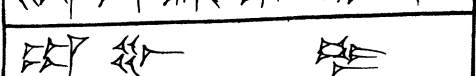
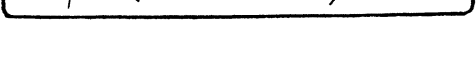


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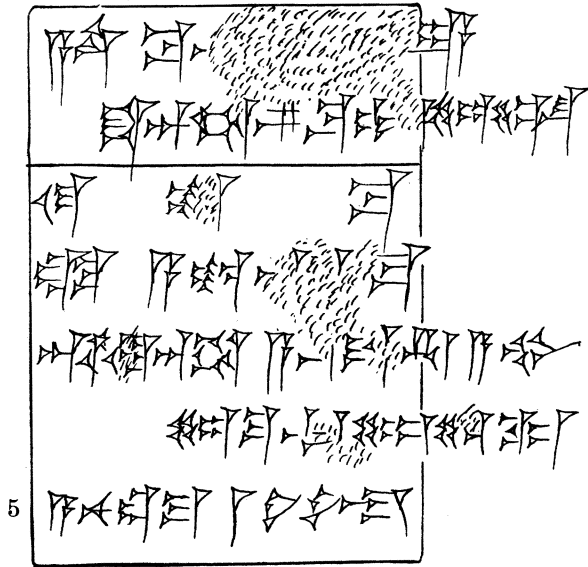
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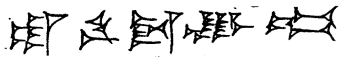
	
	
	
	
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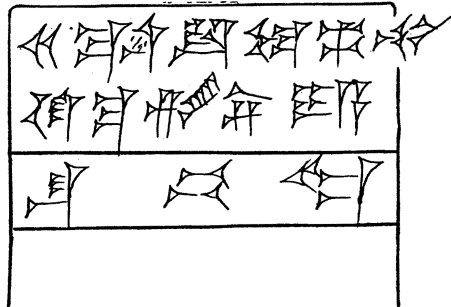
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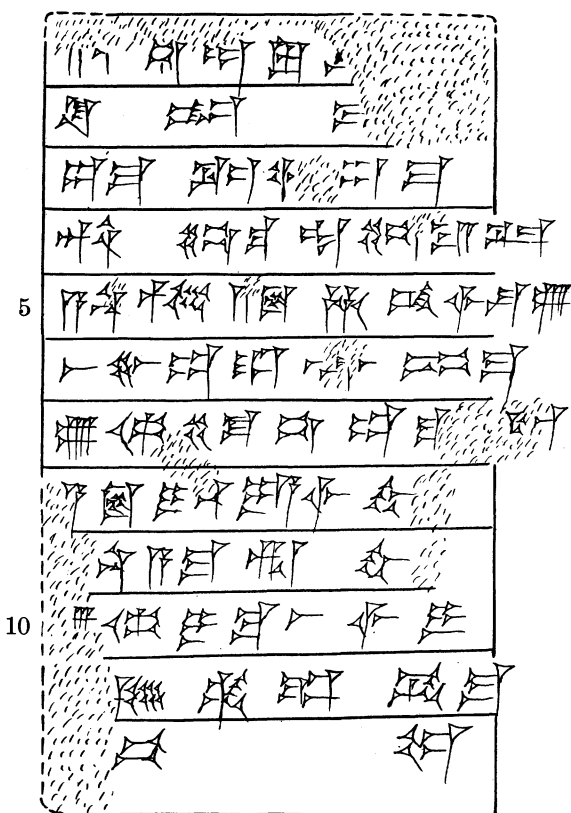


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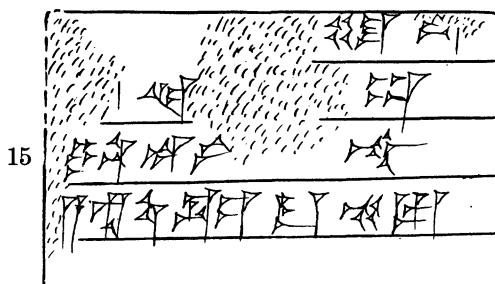


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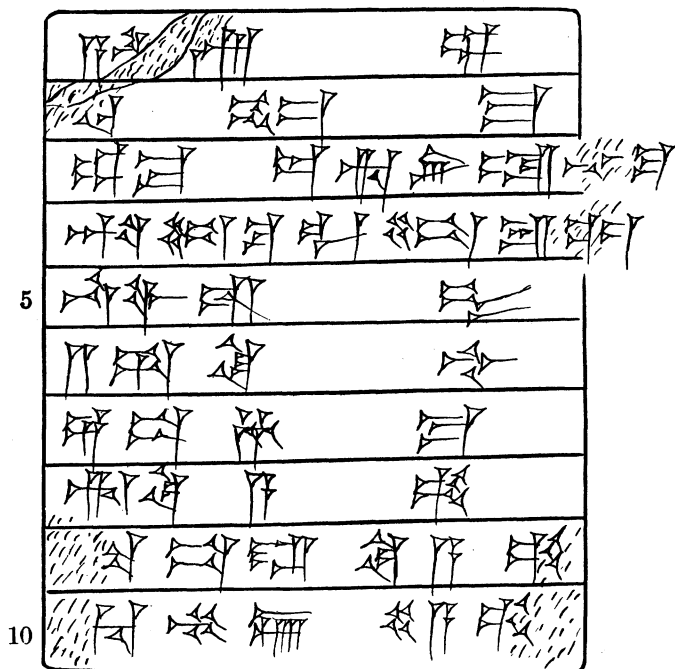
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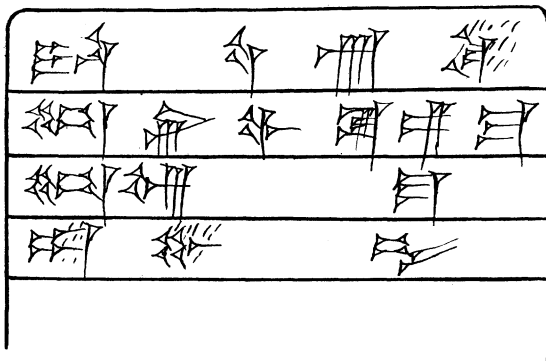
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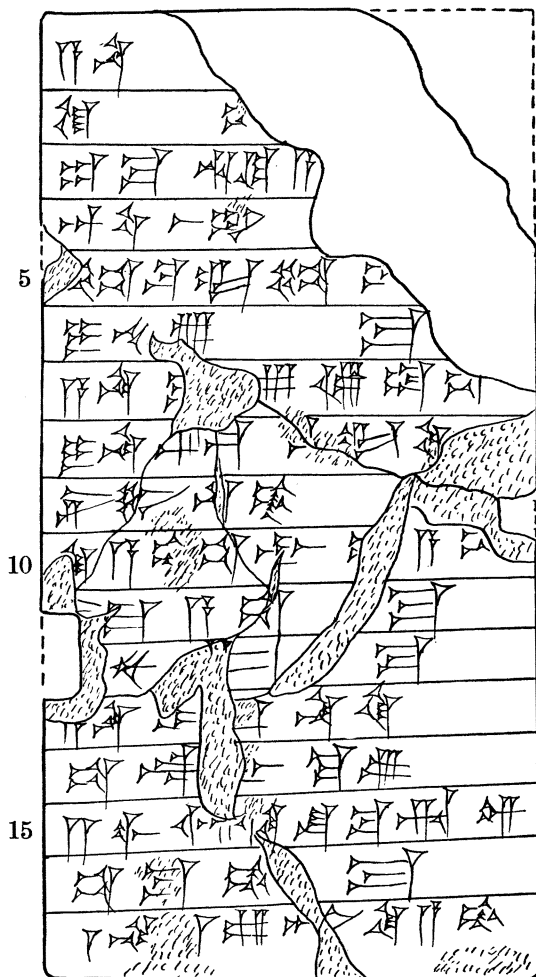


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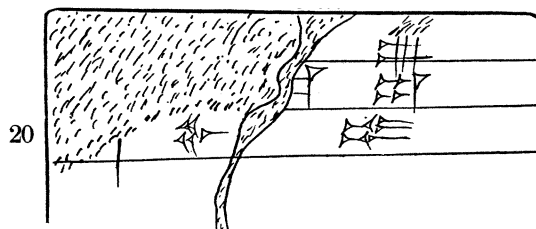


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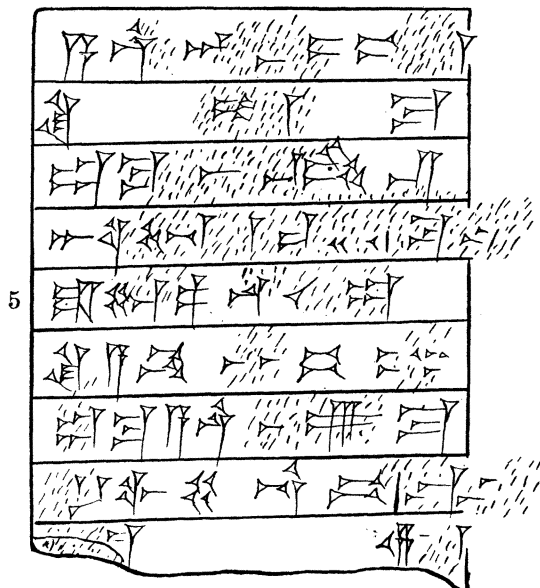


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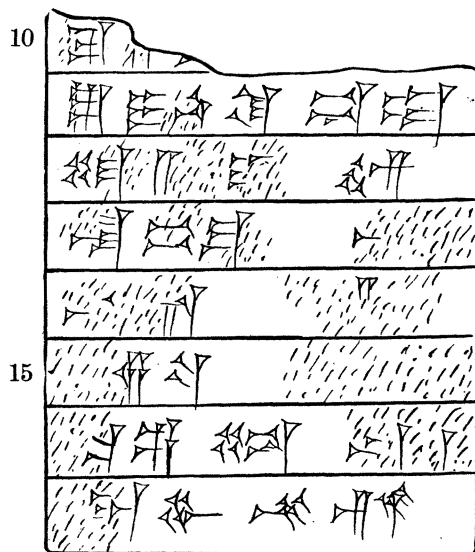


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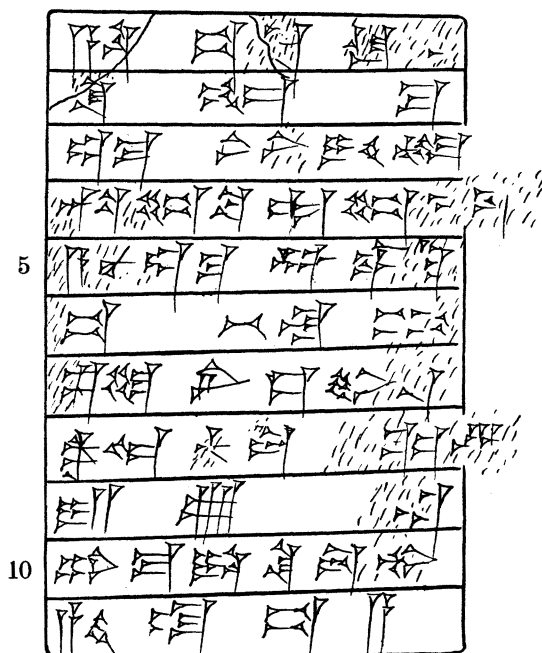


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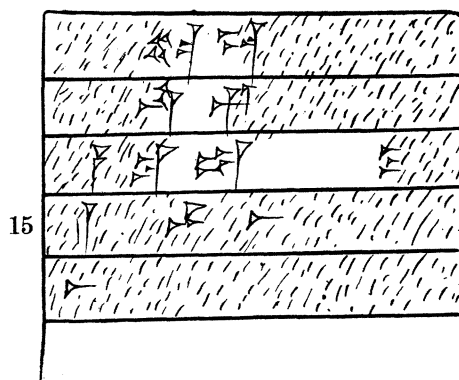


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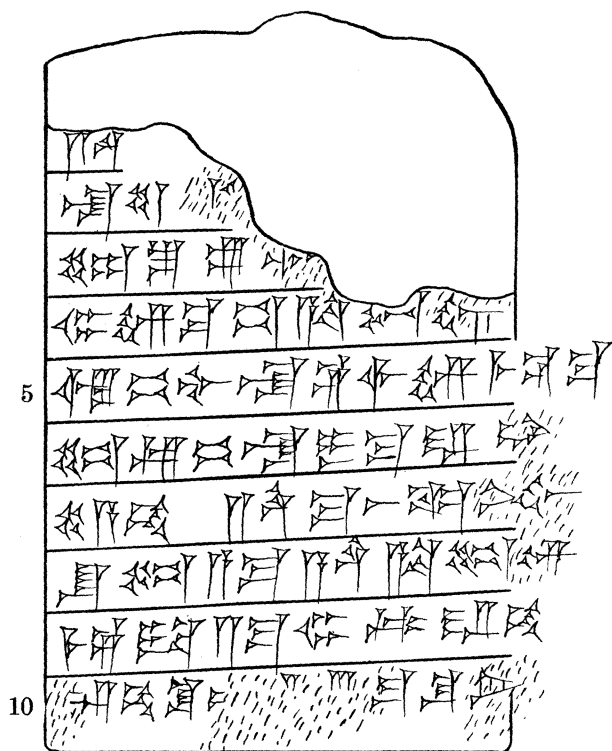
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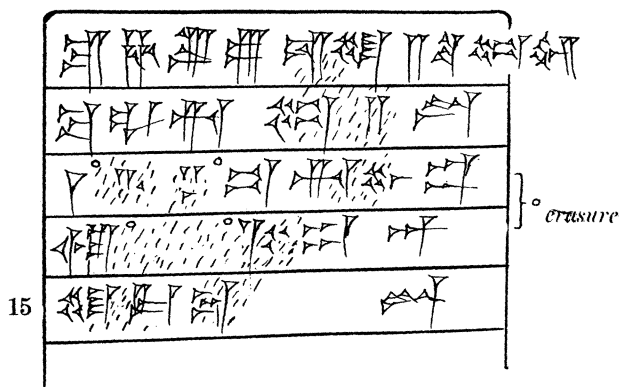
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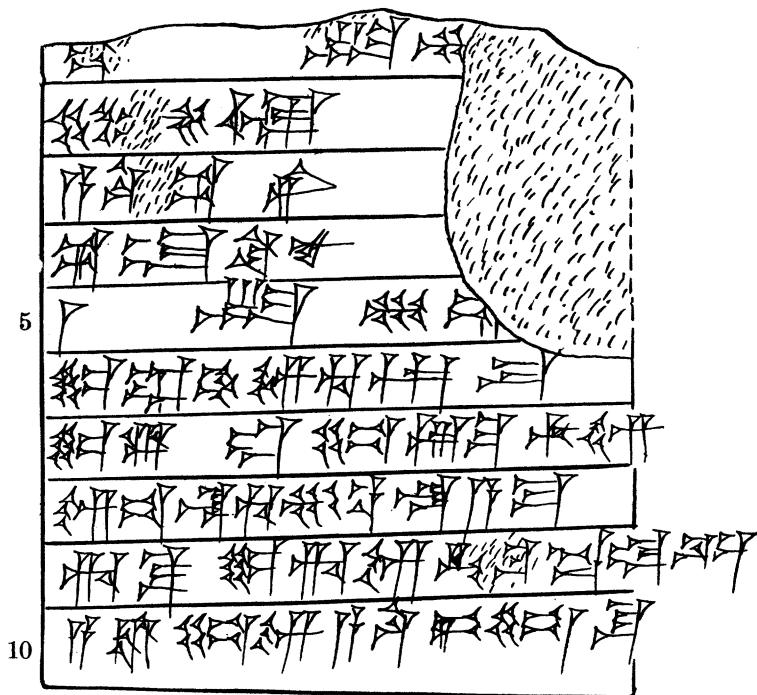


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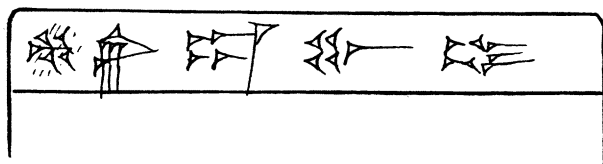


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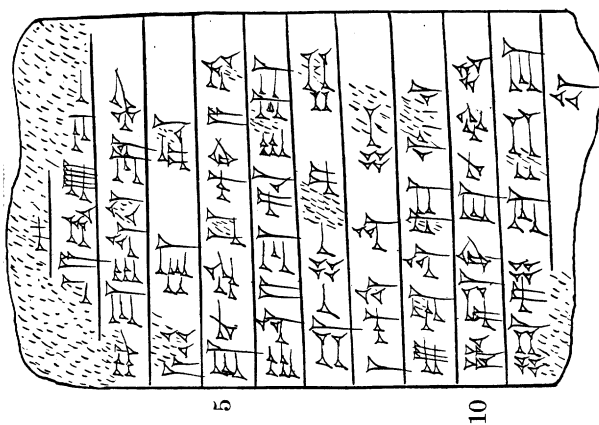


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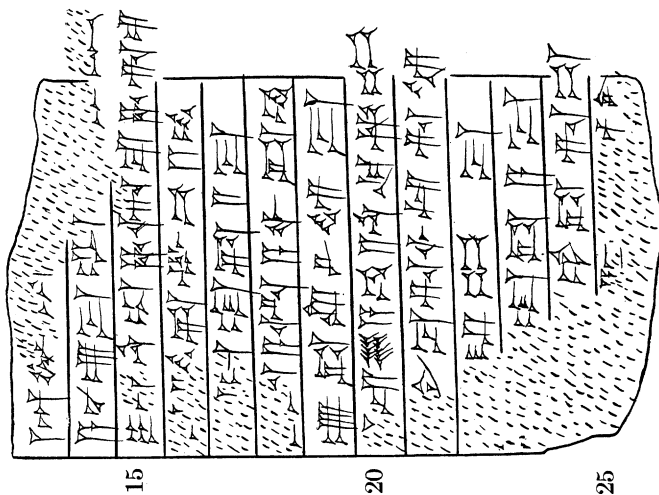


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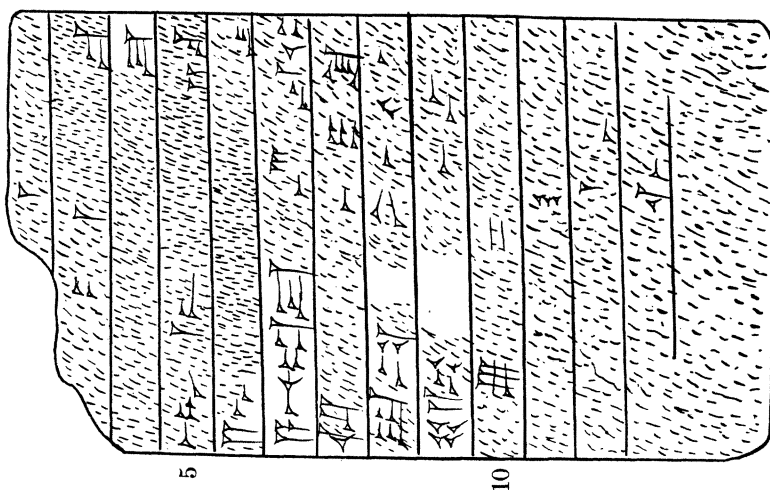


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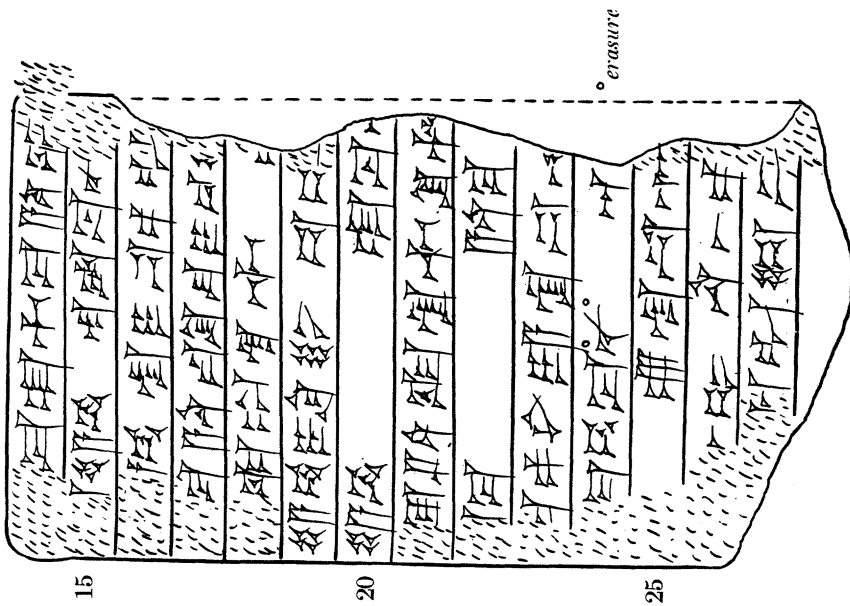


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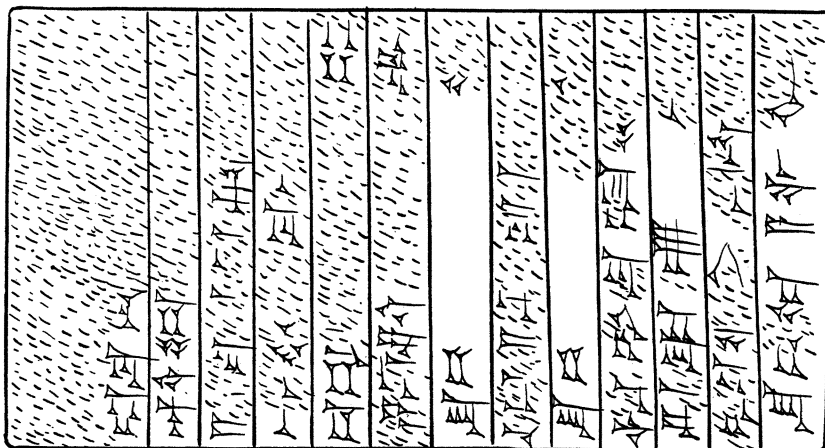


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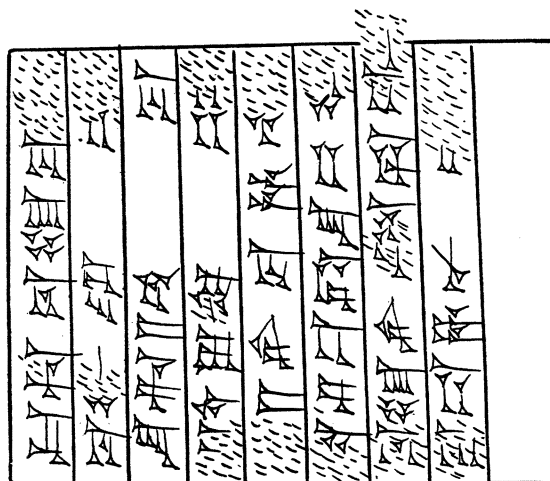


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THE TEMPLE WOMEN OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

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University of Chicago

In an article entitled "The Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code"¹ Professor Lyon has called in question the generally accepted interpretation of certain sections of that Code of Babylonian law. Since the appearance of this essay (1912), which was of course based upon the text of the standard (stela) edition of the Code found at Susa in December of 1901 and January of 1902, portions of a number of "law-court" editions, written on clay tablets, have come to light. The new versions, which in part cover the sections discussed by Lyon, are published in Langdon's *Historical and Religious Texts* (1914), No. 22 (Plates 20 and 21), and in Poebel's *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (1914), No. 93 (Plates 39 and 40). As we shall see presently, Langdon was in doubt concerning the correctness of his copy of an important variant reading, and Poebel even failed to notice the presence of the same reading in his text. It is the purpose of this article to test some of Lyon's conclusions by means of the variant readings furnished by the new versions and then to go on to a discussion of the position and character of the "sacred" women of Babylonia. To get the problem before us as quickly as possible, let

¹ *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to C. H. Toy*, pp. 341 f.

me set down the numbers of the paragraphs of the Code under discussion, followed by the readings of the names of the consecrated women as found (1) in the standard edition of the Code (C), (2) in the version published by Langdon (L), and (3) in that given by Poebel (P).

	C	L	P
§ 40.....	<i>SAL-ME</i>		
§ 110.....	<i>SAL-ME</i> , <i>NIN-AN</i> (<i>entum</i>)		<i>SA[L-M]E</i> à <i>NIN-</i> [AN] (Col. 5)
§ 127.....	<i>NIN-AN</i>		Lines containing names broken away (Col. 8)
§ 137.....	<i>SAL-ME</i>		Lines containing names broken away (Col. 9)
§§ 144-47.....	<i>SAL-ME</i>	<i>DA[M]</i> (Obv. Col. 1)	<i>DAM*</i> (Col. 10)
§§ 178-79.....	<i>NIN-AN</i> , <i>SAL-ME</i> , <i>zi-ik-ru-um</i>	<i>NIN-AN</i> , <i>zi-ik-ru-um</i> (Rev. Col. 4)	
§ 180.....	<i>SAL-ME</i> <i>gágûm</i> , <i>zi-</i> <i>ik-ru-um</i>		
§ 181.....	<i>SAL-ME</i> , <i>NU-GIG</i> (<i>kadistum</i>), <i>NU-</i> <i>BAR</i> (<i>zêrmašitum</i>)		
§ 182.....	<i>SAL-ME</i> à <i>Marduk</i>		
§§ 187, 192, 193..	<i>sal zi-ik-ru-um</i>		

* See discussion of this variant below.

Let us begin with §§ 137 and 144-47, which have to do with divorce and the question of the "second" wife, that is, the concubine.¹ The ideogram *SAL-ME* found in these sections of the standard edition of the Code has usually been interpreted as the equivalent of the ideogram *DAM*=*aššatum*, "wife." Such is the interpretation of Harper, Ungnad,² and others. Lyon, on the other hand, believes that the ideogram has the same meaning in these sections as elsewhere and translates it by "votary." Now it is true that the only reason scholars had for assuming (there was no proof) that *SAL-ME* meant *aššatum*, "wife," in these sections was the content of the sections themselves interpreted in the light of other portions of the Code. That *SAL-ME* is not the ideogram scholars expect to find here may be seen from a slip on the part of Ungnad.³ He is comparing § 145 with § 148. Evidently he quotes them from the transliterated text, for in his notes he speaks of the ideogram in § 145 as being *DAM*. It

¹ See following note.

² Köhler und Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* (hereafter K u. U), II, 124.

³ *OLZ*, XVIII (1915), 73 f.; Ungnad shows that the ideogram for concubine, *ŠU-GE-tum*, was pronounced *šanitum* in the Semitic. The concubine was the "second" wife.

is, of course, *SAL-ME*. In like manner Poebel, in his notes on the new edition which he had published,¹ fails to note *DAM* as the reading in § 145 and § 146 instead of the *SAL-ME* of the standard text. He, too, seems to have forgotten that *DAM* was not found in these sections of the stela text.

Now it is just this variant *DAM* in Poebel's edition which justifies the usual interpretation of §§ 137, 144-47. In Langdon's text, copied at Constantinople, the sign *DAM* in § 145 (Obv. Col. 1) is drawn as if rubbed on the original. In his notes (p. 7) Langdon expresses the belief that the *aššatum* (*DAM*) instead of *SAL-ME* might be due to an error in his copy. That the text was copied correctly is shown by the readings of Poebel's version. In this version both § 145 and § 146 are found (Col. 10), but many of the signs are badly rubbed. Some are gone. Nevertheless, in § 145 the first half of the ideogram *DAM* is preserved, while in § 146 the second half of the same ideogram is left. The new versions, therefore, have *DAM*, the usual ideogram for "wife," in §§ 145, 146, and it is practically certain that the same sign also stood in §§ 137, 144, 147. These paragraphs of the Code deal then with ordinary wives, not with wives who were also "votaries," as Lyon believes.

Unfortunately neither of the new versions contains § 40, the only other section of the Code where the meaning of the ideogram *SAL-ME* is in doubt. The interpretation of this law is in doubt anyway, and new light upon any portion of it would have been most welcome.

We turn now to the paragraphs of the Code whose enactments undoubtedly concern temple women. The variant readings should first be noted.

In § 110 the standard edition reads, "If a *SAL-ME NIN-AN* (*entum*) not living in a convent, have opened a wineshop," etc. Here the *SAL-ME* has been taken as a kind of determinative before the *NIN-AN*: Harper, *aššatum NIN-AN*, "priestess"; Rogers (*Cuneiform Parallels*) *išippatum entum*, "female votary," Ungnad (*Texte und Bilder*, 153), "'Nonne' (oder) Gottesschwester." The version published by Poebel seems to have read *SAL-ME ù NIN-AN*, that is, "priestess or nun." In § 179, L omits *SAL-ME* between *NIN-AN*

¹ *Ibid.*, 161 f., 193 f., 225 f., 257 f.

and *zikrum*. As we shall see below, these variants do not affect the meaning of these sections of the Code.

In discussing the position and character of the consecrated women of the Code, Lyon seems greatly concerned to prove that "the Code of Hammurabi furnishes no basis for an indictment of any class of these consecrated women" (p. 356). He combats the idea that any one of them was a real mother, but unmarried, and hence "a low character." He admits that the *kadišum* and *zērmašitum* had bad reputations in the magical literature and elsewhere.¹ "But such passages," he thinks, "do not seem to require any modification of the impression which the Code makes as to the character of the consecrated women in whose behalf it legislates" (p. 365).

Now it seems to me that Lyon has failed to make the proper differentiation between the various classes of "consecrated" women mentioned in the Code. While he has made abundant use of the legal documents approximately contemporaneous with the promulgation of the Code (that is, First Dynasty documents), I do not think that he has allowed all of these documents to present their evidence.

First as to the *SAL-ME*. She was evidently a priestess (*išip-patum*) corresponding to the priest class *išippu*. The function of these priests (*išippātu*) was to cleanse (with holy water) and sanctify temples and other shrines.² Ordinarily a particular kind of *SAL-ME* is mentioned in the legal documents—*SAL-ME* ^d*Marduk*, *SAL-ME* ^d*Šamaš*, that is, priestess of Marduk or priestess of Shamash. So we have the Marduk priestess specified in § 182 of the Code, the "convent priestess (*SAL-ME* *gāgūm*)" in § 180.³

Lyon says further:

In the marriage laws [§§ 137, 144–47] in which the votary [*SAL-ME*] figures it seems that she does not bear. The specific word for bearing, *alādu*,

¹ Cf. Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, pp. 47 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ In the texts published by Ranke (*Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*) *SAL-ME* ^d*Šamaš* and *SAL* ^d*Šamaš* seem to be used interchangeably for "priestess of Shamash." Strictly speaking, *SAL* ^d*Šamaš* would mean "woman (*sinništum*) of Shamash" while *SAL-ME* ^d*Šamaš* is "priestess (*išippatum*) of Shamash." *ME* = *išib*, *išippu*; cf. Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 29. This interchange of *SAL-ME* and *SAL* probably accounts for the appearance of *SAL-ME* in §§ 137, 144–47 of the standard edition of the Code. There it means "wife," as we saw from the new versions. That *SAL* = *sinništum*, "woman," was used elsewhere in the Code for "wife" (a usage common to many languages) may be seen by comparing paragraphs 141 and 142.

is never applied to her, though it is used about twenty times of other classes of wife (*aššatu*, *hirtu*, the secondary wife, and the widow who has married again). The votary wife "causes her husband to have" children (*ušarši*, *uštābši*). . . . This consistent difference in the use of terms can hardly be accidental, and the conclusion seems natural that, as a rule at least, the votary wife was barren.

But we saw above that the new versions of the Code show that the ordinary wife and not the votary wife is referred to in these sections. The ordinary wife in Babylonia "presented her husband with children" just as she does in other lands. Nevertheless, it would remove the doubt as to whether or not the priestess (*SAL-ME*) bore children if we should find the word *alādu* used in connection with the mention of her children.

In a legal text¹ we read of the adoption of a son by Bunini-abi and his wife Hushutum, a priestess of Marduk: "Even if Bunini-abi and Hushutum, the priestess of Marduk, should have children (*liršu*), Shamash-abili [the adopted son] is their oldest brother." Here the word used is a form of *rašû*, "to have, get" (cf. *ušarši*, above). The same word is used in another adoption text² whose wording is in other respects also almost identical with the one just quoted. But here the adopting mother is not a priestess. That the *SAL-ME* did bear children is rendered practically certain by two very interesting texts.³ Absolute certainty on this point is not reached, owing to the fact that the woman is not called a priestess in so many words; but the provision for carrying her chair to the temple of Marduk makes it reasonably certain that she was a Marduk priestess. Warad-Shamash takes as his wives two sisters, Taram-Saggil and Iltani. After the usual formulas found in marriage contracts, we read: "And Iltani shall wash the feet of Taram-Saggil and carry her chair to the house of her god. If Taram-Saggil is cross, Iltani shall be cross, if she is happy, she shall be happy.⁴ Her seal she shall not open. 10 *ka* of flour she shall grind and bake for her." The last line is doubtful. The Babylonians were as careless with their pronouns as we are, but the meaning is generally clear.

¹ Also referred to by Lyon; cf. K u. U, III, No. 17.

² *Ibid.*, No. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 2 and 3.

⁴ For another interpretation of these lines see Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, p. 11.

Note that the secondary wife was not to open her sister's mail. But the important statements come in the contract drawn up with the secondary wife. From this we learn that the chair is to be carried into the temple of *Marduk*, and "*the children which they have borne or shall bear, are their children*" (that is, the children of both).¹

The *NIN-AN* or *entum* was closely related to the *SAL-ME* (*išippatum*). An interesting text published by Professor Clay² gives an account of the dedication of the daughter of Nabonidus to the office of *entum*. In Col. II. 10 f. we find her duties summed up in the word *išippatum*. As we saw above, this word designates the function of the *išippu*-priest and probably also that of the *išippatum* (*SAL-ME*). We have already referred to § 110, where the *entum* and *SAL-ME* are grouped together. This paragraph shows that the *SAL-ME* and the *entum* might or might not be living in a convent. The legal documents have shown us that the *SAL-ME* might marry, live in her own house, and have children. Other documents make it clear that many *SAL-ME* of Shamash, Ninib, and other gods lived in convents. We hear much of the convent (*gāgûm*) of the Shamash priestesses. But we have no evidence that the *entum* ever married or had children of her own, or that she adopted sons or daughters.³ The presumption is that ordinarily she lived in a convent, so we may call her a nun. Note particularly that the *entum* is the only temple woman mentioned in § 127. "If a man have caused the finger to be pointed at a nun or the wife of a man and have not justified himself, they shall bring that man before the judge," etc.

In § 181 we have two more classes of priestesses mentioned: *SAL-ME* *ḫadištam* *ù lu zërmašitam*. The more general term priestess (*SAL-ME*) is used, and then there follow the names of the two special kinds, the *ḫadištum* and the *zërmašitum*.

¹ *mārû meš ma-la-a wa-al-du ù i-wa-la-du mārû meš-ši-na-ma*. There is one more point which should be noted. The scribe has written the name of the father of Taram-Saggil and Iltani as Sin-abushu in one text and as Shamash-tatum in the other. Nevertheless, there cannot be any doubt that the two texts refer to the same persons.

² *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 45.

³ There is only one text (to my knowledge) which might be used to show that the *entum* might have children, namely, the Legend of Sargon → *AJSL*, 1917, p. 146). But it is doubtful whether Sargon's mother was a nun. The word used is *enitum*. I may add that in my discussion of this term I failed to do what I am insisting upon here—that is, to differentiate between the different kinds of temple women.

That the *ḫadištum* was a temple prostitute is certain from the literature cited by Lyon.¹ He would, however, distinguish between the *ḫadištum* and *zērmašītum* of these late texts and the women of the same name mentioned in the Code. That this will not do seems to me to follow from a number of legal documents dating from the First Dynasty.

There is no record of the marriage of a *ḫadištum*, yet they were regularly employed as wet-nurses! In a document dated in the reign of Hammurabi² we read: "Zuhuntum, the wife of Anum-kinum, gave her child to the *ḫadištum* Iltani to nurse. Thereupon she was unable to give Iltani the nursing fee for three years (nursing), board, oil for anointing, and clothing. 'Take the child, let it be your child,' said Zuhuntum to Iltani, the *ḫadištum*." Iltani takes the child, but pays the mother three shekels of silver, the difference between the nursing fee and the market value of the child.

In another instance³ a child is given to a wet-nurse who is not a *ḫadištum*. There is a dispute as to the pay she should receive. The case is taken before the judges. "Thereupon the judges called in the *ḫadištum* (plural). Whereupon she received her nursing fee." The prostitutes were, of course, called in as professionals in order that the judges might determine what was the proper fee.

Take another case.⁴ Shalurtum, the wife of Enim-Nami, adopts Awirtum, the daughter of Hupatum and Rubatum, his wife. The child is still an infant, so the mother is paid one and two-thirds shekels of silver for bringing her up. Then Awirtum is made a *ḫadištum* "in order that she may let her mother, Shalurtum, 'eat food.'" Can there be any doubt as to the source of the income of the girl? We may imagine that the parents of this child were poor and disposed of their daughter at the best price they could get. They might have sold her into slavery, but this would have been the last straw.

In another document,⁵ from the Cassite period, we learn of the adoption of Etirtum by Ina-Uruk-rishat, "who had no daughter." She adopted the girl in order that her daughter Etirtum might pour out water for her when she died. By the terms of the contract

¹ P. 365 (see above).

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 781.

² K u. U, III, No. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, No. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, III, No. 33.

Ina-Uruk-rishat might give the girl to a husband or make her a prostitute, but in no case might she make her her slave.

The other class of priestess mentioned in § 181 is the *zêrmasšitum*.¹ From the legal documents we learn that a Marduk priestess (*SAL-ME* ^d*Marduk*) might also be a *zêrmasšitum*. Awil-Sin gives his daughter, a Marduk priestess and *zêrmasšitum*, together with a handsome dowry, to Warad-Shamash. "For all time, her children are her heirs."²

Sin-eribam, at the time of his daughter's betrothal, designates certain gifts which are to be given her. "Thereupon Shubultum, her mother, Kishat-Sin, Igmil-Sin, and Sippar-lisher, her brothers, gave them to her and let her enter the house of Ilushu-bani, her husband. . . . For all time, her children are her heirs."³

Somewhat different is the following: "1/3 *sar* of land 1 slave, 1 bed and 1 'sailor-chair'; this is the portion of Lamassi, the *zêrmasšitum*, daughter of Upi-magir. As soon as a man marries her, she shall take her personal property and enter the house of her husband. Her house (real-estate) and her residue (?) are her brothers exclusively."⁴

There remains the *zikrum* (§§ 178-80, 187, 192, 193). The spelling of the name is peculiar. It is a masculine form and is written as a nominative, no matter what its position in the sentence. That ^{sal} *zikrum* is an ideogram for a form like *zikirtum* was suggested by Ungnad, who also holds that it is evidently to be connected with the *zīkrēti* (women of the harem) of the Assyrian inscriptions.⁵ Here he was on the right track, but failed to follow up his clue. He still translates *zikrum* with "Dirne,"⁶ making it a parallel of *ḫadištum*.

Now, it is noticeable that the *SAL-ME* (*išippatum*), *NIN-AN* (*ēntum*), *ḫadištum*, and *zêrmasšitum* are all mentioned in the religious literature. But the name of the *zikrum* does not appear.⁷ It would seem, therefore, that she does not belong to the priestesses.

¹ On the etymology of this word see Schorr, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

² K u. U, III, No. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, III, No. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, No. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 134.

⁶ *Babylonische Briefe*, p. 299.

⁷ Cf. Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.

This is, of course, an *argumentum e silentio*, but positive evidence that she was a palace woman, not a temple woman, is, I believe, at hand. But first a word as to how she probably became associated with the temple women in the minds of scholars.

A man is known by the company he keeps. So is a woman. Now in §§ 178 f. of the Code the *zikrum* is mentioned along with the priestess and the nun. This put her in the ranks of the temple women, and through guesses as to the etymology of her name she finally landed in the class of prostitutes.¹ In §§ 187, 192, 193, however, she is mentioned together with the *manzaz-pānim muzaz ekallim*, "the chamberlain stationed in the palace." The writer feels sure that if these sections of the Code had preceded, instead of following, §§ 178 f. the *zikrum* would never have been classed with the temple women, and her evident connection with the harem would have been noticed.

The sections in which the *zikrum* is mentioned along with the chamberlain have to do with the adopted children of these two classes. An interesting letter² concerning such an adopted son has come down to us. Like most letters, it is full of linguistic difficulties, but the sense is reasonably clear: "To Taribum speak: Thus saith Adyatum: 'May Shamash grant thee life.'" This is the customary introduction. Now we get down to the subject-matter: "The scribe X-bani has made the following statement: thus he spoke: 'A father-house I have not, therefore, I entered the house of the ^{sal} *zikritum* as a son (*ana bi-it sal zi-ik-ri-tim a-na ma-ru-tim i-ru-ub*, literally, the house of the *zikritum*³ for sonship I entered). The house which I entered as (adopted) son, to the exit of the palace they caused to go forth.'" The last sentence is difficult. I follow Ebeling⁴ rather than Ungnad. The adopted son is turned out of his home, but also *out of the palace*. The *bit sal zikritim* is connected with the palace, not with the temple. The rest of the letter is not particularly difficult: "A letter of my lord (the king, to the effect that) you are to give me a home, has come to you; why have you not carried it out? I shall bring complaint." Adyatum advises that "either they give him

¹ Cf. Lyon, p. 350.

² Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 164.

³ The form might be singular or plural.

⁴ *RA*, X (1913), pp. 24 f.

back the home he entered as son or else furnish him a home just like it(?); in order that he may not enter a complaint."

The only other mention (to my knowledge) of the *zikrum*, outside of the Code, is in a pay-list from the time of Ammisaduga.¹ Grain is paid out for the keep of weavers (female) and the ^{sa} *zikrum*, for offerings, for the board of the Sutean, the watchman of the grain-field, etc. Now weavers and spinners, when they are female, are frequently mentioned in the pay-lists of the harem. Genouillac has published and studied a number of old Sumerian texts,² in which are given, among other things, the number and pay of the women employed in the harem, the house of Baranamtara, the wife of Lugalanda, Shagshag, the queen of Urukagina, and other royal ladies. Some of these women were the servants of the queen who looked after her wants—the table, etc.; others were spinners; still others looked after the offerings. The list mentioning the weavers, *zikrum*, etc., may well have been one of the pay-rolls of the harem.³ However, in this discussion we must not lose sight of the fact that from earliest Sumerian days there was the closest connection between the palace and the temple.

Hammurabi's legislation on the rights and privileges of the temple women can be understood only when read as part of the legislation on the family. The temple woman started out in life as the daughter of Babylonian parents. Ordinarily the daughter was given in marriage to some suitor acceptable to her father,⁴ and thus was formed the nucleus of a new family. A marriage was not legal unless a marriage contract had been drawn up (§ 128). The economic foundation of the new family was laid at the time of the marriage. The groom brought to the prospective father-in-law a bride-price (*tirhâtum*). Already in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon the custom of "tying the bride-price to the girdle of the bride," that is, of giving it to her, had become the regular procedure. The groom also brought a gift (*nudunnum*) to the bride. The bride's

¹ K u. U, III, No. 773.

² *La Société Sumerienne*, p. xxxii.

³ For the harem of the Assyrian kings, cf. Kohler und Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, pp. 445 f.

⁴ Or mother in case of the father's death. If both parents were dead, the brothers gave her away.

father settled upon her a dowry (*šeriktum*). This dowry seems to have been all the daughter could expect from her father's estate. On her death it went to her children (§ 162). In case she died childless it reverted to the paternal estate (*bīt abiša*, § 163).

But the Babylonian father might choose to dispose of his daughter in a way different from the one just described. He might give her to a god or to the king for his harem. The Code is specific as to her *šeriktum*. This was to revert to her brothers unless the father had inserted into the deed the provision "that she might dispose of her estate as she pleased," and had thus granted her "full discretion" (§§ 178, 179). In the legal documents such discretion is usually given by the phrase "her children are her heirs."¹ In case the father had not granted his daughter her *šeriktum* during his lifetime, "after he had gone to his fate" she received a share in the goods of her father's estate. This share varied according to the service to which her father had devoted her. If she had been sent to the monastery (*išippat gâgûm*) as nun or priestess, or to the palace as *zikrum*, her share was equal to the portion of a son. She enjoyed it as long as she lived, but on her death it went to her brothers (§ 180). In case she became a priestess (not resident in a monastery), a *ḫadištum* or *zêrmašītum*, her share was only one-third the portion of a son. Again it reverted to her brothers on her death (§ 181). If, however, she was a priestess of Marduk, her share was one-third the portion of a son, but she paid no tax and she might dispose of it "after her death, . . . wherever it seemed good to her" (§ 182).

Why a son's portion in some cases and only one-third of this in others? Was it because one class was held in higher esteem than the other? Possibly. But the outstanding characteristic of the Hammurabi legislation is its insistence on economic justice. The income of the nun and priestess who lived in the monastery was fixed. It consisted of the income from her portion of her father's estate and such property as other priestesses settled upon her.² On the other hand, the priestess of Marduk (Shamash, etc.) might marry and live with her husband. Her portion of the paternal estate was only a third of the portion of a son. Similarly, a third of a son's portion went to

¹ See above, p. 8.

² Of this we hear much in the legal literature.

the *ḫadištum* and *zêrmašītum*. Their income was undoubtedly augmented by the "hire of a harlot." When the receipts began to fall off (?), the *ḫadištum* might earn board and keep, together with small wages, as wet-nurse. One wonders what became of the children of the *ḫadištum*. The *zêrmašītum* might marry. Did her marriage occur after a period of service in the temple?¹

The *zikrum* was treated like the nun or priestess who lived in the monastery (§ 180, see above).² Her share was equal to the portion of a son. Royalty has always shown its ability to look out for itself, and many sections of the Code bear witness that Hammurabi's line was no exception to this rule.

The "vestal virgin" and the temple prostitute were recognized members of ancient society from before the days of Hammurabi down to Roman times.³ There is no particular reason why we should label the *ḫadištum* and *zêrmašītum* "bad characters." Their occupation had the sanction of church and state, but that it was "prostitution," though "sacred," cannot be denied.

¹ Should the evidence for this be forthcoming, it would furnish us with the particular case of which the well-known statement of Herodotus is probably a generalization.

² This section alone should have kept scholars from classing the *zikrum* with the prostitutes.

³ See Kohler und Peiser, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, I, 109 f.



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Critical Notes

ON THE READING OF THE NAMES OF SOME BABYLONIAN GODS

In a brief note in *JAOS*, XXXVII (1917), 328 f., Professor Clay discusses the reading of the name of the god ^dZamámá found in line 220 of the Chicago Syllabary and that of ^dNinib in line 288 of the Yale Syllabary. When copying the Chicago Syllabary I came to the same conclusion as that reached by Professor Clay but felt compelled to abandon it after a study of a number of passages from the Yale, Chicago, and other syllabaries. That the notes to the published syllabary should not become too bulky I withheld for the time being the detailed discussion of the names of the deities mentioned. Now that the matter has come up again I feel justified in setting down some of the results of my investigation, all the more so because it helped me in many a difficult passage in the Chicago Syllabary and enabled me to suggest a number of improvements in the readings of the Yale Syllabary, a syllabary which, as stated elsewhere, seems to me to be a page from the very dictionary to which the Chicago Syllabary belongs.

Let me set down the lines which are relevant to the discussion. For the sake of brevity I shall substitute X for the sign or ideogram to be explained:

1. Chicago 220:	<i>min</i> (= <i>ba-a</i>)	X	sign-name	ša ^d <i>Za-má-má</i> šu- <i>ma</i>
2. Yale 288:	<i>ur-ta</i>	X	" "	ša ^d <i>Nin-ib</i> šu- <i>ma</i>
3. Chicago 253:	<i>e-di</i>	X	" "	ša ^d <i>Na-mu-un-du</i> šu- <i>ma</i>
4. <i>CT</i> , 12, 11, 25 <i>b</i> :	<i>ni-in</i>	X	ša ^d <i>Ni-in-na</i> šu- <i>ma</i>	
5. <i>CT</i> , 12, 10, 25 <i>b</i> :	<i>zu-bi</i>	X	ša ^{náru} X šu- <i>ma</i>	
6. " " " 14 <i>b</i> :	<i>i-di-ig-na</i>	X	ša ^{náru} X šu- <i>ma</i>	
7. Yale 51:	<i>a-a</i>	X	sign-name	<i>i-sik-tu</i> ša ^{iṣu} X(<i>suk</i>)- <i>lum</i> šu- <i>ma</i>
8. " 52:	<i>aš-te</i>	X	" "	<i>aš-te</i> álu (variant, šu- <i>ma</i> áli) ¹
9. Chicago 230:	<i>iš-ḡu-ur</i>	X	" "	ša ^d X ^d <i>Nisaba</i>
10. " 264-76:	<i>iš-ḡu-rum</i>	X	" "	ša ^d X "
11. " 125:	<i>ḡa-ar</i>	X	" "	ša ^d ḡa-ar-ru ^d NIN- EZEN.BI
12. " 126:	<i>ba-ḡa-ar</i>	X	" "	ša ^d GUD ba-ḡa-ar ^d GUD

¹ SAI, 7846.

13. Chicago	39:	X		sign-name	ša ^d UR-A- te-eš-še-la EDIN
14. "	40:	X		" "	ša ^d UR-A- te-eš-še-ru EDIN
15. "	41:	X		" "	ša ^d A- ^d Šar-pa-ni-tum EDIN
16. "	42:	X		" "	ša ^d A-GIŠ-KU.TU- NI EDIN
17. "	119:	du-ur-ku	X	" "	ša ^d X X
18. "	134:	di-pa-ar	X	" "	^d Di-par GUD (See also Chicago, 132, 133, 135-40)
19. "	19:	al-mu	X	" "	^d Al-mu PISAN(X)
20. "	20:	a-la-mu	X	" "	^d A-la-mu "
21. "	21:	ki-ir-ba-an	X	" "	^d Ki-ir-ba-an "
22. "	291:	še-e-du	X	" "	^d Še-e-du X (See also Chicago, 292- 94)
23. Yale	263:	mu-ú-a-tu	X	" "	^d X (Nabu)
24. "	266:	[su]-ul-lat	X	" "	^d X
25. "	270:	[n]u-us-ku	X	" "	^d X
26. "	271:	[e]n-šà(g)-du ¹	X	" "	min (ditto)
27. "	111-12:	ša-ra	X	" "	^d X
28. Chicago	178:	ku-uk-ku-da	X	" "	^d X (See also Chicago, 179, 180)
29. Yale	265:	[u]s ² -dur	X	" "	^d I-šum.
30. "	267:	[g]a-niš ³	X	" "	^d Lugal (Šarru)
31. "	114:	gu-ud-du(?)	X	" "	ša KU-UD-DU gu- ud-du(?)
32. "	115:	gu-us(?)	X	" "	ša KAK(?) - KU-US kak(?) - ku-su ⁴
33. "	116:	gu-u	X	" "	ša KU-LI ib-ri
34. "	133:	nu-u	X	" "	ša LID-KU u-tul-lu
35. "	142:	du-ul	X	" "	ša BAR-KU ku-si-tu ⁵
36. "	151:	ub	X	" "	ša LU-KU....
37. "	152:	e-eš	X	" "	min ⁶

¹ Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 1001.

² Cf. perhaps, *SAI*, 5562, and Yale, 115 (No. 32).

³ Cf. *CT*, 25, 16, 4.

⁴ Is this a compound of *KAK*(*gag*, Delitzsch, *Glossar*, 76) = *šikkatu* and *KU-US*, *ku-su*?

⁵ Does this line mean that *KU* when it stands for *(KU)BAR-KU* (perhaps *LU*?) its Sumerian pronunciation is *dul* and its Semitic *kusitu*? Cf. Br. 1942.

⁶ Text has *a* instead of *min*. Which is correct?

38. Chicago 288:	<i>la-a</i>	X	sign-name	ša A-X <i>il-lu ni'-lu</i> ša <i>mê^{pl}</i>
39. " 289:	<i>la-ab</i>	X	" "	ša ZU-X <i>la-ab-bu</i>
40. " 290:	<i>la-la:</i>	X	" "	ša BA-X <i>dan-nu</i>
41. Yale 156:	<i>ga-ar</i>	X	" "	ša A-X (GAR)
42. " 127:	<i>tu-ur</i>	X	" "	ša ŠĀ(G)-TUR ša-as- <i>su-rum</i>
43. " 202:	<i>ma-a</i>	X	" "	ša TUG-BA <i>na-al-ba-</i> <i>šu</i>
44. " 253:	[<i>maškim</i>]	X	" "	ša MAŠKIM <i>ra-bi-šu</i>
45. " 257:	[<i>lu-ga</i>]	X	" "	ša PA-MAL <i>šil-la-tu</i>
46. " 236:		X	" "	ša KAS-GID <i>bi-[i-</i> <i>rum]</i> ¹
47. CT, 12, 4, 18:	[<i>azag</i>]	X	ša KUG+X	<i>a-sak-ku</i>
48. " 23, 10 f.:	[<i>za-al</i>]	X(NI)	ša GU-ZAL (X)	<i>gu-zal-lu, giš-ḥap-</i> <i>pu, nu'-u, a-ḥu-ru-</i> <i>u, u (?) -ḥu</i>
49. " " 15, 47 f.:	<i>ta-ar</i>	X	ša AL-TAR (X)	<i>al-ta-ru, bu-us-su-</i> <i>u, na-mu-ti, ra-ka-</i> <i>nu</i>

Speaking of No. 1 (Chicago, 220), Professor Clay says "the last word in the line of the Syllabary, namely, *šu-ma*, is to be understood as meaning that the sign in the name which has been read *mà* and *mal* is here to be read *ba*." This gives Zabàbà as the name of the god. With this name Professor Clay would compare the name of the god of Ekron, Baal Zebûb.²

This interpretation is most attractive. As stated above, when I came to this line of the Chicago Syllabary I thought I had found the long-sought-for pronunciation of the name of the god which is invariably rendered in all periods of Babylonian history by the three signs: ^dZA-MA(L)-MA(L). But my joy was short-lived, for I soon found that while this interpretation was barely possible another seemed much more probable, if not certain. Leaving Nos. 1 and 2 for the moment, let us look at the other lines where the phrase ša . . . *šu-ma* is found in the Semitic column. No. 3 clearly means that *edi* is the Sumerian name of the god ^dX, whose Semitic name, or one of whose Semitic names, is *Namundu*. By comparing No. 4 with the lines which follow it in the Syllabary (CT, 12, 11, 26b f.), we see that *Nin* is one of the Sumerian names of the goddess ^dX, one of whose Semitic names is *Ninna*.³ *Zubi* and *Idigna*, Nos. 5 and 6, are the Sumerian names of canals

¹ Yale 235 probably had KAS-KAL, *ur-[ḥa]* in the last column.

² In this connection there should have been some discussion of the possibility that *Zebûb* is a corruption, or wilful transformation, of *Zebûl*. → *JBL*, XXXI (1912), 34f.

³ Sign to be explained is Br. 3048. The equations following line 26 are: *en-nin* = *dIš-tar*; *ni-in* = ditto; *dIš-tar* = ditto; *za-na-rum* = ditto.

of like Semitic names. No. 7, to which Professor Clay also calls attention, shows that *á* is the Sumerian name of the measure rendered in Semitic as *isú suklu*.¹ In none of these lines is it possible to apply Professor Clay's interpretation. In every case *ša . . . šu-ma* clearly means "of the (god) so-and-so, a name," that is, "a name of so-and-so."

Another way of expressing the same thing is seen in Nos. 9 and 10. Here three signs were used as ideograms to render the name of a goddess, identified with Nisaba, whose Sumerian name was *Išgur*. The Semitic name, written ^dX, had the same pronunciation. In No. 11 the Semitic name is spelled out.

Still another way of doing was to write ^dX in the Semitic column and give the pronunciation by means of a gloss; Nos. 12-22 are examples. Of special interest are 13 f. The *EDIN*-sign is *X*. The gloss *te-eš-še-ru* (14) gives the pronunciation of *UR(teš)-A(e)-EDIN(ru)*. *A-EDIN* is glossed *e-ru* (CT, 24, 17, 58). *A-LĀL* is found in a parallel passage (CT, 24, 29, 105). Evidently the gloss *te-eš-še-la* of No. 13 gives the pronunciation of *UR(teš)-A(e)-LĀL(la)*. But *EDIN* is written instead of *LĀL*, and it is also *X*. In No. 15 *Šarpanitum* takes the place of the gloss to *A-EDIN*, but it is evidently only an identification. Instead of ^dA-*EDIN* and ^dA-*LĀL*, ^d*EDIN* and ^d*LĀL* are found (cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 856). ^d*Še-ru-u-a* is evidently a contraction from ^d*Teššeru*. Was the *ilat* pronounced? I believe that we are able to restore the Sumerian in Nos. 13-15 as *te-eš-še-la*, *te-eš-še-ru* and *Šarpanitum* (possibly *e-ru*). That is, the *EDIN*-sign alone was used as ideogram for the deity instead of *UR-A-EDIN*, etc., as in the case of the writing *ʾMu-bal-li-da-at-^dEDIN-u-a=ʾMu-bal-li-da-at-^dŠe-ru-u-a*.

In Nos. 23-28 the Semitic column contains only the ideogram ^dX. In most cases we are probably to assume that the scribe intended to give the same pronunciation to the Semitic as to the Sumerian name, as in Nos. 4, 11 f., and 18 f. Finally in Nos. 29 and 30 we find an entirely different name in the Semitic column. This means that the god whose name was spelled out in the Sumerian column is to be *identified* with the god given in the Semitic column.

Similar lines from syllabaries but explaining words other than the names of deities are given in Nos. 31 f. In Nos. 38, 41, 42, 43, 48, and 49 the explanation of Professor Clay for Chicago 220 is possible. In Nos. 48 and 49 this is the only one possible. But note that besides the *GU-ZAL*, *gu-zal-lu*, and *AL-TAR*, *al-ta-ru*, a number of synonyms are also given. This means that in the ideogram *YX* or *XY*, *X* is to have the pronunciation given in the Sumerian column, and that the ideogram, thus pronounced, is the equivalent of the Semitic word or words found in the last column. But if *šu-ma* followed the *XY* or *YX*, it could not, grammatically, have the meaning Professor Clay would give it. To have that meaning the *šu-ma* should precede, not follow, the ideogram.

¹ *Suklu* seems to have been used in the Sumerian as well as in the Semitic.

A study of these and like passages from the syllabaries makes it evident that one cannot apply any hard and fast interpretation to *ša . . . šu-ma* and similar phrases. Nor do I think that Professor Clay would do so. Ordinarily parallel passages from other syllabaries will help us to determine what the phrase in a particular line means, but in some cases the meaning must remain doubtful. As to the meaning of the *ša . . . šu-ma* phrase, however, I do not think there can be any doubt.

With the foregoing in mind I believe that line 220 of the Chicago Syllabary can only mean that the god ^dMAL, whose Semitic as well as Sumerian name was *Ba*, was identified by the scribe with the god *Zamámá*; just as *Išqur* was the Sumerian and Semitic name of a goddess identified with *Nisaba* (Nos. 9 and 10). Indeed the god *Ba*, written ^dMAL, with the gloss *Il-Ba* has long been known. Cf. Br. 12714 = *CT*, 25, 27, 16. What reason the scribe had for identifying the god ^dMAL, pronounced *Ba*, with *Zamámá* we do not know. In the *CT* passage he seems to be identified with *Shamash* (cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 1546). Thus we see that the Chicago Syllabary does not help us with the pronunciation of the name ^d*Za-ma(l)-ma(l)*, or ^d*Za-má-má*.

It has been suggested that there is some connection between the god ^dA-MAL found in the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad and *Zamámá*, the god of Kish, and recently Poebel proposed the identification of the two by reading ^dA-MAL as *Za^m-a-ma*.¹ But in view of the fact that both ^dA-MAL and ^d*Za-má-má* are found on the Obelisk of Manishtusu this identification does not seem convincing. Besides, this would be a most marvellous way of writing the name. Just why the name ^d*Za-má-má* does not occur in the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad published by Poebel remains a question. Names compounded with ^d*Za-má-má* are found in the *Syllabary of Personal Names* published by Chiera (XI, Part 1, No. 19, Obv. 12 f.). For the occurrence of the name in the literature from Hammurabi's day on see Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 1310.

Applying the same interpretation to line 288 of the Yale Syllabary as was used in the explanation of line 220 of the Chicago Syllabary, Professor Clay concludes that *urta* of the Sumerian column of this line (*ur-ta IB* name of sign *ša* ^d*Nin-ib* *šu-ma*) explains the reading of the second part of the ideogram ^d*Nin-ib*, which is then "to be read *Nin-urta* or (*N*)*in-urta*." This form is then identified with the well-known Aramaic characters אִנּוּרְתָּא, which represent "*In-ušta* < *In-urta* < *In-marta* < *Nin-marta* or perhaps *Nin-Mar-Tu*."

Now there has sprung up a fair-sized literature on the name *Ninib* and the Aramaic אִנּוּרְתָּא found on some of the Nippur documents. The אִנּוּרְתָּא compounds were gathered together by Professor Clay in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William R. Harper*, I, 287 f. But in all of the discussions which have followed it seems to be taken for granted that the

¹ Poebel, *Historical Texts*, pp. 229 f., and *OLZ* (1912), p. 434.

Aramaic characters אַנְוֶשֶׁת reproduce the cuneiform ^dNin-ib and ^dMaš, whereas they transcribe only the ideogram ^dMaš. It is undoubtedly true that the ideograms ^dNin-ib and ^dMaš are used interchangeably,¹ but this does not permit us to draw any conclusions as to the pronunciation of the ideogram ^dNin-ib any more than did the reading *Ba* for ^dMal give us the pronunciation of ^dZa-má-má.

It seems to me that the only relevant passages which have so far been drawn into this discussion are those gathered together by Professor Clay in *Amurru*, 199 f. Syllabar C, 1 (restored in part by K, 7790), reads: *ma-aš, MAŠ ma-a-šu* ^dNin-ib. In K, 6335, we find a reference to ^dMa-a-šu u ^dMa-aš-tum *mârê* ^dSin, "the gods Mashu and Mashtum, children of Sin." Do not these passages make it clear that אַנְוֶשֶׁת renders the cuneiform ^dMaštu, pronounced, however, *Anu-maštu*? That is, the sign usually regarded as determinative for deity is to be pronounced, just as we find it rendered by *Il* in *Il-Ba*, the gloss to ^dMAL (see above).²

As to Yale 288: In all probability this line simply means that the god ^dIB was identified by the scribe with the well-known god ^dNin-ib (cf. Nos. 9 f., above). In the *An* ^dAnum series (*CT*, 24 and 25) the god ^dIB, whose name is to be pronounced *Uraš*, as a number of glosses show, is but one of some sixty gods identified with *Ninib* (see Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 2583, p. 210). Another of the gods thus identified is our god ^dMaš. In view of the glosses giving *Uraš* as the pronunciation of ^dIB, one wonders whether the scribe who copied the Yale Syllabary did not make a mistake in writing *urta* in the Sumerian column. Should we not have *uraš*? Another possibility has occurred to me. The photograph of the Yale Syllabary shows that the *ur* of *urta* stands on a pretty badly broken edge. Is it possible that we should read *Kab-ta* instead of *urta*? A god *Kabta* is known (Deimel, *Pantheon*, Nos. 1661 and 571).³ Furthermore, the god *Kab* (Deimel, No. 1660) is identified with ^dMaš (*CT*, 24, 45, 64), who in turn is identified with *Ninib*.

In view of the foregoing discussion I feel that we are not in a position at the present time to improve upon the pronunciation of the name *Zamámá* and that we are justified in reading the name ^dNin-ib as *A(E)nmaštu* only in places where variants show that ^dMaš is meant, for the god ^dMaš, whatever his origin, seems to be only one of a large number of gods identified with the god *Nin-ib*. Nor do I see any reason for thinking that the Sumerians ordinarily pronounced the latter name otherwise than ^dNin-ib.⁴

With all the equations and identifications of Sumerian with Semitic names of deities found in the different syllabaries, and especially in the

¹ For instance in such names as *Tukulti-Ninib*.

² That *NIN* may go into *IN* (=𒀭) is possible, but where there is a contraction it usually seems to be to *NI*. Cf. *CT*, 25, 1, 2, 7, 8, etc. For *Anu* in names see also Chiera, *A Syllabary of Personal Names*, p. 38, and *Lists of Akkadian Personal Names*, pp. 110 f.

³ Should Chicago, 213, be read *kab-ta* X sign-name ^dKab-ta?

⁴ As to the question of the gender of ^dMaš=אַנְוֶשֶׁת, see Professor Clay's discussions (e.g., *Amurru*, p. 199).

An ^d*Anum* series, one wonders how the Babylonian scribe decided on the reading of the god's name in a given literary text or personal name. On first thought one would say that in a Sumerian text or personal name the Sumerian pronunciation of the god's name would surely have been used and, *mutatis mutandis*, the Semitic. But the good Sumerian god *Enlil's* name is found pronounced *Ellil* in Semitic names.¹ Besides, the syllabaries give half a dozen or more Sumerian and a like number of Semitic pronunciations for the same ideogram. In the case of a personal name the scribe probably had no more difficulty than had the bearer of the name, but the interlinear translations of Sumerian texts show that there might arise differences of opinion. Have we not been too "ruthless" in our reading of *Enmashu*, *Ellil*, etc., for ideograms which in some, but not necessarily all, cases have these pronunciations?

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DAVID AND GOLIATH

The passage in which we have the account of David's victory over Goliath, I Sam. 17:1—18:5, is usually assigned to one of the later sources which are found in the Books of Samuel, and the whole incident is often pronounced unhistorical. There are elements in the story which are rankly inconsistent with statements in other sources which are unquestionably early. And in view of the assertion in II Sam. 21:19, an early source, that Elhanan, one of David's heroes, killed Goliath, it is impossible to hold that David, while still a lad, vanquished that noted warrior.

On the other hand, when we take up the story in I Sam. 18:6 ff., we find that David must already have achieved some significant victory, for according to the true text of 18:6,² as preserved in the LXX, the singing women came out to meet him, and the song they sang was sung to praise him for his valiant deed.³ This celebration so incensed the demented king that he

→ Clay, *AJSL*, XXIII (1907), 269 f.

² The text should be amended so that this verse reads: "And it was when David returned from slaying the Philistine, the women from all the cities of Israel came out to meet David."

³ The rendering of this song in our versions:

Saul has slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands,

is quite out of the question. The song recurs elsewhere twice, 21:12 and 29:5, and the nouns are in the singular in every case. Moreover, *הִכָּה* is a very common verb, and invariably in other places requires an accusative for the direct object. The grammatical rendering is therefore:

Saul has slain with his thousand,
And David with his myriad.

It is not easy to see what force the preposition has, but it certainly cannot be ignored. The meaning may possibly be that "thousand" and "myriad" refer to the respective forces of Saul and David. It is presumable that the interpretation of the song would be clear enough if we had fuller details of the battle. The point of the song is that David is praised more highly than Saul.



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ON ISRAEL'S ORIGINS

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There is a peculiar fascination in the study of origins. The beginnings of social and religious institutions, the elements which have gone into the mental and physical structures of man, the genesis of life itself, both in the animal and in the vegetable kingdoms, the origin of our earth and of the solar systems of the universe—these are the problems toward the attempt of whose solution man seems to be drawn as irresistibly as the moth to the candle, and, one may add, often with considerable damage to fancy's wings. I suspect that this tendency is to be accounted for not wholly by the assumption that man is unable to find rest until he has discovered the "why" and "whence" of things, but in part by the fact that here there is room for the free play of the imagination. We like to construct, and, next to the building of castles in the air, the construction of hypotheses satisfies this craving. We grow restive as we arrange in order the well-attested events of history or analyze the character of even the most daring innovator; but when we turn from these prosaic tasks to the study of a people's myths and legends, to the problem of extracting therefrom what we choose to regard as the underlying facts and of combining these with those scraps of historical narrative which are always imbedded in the "early histories" of nations, we are immediately placed in a position where hypotheses are necessary, and we are happy.

But we must not suppose that this interest in beginnings is of recent origin. We turn to the Old Testament and find that the men who set about to write the history of the Hebrew people felt that so important a theme demanded an exhaustive treatment, and so, like Mr. Knickerbocker of a later day, they began with the creation of the world. These men were not driven to hypotheses, as are our moderns, by the exhaustion of the supply of historical

data; they calmly availed themselves of the inexhaustible store of myths and legends which were afloat in the land, and, thus supplied, easily filled in all gaps. Their only embarrassment was an *embarras de richesses*. Where the scientific mind puts forth a hypothesis the primitive mind creates a myth, and my readers will surely agree with me when I add that the positive statements of the latter usually make more interesting reading than the "ifs" and "perhapses" of the former.

A great advance in our understanding of the mythology of the Hebrews was brought about by Gunkel in his *Sagen der Genesis* and other works. The stories of Genesis are similar to those of other peoples. Naïve folk-tales answering such questions as whence came heaven and earth, why men observe the Sabbath, how speech originated and why different peoples speak different languages, why we wear clothes, why the serpent crawls on its belly, and a hundred others, constitute a group of aetiological myths. Then there is a group of ethnological myths, explaining why Canaan is the servant of his brothers, why Japheth has so large a territory, why this or that people lives where it does, and so forth. Many cult-myths explain the origin of the sacredness of this or that national sanctuary—Bethel, Beersheba, Hebron, and others; or the reasons underlying ritual customs such as the anointing of sacred stones. The etymological stories account for the names of the patriarchs (Isaac, Jacob, Israel, etc.) as well as for many place-names, and, like the other classes of myths, contain much that is of value for the study of Hebrew life and thought, even if they do jar the nerves of modern linguistic science. With such a supply of myths at hand, the writers who desired to go into the origins of the Hebrew people had only to choose and arrange their materials. When the stories of the heroes of the nation were to be told, the supply of popular legends, which was probably even greater than that of the myths, was an ever-present help in times when historical records failed.

There was a point, however, at which some of the writers of about the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. were probably genuinely embarrassed—namely, the point at which it was necessary for them to decide as to the way in which to approach the matter of the origin of

the national religion. Yahweh was in theory at least, if not in practice, the God and only God of Israel. He was worshiped in different places. But the myths connected with some of these seemed to indicate that they had originally been sacred to other gods, to certain *el's*—El-Olam of Beersheba, El-Bethel of Bethel, El-Roi of Kadesh, El-Berith of Shechem, El-Pachad of Mizpah, El-Shaddai and El-Elyon, whose place connections we cannot determine. Furthermore, the common people kept making pilgrimages to shrines like Bethel and Gilgal where they practiced cults which were objectionable to those who stood for what they regarded as pure and undefiled Yahweh-worship. The writers we have in mind belonged to this puritan party, but they were not extremists. One of them, whom modern scholars call E,¹ held that Yahweh first revealed himself to Moses (Exod. 3:14), and consequently Yahweh's name does not appear in his stories of the patriarchs;² the other, whom we call J,¹ has Yahweh prepare the way from the foundation of the world for the people of his choice. Both E and J make Moses the organizer of the nation and of the national worship—that is, of the worship of Yahweh. The nation and the religion were organized, according to these writers, in the period between the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan. If doubts were being expressed in their day as to the legitimacy of the worship at such places as Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba, the sacredness of these shrines was vouched for by the stories which told of Yahweh's appearance there to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This procedure may seem to us similar to that of the pious Christian monks who sprinkled holy water upon the sacred lakes and tarns or inserted images of the Virgin into the trunks of oaks, which were the objects of worship of the heathen Germanic tribes; but we must always bear in mind the fact that canons of historical criticism were non-existent in those days—for which some of us are exceedingly grateful—and, further, that these “warblers of poetic prose” were enunciating their expanding faith in an eternal, almighty, and ubiquitous god.

¹ Whether J and E are to be regarded as individuals or groups of writers is immaterial for our discussion.

² He held, however, that Yahweh had appeared to these as El-Roi, El-Pachad, etc.

It was J and E, then, who gathered together most of the material out of which the Old Testament hypothesis¹ of Israel's origins was constructed. We have already indicated the probable source of much of that material. What has modern biblical scholarship done with this hypothesis?

Modern critical² scholarship is almost unanimously of the opinion that Yahweh was originally a Midianite god connected with Mount Sinai, whither neighboring tribes, probably including those which later made up Israel, repaired from time to time to worship.

But even though Yahweh was originally the name of the god of Sinai [I quote from Marti's *Religion of the Old Testament*—one would find almost the same words in any other work on the religion of Israel by a scholar of the Wellhausen school], it immediately received a higher significance under the Israelites than that which it had possessed as the god of the confederate tribes of Mount Sinai. The reason is this: Yahweh manifested himself in history by the liberation of the Israelites from the Egyptian bondage; he led them safely to Kadesh, and there united them with the kindred tribes to form one people. . . . The instrument which Yahweh used in order to make known his power both in Egypt and at Kadesh was Moses, the leader of the people and the prophet. . . . The nation's very first steps were taken in the direction which led to the highest goal: this we realize as we notice, firstly, that the ideal of later ages is nothing else than the further development of the principles laid down by Moses, and, secondly, that in the ethical demands which the prophets made they were conscious of being in harmony with the origins of the religion of Israel.

Briefly put, the critical scholars of our day make the covenant at Sinai the starting-point of Yahwism in Israel. In case the excursion to Mount Sinai is ruled out, and this is done by many, the "enthronement of Yahweh at Kadesh" (I use Gressmann's phrase) takes the place of the covenant at Sinai. In any case Moses is regarded as the "leader of the people" (organizer of the nation) and "prophet" (organizer of the religion). In other words, critical scholars have accepted the essential features of the JE hypothesis of Israel's beginnings. Of course these scholars admit the legendary character of the whole cycle of Moses stories, but believe that it is possible by critical methods to get at the history back of these

¹ To them it was, of course, history.

² "Conservative" scholars, like J and E, regard the stories of the Pentateuch as history, so we need not tarry with them.

legends. They also recognize the necessity of keeping constantly before one's eyes, during these excursions into pre-history, the later development of the religion of Israel as this may be traced in the historical records and the prophetic writings. The results arrived at are, therefore, based upon careful and cautious reasoning. Nevertheless, the writer doubts the validity of much of this reasoning, and it is the purpose of this paper to air this doubt.

For reasons which will become apparent as we go along, our discussion will be opened with a brief résumé of the connections between Babylonia and the Westland, Syria-Palestine, before the entrance of the Israelites into the latter region. The Exodus and Conquest will next engage our attention. We shall then be ready to attack some of the problems connected with the religious origins of Israel. Let me add, by way of parenthesis, that it is not to be inferred from the opening sentence of the program here outlined that any flirtation with the theories of the pan-Babylonists is contemplated.

From the very dawn of history Amurru, the Amorite land, seems to have attracted every Babylonian king whose prowess had subdued all rivals in the Tigris-Euphrates valley and whose ambition was now urging him to seek new worlds to conquer. Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk (Erech, Gen. 10:10), whose date is to be put at about 2850 B.C., tells us, in an inscription on a votive vase dedicated to the god Enlil of Nippur, that his conquests extended "from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof," and that Enlil had "made straight his path from the Lower Sea over the Euphrates and the Tigris to the Upper Sea." The "Lower Sea" was the Persian Gulf, and the "Upper Sea" was probably at this time, as it certainly was later, the Mediterranean. After a reign of twenty-five years the Sumerian Lugalzaggisi was overthrown and taken captive by the Semite Sargon (Sharru-kin), founder of the dynasty of Akkad. The legend of Sargon, according to which he was the son of a poor woman who exposed him on the river in a basket of reeds, is probably the prototype of the stories relating the hairbreadth infantile escapes of Moses, Romulus, and other legendary heroes connected with the beginnings of nations. We shall see later that the story of Sargon's western conquests formed one of the cuneiform

copy-book exercises of a Hittite scribe in Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C. According to Sargon's own inscriptions, which came to light only recently,¹ his victorious march westward was across the countries of Mari, Yarmuti, and Ibla, and extended as far as the "Cedar Forest" and the "Silver Mountain." Mari² lay about halfway up the Euphrates from Babylonia, while the location of Yarmuti, which is undoubtedly the same as the Yarimuti of the Amarna Letters and which was, until the discovery of the new Sargon texts, thought to be a district in the Egyptian Delta, must be sought for in Northern Syria or possibly along the Cilician coast. Ibla must also have been located in this corner of Western Asia. The Cedar Forest may have been the Lebanons or Mount Amanus, while the Silver Mountain was in all probability some part of the Taurus Range where silver was mined in ancient times. These latter names undoubtedly furnish the clue to the object of this campaign of Sargon's. He was after the precious metal and the equally precious building material.

We have inscriptional evidence that two more kings of this dynasty, Naram-Sin and Shargani-sharre, reached the Westland.

Our attention is now directed to a ruler of Southern Babylonia, or Sumer, Gudea by name and patesi of Lagash (modern Telloh) by title. His date is 2600 B.C., plus or minus. Gudea was a great builder of temples and brought cedars and other building materials from "Amanus the mountains of Amurru" as well as from "Tidanu" (probably the anti-Lebanons). The inscriptions which tell of this contain no allusions to warlike operations on Gudea's part, from which it has been inferred, and probably rightly so, that the relations of this ruler with foreign countries were of a peaceful nature. It is possible, however, that the absence of such references is due to a certain delicacy of feeling, also found later in Nebuchadrezzar and some other neo-Babylonian kings, which forbade the boastful narration of military achievements in the humble record of pious deeds.

When we reach the time of the dynasty of Ur, *ca.* 2469-2353 B.C., we begin to find increasing evidence of movements in the reverse

¹ Poebel, *Historical Texts*, pp. 173 f.

² See Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, p. 4.

direction, namely, from the Westland toward Babylonia. That such movements did not, however, begin at this time is shown by a reference in an inscription of Eannadum, who lived probably two centuries before the time of Sargon of Akkad, which indicates that Mari (see above) was in league with the kings of Kish, the old enemies and frequently the overlords of the city-kingdoms of Sumer. Ur was of course a Sumerian city, but the Semitic names of the last kings of this Ur dynasty, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, as well as a reference to a Dagan temple in the date formulae of the time of Dungi, the second king, show that the whole of the line was Semitic and, more than that, West-Semitic.

The earliest historical records which have been preserved for us picture the Sumerian city-kingdoms in a state of chronic warfare with each other. It evidently was an easy matter for some West-Semitic chieftain to fight his way into the land and establish himself as ruler of one or more cities. But what one could do others might try, and that they did is shown by a date formula of Gimil-Sin which reads: "Year in which Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, built the wall of the Amorites called 'warding off Tidnim'" (cf. Tidanu of the Gudea inscription). But walls (there are no natural defenses of Babylonia on the Arabian side) could not hold back the Amorites. About 2352 B.C. Ishbi-Urra came from Mari (see above) and founded a dynasty in Isin, another city of Sumer.

The Isin dynasty had a rival in the dynasty of Larsa (Ellasar of Gen. 14:1), which was established soon after the advent of Ishbi-Urra. About 2143 B.C. the Elamite Kudur-Mabuk succeeded in putting his son Warad-Sin upon the throne of Larsa. This king was followed by his brother Rim-Sin, who captured Isin in 2115 B.C. But while these rival dynasties were fighting for the control of Sumer, another band of West-Semites pushed into and subdued Akkad, the northern part of Babylonia. Their first center in the valley seems to have been Sippar, but Babylon was soon made their capital and gave the name to their line of kings—the First Dynasty of Babylon (2223–1926 B.C.). Our chief interest is in the sixth and greatest of these rulers, Hammurabi, who in his thirty-first year overthrew Rim-Sin and became master of the whole of

Sumer and Akkad. A number of references in the inscriptions from his reign and from those of his successors indicate that Amurru may have been brought fairly well under the control of these kings. But, whatever the extent and degree of the Babylonian authority in the Westland, it was of comparatively short duration, for the First Dynasty came to an end in 1926 B.C.

That the kings of the First Dynasty, who, as we have seen, hailed from the Westland, early became good Babylonians is to be taken for granted. Their problem was the same as that of the kings of Ur before them, namely, to hold back, or at least control, the ever-increasing stream of westerners which was sweeping from the desert and steppes to the westward down into the rich alluvial plain of Babylonia. How small their success was in the first regard is to be seen in the large number of West-Semitic personal names found on the documents from this epoch.

We now jump across half a millennium to the Amarna period, roughly 1400 B.C. The Babylonian records from the intervening centuries are few and for our purpose unimportant.

The documents which are to interest us now are the well-known Amarna Tablets, found in Egypt in 1886. Part of these form the correspondence between the Egyptian Pharaohs, the Amenhoteps III and IV and their "brothers," the kings of Karduniash (Babylonia), Assyria, Mitanni, Arzawa, Alashia (Cyprus), and Hatti (the Hittite land), but the majority are letters which passed between the Egyptian court and the Syrian and Palestinian vassals of the Pharaohs.

The first thing that strikes us about these letters is the script and language in which they were written. That the Assyrian and Babylonian kings should have written to the Pharaoh in the cuneiform script and the Babylonian tongue is not surprising, but that the Hittites, Mitannians, and other non-Semitic peoples should have made use of these when writing to the Egyptian king is certainly remarkable. And most astonishing of all is the fact that the correspondence carried on between the Pharaohs and their vassals in Syria-Palestine should have been in the Babylonian language and script. And the explanation of this phenomenon? Babylonian was the diplomatic and commercial language, the *lingua franca* of

the ancient world in this period.¹ The Amarna Letters are not our only witness to this fact. Cuneiform documents dating from about the same period as the Amarna Tablets and containing the correspondence which passed between Syrian chieftains were unearthed by the excavations in Palestine. In 1907 Professor Winckler published a preliminary account of the royal archives of the Hittites which he uncovered at Boghaz-Keui, a village lying east of the Halys in Central Asia Minor and occupying the site of the ancient capital of the Hittites. Here, too, the cuneiform script and the Babylonian language were employed for the writing of domestic and foreign documents. The Babylonian script was also used to write the Hittite language. The same state of affairs obtained in Mitanni and Arzawa.

Let us look at this situation for a moment longer. The ancient world was divided between two great civilizations, the one on the Nile, the other on the Euphrates. The rulers of both of these empires regarded the territory which lay between them as their legitimate prey. The Babylonian kings for the most part were content to make occasional raids to the West for such plunder as these might bring and to keep the paths open to the cedar forests and other sources of much-coveted building material. Only in the case of Hammurabi and his successors do we have evidence of what may have been an attempt to organize some of these western regions (the Aleppo district?) under Babylonian rule. But we are not even sure of this. Certainly the Kassite kings of the Amarna period recognized the Pharaohs as lords of Syria.²

Egypt, on the other hand, seems to have put forth efforts from earliest times to dominate the whole of Syria-Palestine and was actually master here for centuries. And yet it was not the Egyptian tongue with the facile reed and the almost imponderable papyrus, but the Babylonian language written in an awkward script upon cumbersome clay tablets, that won the day.

How this came about is easily understood when we study our Babylonian history. The Babylonians were pre-eminently a commercial people. Their neighbors and kinsmen the Assyrians had

¹ In a later day the Aramaic played this rôle.

² "Kinahhi (Canaan) is thy land" (Kn. No. 8, 25 f.), the words of Burrahuriash to the Pharaoh.

planted a trading colony in Cappadocia as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. The Amarna Letters furnish ample evidence that Babylonian merchants were actively engaged in trade with Syria-Palestine and the Westland generally about the middle of the following millennium. The history we have passed in review showed that the only barriers between Babylonia and Amurru were walls built by the Babylonian kings to "ward off Tidnim." The western campaigns of these rulers prevented the rise of dangerously large states in Syria and, what is more important, kept open the paths of trade.

We may be sure, therefore, that from time immemorial the caravans of the Babylonian merchants regularly visited the Westland and brought to this region, not only Babylonian wares, but also the Babylonian language and script. This was not all. If we examine the commercial conquest of Africa now being accomplished by the Arabic-speaking Moslems, we find that the traders are carrying even more than Arabic commercial terms along with their merchandise. Mohammedan customs, law, and religion penetrate as far as the trader goes; every Moslem is a missionary. To be sure, we have no evidence that the Babylonian merchant was interested in the soul's salvation of his western customers; his interests were probably strictly commercial; nevertheless he was the bearer of other than material goods.

Now it looks as if most of the Syrian-Palestinian weights and measures had come from Babylonia. Who but the Babylonian merchant could have brought them? It is a well-known fact that many of the laws found in the Torah of the Hebrews, especially those found in the so-called Book of the Covenant, are strikingly similar to laws found in the Code of Hammurabi, a code which was in existence a thousand years before the Torah and which defined business procedure, not only for Hammurabi's day, but for all future time in Babylonia. And business in Babylonia was much more of a legal matter than it is with us. The written document, drawn up by the notary and bearing the names and seals (or equivalent) of witnesses, was absolutely essential to any business transaction.¹ Is it not highly probable that the Babylonian

¹ That it was not safe to do business otherwise may be seen from sections 9 and following of the Code of Hammurabi.

merchants brought west with them their Babylonian way of doing business—in other words, introduced into Syria-Palestine Babylonian business law? We shall come back to this matter of the connections between Hebrew and Babylonian law later. Professor Zimmern has gathered together many of the commercial and other technical terms common to the Babylonian language and one or more of the other Semitic tongues (the Hebrew of course included), and it is clear that in a large number of cases the evidence points to Babylonia as the original source of much of the culture of the other Semitic peoples.¹ We have already called attention to the fact that a Hittite scribe in Egypt used as his copy-book exercise a story concerning the western conquests of Sargon of Akkad. In this story another hero, Adamu by name, is mentioned.² This may be the source of the Old Testament name of the ancestor of the race. Other scribes practiced their cuneiform by copying the Adapa-myth, the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal, and other bits of Babylonian literature. Is it not probable that the Babylonian account of the Deluge, which certainly was the source of the Old Testament Flood Story, reached Canaan in the same way? The similarity of the infantile adventures of Moses and Sargon has already been referred to. The legend of Sargon may well have lightened the labors of the Canaanite scribes as they plodded on toward the mastery of the cuneiform. Finally, lest we forget that the Babylonian merchant had wares for sale, let me remind you that according to the Old Testament tradition among the first spoil taken by the Israelites as they entered the Promised Land was “a goodly Babylonish mantle” (Josh. 7:21).

Our further interest in the Amarna Letters centers in the remarkable picture which these furnish us of conditions in Syria in the fourteenth century B.C. It is a picture of chaos. A century before, the Pharaoh Thutmose III had re-established Egyptian rule in Syria, which had been lost in the confusion of the Hyksos period. His immediate successors seem to have been able to maintain order in the land, but under Amenhotep III and especially under Amenhotep IV, who was more interested in theology than in political problems, there was a complete relapse. The Amarna Letters,

¹ *Die akkadische Lehnwörter*, etc.

² See Sayce in *PSBA*, 1915, pp. 227 f.

supplemented by the Boghaz-Keui documents already referred to, allow us not only to follow but also to account for this decline of Egyptian authority in Syria. A strong Hittite state was forming in Central Asia Minor, and before long it was pushing into Northern Syria. The local Syrian princes were compelled to make their choice between loyalty to the Pharaoh and submission to the Hittite king. The latter was at hand with his army, while the former seemed unable to realize the gravity of the situation in spite of the numerous and frantic letters which came to him from those who would gladly have remained loyal, and so we are not surprised to find the Pharaoh's vassals making the best possible terms with the Hittite. At the same time that the Hittites were encroaching upon the northern portions of Syria and alienating, by force or intrigue, the subjects of the Pharaoh, there were steadily advancing into the fertile regions of Syria-Palestine bands of nomadic and semi-nomadic people from the desert and steppe land to the eastward. In the Letters these invaders of Syria-Palestine are referred to as the *Sutu* or the *Habiri* (*SA-GAZ*). It is evident that they were ready to attach themselves to any local dynast who could pay them well or to any free-lance who could guarantee them booty—and more and more of these were springing up. Most scholars have assumed that the *Hebrews* of a later day were part of the *Habiri*. This brings us to the problems connected with the Exodus and Conquest.

If it were necessary to settle the problems which confront us here before going on, there would be no going on. But this is not necessary, for it is the object of this discussion to show, or try to show, that the attempt to make the exodus from Egypt and the covenant at Sinai (or Kadesh) the starting-point of Israel's national life as well as of Yahwism must be given up. We need not even pass in review the many attempts that have been made at the solution of these problems. There is one point—and it is about the only one—on which there is agreement, and that is the point of departure. That the starting-point of any discussion of the Exodus must be the so-called Israel-stela of Merneptah, found in 1896, is generally recognized. From this stela we learn that Israel was in Canaan, and probably in the hills of Ephraim, about the

year 1225 B.C. This is the earliest historical reference to Israel that has yet come to light. Most scholars hold that Israel must have left Egypt a generation or more before this date; Eerdmans, on the other hand, believes that Israel did not enter Egypt until after it. Then again we find scholars trying to overcome some of the difficulties that confront them by dividing Israel. According to their hypothesis, it was only the Rachel tribes (or Jacob) who sojourned in Egypt and came out from there in or before Merneptah's day. The Leah tribes (or Israel) were in Canaan as early as the Amarna period. There are even those who would compel us to take down our dictionary and look up the plural of exodus.

Besides the name of Israel found on the Merneptah stela, there are two other names occurring in extra-biblical documents which have been drawn into this discussion. The first of these is the name of a body of foreigners who did task work on the temples of Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.) and were still working in Egyptian quarries a century or more later. They were called *aper* or *apri* (^c*pr* or ^c*prj*: the Egyptian script does not vocalize its words). The second name is that of the people whom we found pushing into Canaan in the Amarna period, namely, the Habiri. Both of these names have been identified with the Old Testament word "Hebrew," *ibri*. At the present time the majority of scholars are inclined to reject the first identification, while they accept the second. It is noticeable, however, that since a reference to the "gods of the Habbiri" was discovered on one of the Boghaz-Keui documents it has been found more necessary than ever to insist that the Hebrews could have been only a *part* of the Habiri mentioned in the Amarna Letters. This became imperative when it developed that *SA-GAZ* people were mentioned as early as 2000 B.C. in a letter of Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam. The fact is that *habbiri* seems to have been one of two (the other was *habbatu*) words meaning "plunderer," or the like, which might be written ideographically in the Babylonian as *SA-GAZ*. Furthermore it seems evident that this ideogram and its phonetic equivalents were used to designate from at least 2000 B.C. the nomadic tribes living to the west of Babylonia, whose depredations no doubt warranted the application of the name "plunderer" to them. The writer is of the opinion that

the linguistic difficulties in the way of identifying *ḥabbiri* with "Hebrew" are much more serious than is usually supposed;¹ nevertheless, he is of the firm conviction that the tribes which were then, or later became, Israel entered Canaan in the Amarna times—that is, about 1400–1300 B.C. The reasons for this belief follow.

Israel was in Canaan in 1225 B.C. or thereabouts. This is the historical fact with which we must start. In the next place, the Amarna Letters furnish us the indubitable evidence of an invasion of Syria-Palestine during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (1411–1358) by the Sutú and *SA-GAZ* (*ḥabiri*) peoples—that is, by the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes which roamed the desert and steppe lands which stretch along the Euphrates from Babylonia to Syria. As already indicated the cuneiform texts mention these "plunderers" as early as the days of Hammurabi, and no doubt they had been collecting *baksheesh* from the Babylonian merchants from time immemorial. Now they were pushing, or more likely being pushed, out of their old stamping-grounds. In other words, Arabia, the cradle of the Semites, was sending forth one of its periodic waves of hungry tribesmen into the more favored regions round about. Such a wave of migration extends over centuries of time, and we cannot, therefore, be absolutely certain that the particular hordes we read about in the Amarna Letters included the tribes which then or later made up Israel. These might have entered the land before or after the Amarna period. Gressmann, for example, speaks without qualification of a second and more gentle wave of Aramean tribesmen which the "Eastland spat out" and which spread over the south of Palestine, the Negeb and Desert of Judea, where they lived the sorry but untrammelled life of the semi-nomad until drought and famine compelled to new wanderings.² Egypt, or Goshen, was the refuge of such starving tribes. This second wave of Aramean tribesmen, the Hebrews of the Old Testament, came out of the East, according to Gressmann,

¹ The word *ḥabbiri* is probably a *kattil*-form, like *ḥabbatu* (*kattal*), not = *ʿābir* <*ʿōbēr* (participle), as Böhl thinks (*Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, p. 89). Besides, the gentilic *ʿibrī* = "Hebrew" can hardly have come from the participial form *ʿābir*. The Old Testament is right in regarding *ʿeber*, "Heber," as the name from which the gentilic is derived. No more could the gentilic be formed from a *kattil*-form like *ḥabbiri*.

² Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, chap. iii, pp. 393 f.

by 1300 B.C. at the latest. We need not inquire into the reasons for Gressmann's assumption (there is not a scrap of evidence to prove it fact) of a second wave of migration. At this point we are merely interested in the implications of such a hypothesis.

Let us return to the Amarna Letters. Is it possible to determine from these letters whether the invading tribes from the East succeeded in establishing themselves in the land? If so, in what parts? The answer of the letters to these questions has already been given by Böhl,¹ who calls our attention to the interesting fact that, while in most instances the names of the cities from which the Palestinian letters were sent are not mentioned, nevertheless, when such names are given, they are those of cities which the Israelites never conquered or which did not fall into their hands until long after the entrance into Canaan (cf. Judg., chap. 1). The coast cities like Tyre, Sidon, Akko, and Askelon, together with Megiddo, Gezer, Lachish, and, most important of all, Jerusalem, are examples. Why do we not have letters from such old centers as Bethel, Hebron, Beersheba, Shiloh, and Gibeon? Böhl admits that their absence may be accidental, but believes that another explanation is more probable, namely, that we have no letters from these cities because they were already in the hands of the Israelites. To this *argumentum e silentio* he is able to add positive evidence. Besides Jerusalem, Shechem was one of the most important centers of the Israelite territory. We have only to recall our Old Testament history to realize this. Furthermore, it is evident from the tradition as well as from the early history that this was one of the first Canaanite cities to fall into the hands of the invading Israelites (cf. Gen., chap. 34; 48:22; Josh., chap. 24; Judg., chap. 9). Now Shechem is mentioned but once in the Amarna Letters (Kn. 289, 23), and, although the passage presents linguistic difficulties, it is almost certain from this reference that the Habiri were at the time in possession of that city.

Böhl also calls attention to the biblical chronology which puts the exodus from Egypt 480 years before the beginning of the building of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:1). The entrance into Canaan would fall, according to this chronology, at about 1414 B.C. Judg.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 67 f.

11:26 estimates the length of Israel's occupation of the east Jordan country up to Jephthah's day at 300 years. Now the writer is aware (as was Böhl) of the usual treatment these figures receive at the hands of critical scholars. But have we really disposed of them when they are bracketed and declared late insertions into the text? Where did the later writers get hold of them? Out of their thumbs? Before we can get rid of these figures, which were undoubtedly rough estimates, we must show cause for doubting the possibility that there was preserved for these later writers in the tradition or even in writing the number of generations which had come and gone since Israel entered Canaan. However, we do not care to insist upon using these figures as evidence of the date of Israel's entrance into the Promised Land. But we do insist that the Amarna Letters make it as clear as we could possibly expect documents of this nature to do, that the invaders of Canaan mentioned therein were gaining or had already gained a foothold in the regions later occupied by the Israelite tribes. Of course it is possible that the invasion of Canaan in the Amarna period was similar to the exploit of the king of France who marched up the hill and then marched down again. But if the invaders stayed, what then? Either they absorbed the native population or were absorbed by this. In either case the process must have been a slow one. Gressmann's second wave of migration—that is, the Hebrews—after their sojourn in the Negeb, their experiences in Egypt and Kadesh, entered the Promised Land about 1230 B.C., roughly a century after the Amarna period, and began the conquest of the land all over again. Unless the previous invaders had left the land or had become Canaanites in a remarkably short time, it is difficult to harmonize Gressmann's hypothesis with the early history of the Israelites as found in Judges. Sisera's nine hundred chariots of iron would alone be evidence that the Israelites in their conquest of Canaan did not come up against newcomers, but against an old and highly civilized population. Gressmann's hypothesis is merely an attempt to wave the magic wand of criticism over admitted legend and have history issue therefrom.

There is a further bit of evidence which points to the Amarna period as the time of Israel's invasion of Canaan. The excavators

of the site of the ancient Jericho are convinced on archaeological grounds that the destruction of the Canaanite wall and city cannot be put later than the Amarna times.¹ Now, according to the Old Testament traditions the capture of Jericho was the first exploit of the invading Israelites. How does this fit in with Gressmann's second-wave hypothesis? It would mean that the Canaanite Jericho had withstood the *SA-GAZ* and Sutuh whose activities in the Amarna period threatened every city in the land and brought to an end Egyptian rule in Canaan and then fell a victim to a hand-ful of Israelites a century later.

Just a word about the sojourn in Egypt. That there is a kernel of history in the tradition of Israel's stay in Egypt is not to be doubted. We know that Edomite clans were allowed to pasture their flocks in Goshen, but this does not compel us to accept the Old Testament legends as history. The only evidence as to the date of the sojourn in Egypt is furnished by the reference to the store-cities Pithom and Raamses (Exod. 1:11). These cities were built by Ramses II, who reigned from about 1292 to 1225 B.C. The whole or part of the stay in Egypt must have fallen between these two dates. Gressmann puts the exodus from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan between the years *ca.* 1260 and 1225 B.C. The latter date is determined by the Merneptah stela (see above). This would, of course, exclude the possibility of placing the Conquest in the Amarna period unless the sojourn in Egypt came after the Conquest (Eerdmans). Now it seems to the writer that the problem has been made unnecessarily difficult by the assumption that all or practically all of the tribes that later made up Israel had been in Egypt. Meyer, in page after page of the most cogent argument, based upon the Old Testament records themselves, has shown what should have been clear from the most casual reading of these—namely, the fact that Israel and Judah developed almost entirely independent of each other, the former in the North, the latter in the South (Negeb). For a short time only, under David and Solomon, were the southern tribes a part of Israel.² When "Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to Shechem to

¹ Sellin und Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 181.

² Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, especially pp. 442 f.

make him king," and "when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents" (I Kings 12:1, 16) and stayed there. The conquest of Canaan by *Israel* in the Amarna period is, therefore, not rendered improbable by the admission of a sojourn of one (Levi?) or more of the *southern* tribes in Egypt in the days of Ramses II. Whether the same wave of migration which brought the Israelites into the hills of Ephraim and the surrounding territory also took the southern tribes into the Negeb is a question which cannot be answered. But the events which took place in the full light of history make it almost impossible to assume that there had been any such organization into one nation of the northern and southern tribes as the stories of the Exodus, the Covenant at Sinai, and the Conquest take for granted. If Israel's conquest of the North and gradual growth into a nation were independent of developments in the South, as we believe was the case, then the first part of the Old Testament and higher-critical hypothesis which makes Moses the leader of the people (organizer of the nation) and prophet (organizer of the religion) falls to the ground.

What about Moses as organizer of the religion? Here we approach our main problem. Fortunately, most of the labor toward the solution of this problem has already been done, and it is possible for us to be very brief.

The Covenant at Sinai, according to the Old Testament hypothesis, the enthronement of Yahweh at Kadesh under the leadership of Moses the prophet, according to the hypothesis of our critical scholars, marks the beginning of the worship of Yahweh in Israel. Over against the hypothesis of the Covenant at Sinai I would place the results of the brilliant work of Bernhard Luther and Eduard Meyer on the cult of Shechem (*Israeliten*, pp. 542 f.). They begin with an analysis of Deut. 11:26-30 and 27:1-26, and find that the underlying account *traced the worship at Shechem with its altar on Mount Gerizim and the ceremony of the blessings and curses back to a command of Moses*. This was evidently the story as told by an Israelite, namely E, who saw in Shechem the chief

sanctuary of the land. The account was worked over by Deuteronomic writers (11:26-28; 27:8, 9 f., 11-13) and cut in two by the insertion of the book of the law (chaps. 12-26). Later the ceremony of the blessings and curses was transferred together with the mountains Gerizim and Ebal to Gilgal near Jericho (Deut. 11:30). The passage in Josh. 8:30-35 was also "corrected." The reason is evident. Gerizim and Shechem could not be allowed such honors by those who saw in Zion and Jerusalem the center of Yahwism. Finally, the clumsy substitution of Ebal for Gerizim was made in Deut. 27:4 and Josh. 8:30.

The next step takes us to the account of the last days of Joshua (Josh., chap. 24). At the close of his career Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem (vs. 1) and "made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem. And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God; and he took a great stone and set it up there under the oak that was by the sanctuary of Jehovah. And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness against us; for it has heard all the words of Jehovah which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness against you, lest ye deny your God" (vss. 25 f.). This great stone is evidently the same as the one mentioned in Judg. 9:6, **אלון מצב**, "the oak of the pillar, *maṣṣebah*." Note particularly the words "and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem," **וישם לו חק ומשפט בשכם**. Almost the same words are put into the mouth of Moses at Marah, **שם שם לו חק ומשפט** (Exod. 15:25). The making of the covenant is mentioned in Exod. 34:28, at the end of the older Decalogue, and in Exod. 24:3-8, in connection with the Book of the Covenant. It is, of course, a well-known fact that we have two accounts of the acceptance of Yahweh as the only God of Israel, the putting away of strange gods, the giving of the law and making of a covenant. These epoch-making events in the history of Israel's religion are the work of Moses at Sinai (Horeb) and Kadesh. But the job is done all over again by Joshua at Shechem. That we have here but variant accounts of the same events has long been suspected, but it remained for Luther and Meyer to insist that the account which attributes this work to Joshua at Shechem is undoubtedly the

older. The law-giving and entrance into covenant relationship, accompanied with the ceremony of the blessings and curses, clearly belong to Shechem, the home of the old *Baal-berith* or *El-berith* (lord or god of the covenant). It would appear, therefore, as if the law-giving and covenant at Sinai would have to be set aside as unhistorical, and that the fathers of the Samaritan woman who "worshiped in this mountain" had been worshiping in the "place where men ought to worship" (John 4:20). In a word, *Gerizim and not Sinai was the mountain of the law.*

It has been suggested that the Book of the Covenant, Exod. 20:22—23:19, originally stood in Josh., chap. 24—that is, formed the "book of the law of God" mentioned in vs. 26. This is doubted by Luther, but, the writer believes, for insufficient reasons. Here at Shechem stood the "oak of the lawgiver" (אלון מוריה, Gen. 12:6 and elsewhere) with a *maššebah* and an altar called "El, god of Israel" (Gen. 33:20). By this same oak, called in this case the "oak of the *maššebah*," אלון מצב, the Shechemites gathered to make Abimelech king (Judg. 9:6). Another sacred tree in this neighborhood was the "oak of the soothsayers" אלון מעננים (Judg. 9:37). Such passages as these show clearly that law-giving was associated with Shechem. The Abimelech episode (Judg., chaps. 9 f.) is but one of the numerous passages in the Old Testament writings which point to Shechem as the political center of Israel in the early days, and the incidents recorded in I Kings 12:1 f. bear witness to the continued political importance of this city even after the union of the North and the South. Although Omri moved the capital to Samaria, Mount Gerizim evidently continued to be the sacred mountain of the Israelites. It has remained to this day the center of the Samaritan worship. If Joshua promulgated any code of laws at Shechem, and if any of this legislation has survived, the writer can think of no part of the Torah as more likely to contain these survivals than the Book of the Covenant. Luther believes that, since Joshua's law-giving was in connection with the covenant, the act whereby Yahweh became the God of Israel, his laws may hardly be looked for in the legal decisions (*Rechtsbestimmungen*) of the Book of the Covenant. Joshua's laws, he thinks, must have been in part, at least, cult-regulations (*kultische Bestimmungen*).

Consequently Exod., chap. 34, makes a greater appeal to him. However, he admits that the "curses" contain no cultregulations whatever. The Shechem-Torah cannot, therefore, have consisted wholly of such. But since the Book of the Covenant contains both kinds of legislation, as he admits it does, it is difficult to see any weight in his objections.

The writer believes that there can be no doubt that the legislation contained in the Book of the Covenant originated in the North. It is almost inconceivable that the South ever produced the material civilization which this code presupposes. We have already pointed out the fact that there is much evidence to show that this Book of the Covenant probably contains the Canaanite adaptation of the Babylonian laws which the merchants from the Tigris-Euphrates valley gradually carried with them to the West-land during the centuries of trade with these regions. This does not, of course, mean that all Canaanite (and Israelite) law came from Babylonia. Canaanite customs crystallized into law just as surely as did Babylonian customs. Soon after the discovery of the Code of Hammurabi the late Professor D. H. Müller, of Vienna, whose sympathies were never with the so-called "higher critics," pointed out, among other things, the fact that the arrangement of the laws in the Code of Hammurabi and in the Book of the Covenant is so nearly identical that it seemed necessary to assume some kind of connection between the two codes. We need not stop to discuss his attempt to derive both codes from an *ur-Semitisch* law and to show that Abraham was the carrier of this to Canaan.¹ The whole question was canvassed again only recently by Johns,² who concludes that borrowing from the Babylonian law seems certain. I shall give but one of several of his very ingenious arguments. According to the Book of the Covenant a Hebrew slave served six years and then went free (Exod. 21:2). Now in Deut. 15:12-18, where the same matter is taken up, a curious statement is added: "It shall not seem hard to thee, when thou lettest him go free from thee; for to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years" (vs. 18). Now, says Johns, the last clause can only mean

¹ *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, especially pp. 210 f.

² *The Relation between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew People.*

that six years' service is the double of something, and that something is evidently *three* years' service. But three years is exactly the length of time the Babylonian slave (for debt) served. Consequently we must assume that a three-year period of service was all the older (Canaanite) law allowed. This three-year period was probably one of the many Babylonian institutions which were taken over into the Canaanite civilization and from there into the Israelite.

The writer would like to call attention to a few more points of possible contact between the Babylonian and the Hebrew legislation. They deal with externals only.

The first point has to do with the matter of the "blessings and curses." In the Deuteronomy passages mentioned above (Deut. 11:29; 27:14 f.) we have an account of the ceremony of the blessings and curses which concluded the law-giving and covenant episode. The twelve curses to which all the people answered and said "Amen" are preserved; the blessings have not come down to us. This has always seemed strange to scholars. The writer believes that the Code of Hammurabi may throw some light upon this matter. At the end of that Code we find a few perfunctory remarks (covering sixteen lines) as to the blessings which will make glad the reign of the future prince who shall uphold the law which Hammurabi laid down. Then follow at great length and in minutest detail (over 280 lines) the curses which all the gods whose names Hammurabi could recall will bring upon the prince who shall set aside that law. A similar preponderance of curses over blessings is to be observed in the "blessings and curses" found at the end of Assyrian inscriptions. The curses were the important thing from the oriental viewpoint. So it is possible that in the ceremony of the blessings and curses, which is perhaps the Canaanite adaptation of the blessings and curses appended to the Babylonian code, and which followed the law-giving and covenant at Shechem, the blessings were passed over with a word, while the curses were recited at great length and with much emphasis. The curses rather than the blessings were depended on to impress the popular mind.

In the second place, if the law-giving and covenant at Shechem, by the hand of Joshua, are the historical facts upon which the account of the Sinai law-giving and covenant are based, then it is

probable that many of the details which stand in the latter account were also derived from the story of the events at Shechem. To one of these details I should like to direct attention.

In Exodus (31:18; 32:15, etc.) we read of Moses' descent from the mount with "the two tables of the testimony in his hand; tables that were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written." Now the word for "tables" (לְחִיט) is also known in the Assyrian-Babylonian (*liu*), and may there denote cuneiform tablets. Whether the tables which Moses (Joshua) brought down from the mount were tables of clay or "tables of stone"—in the Babylonian it might also denote the latter—the fact that they were written on both sides makes one think of cuneiform tablets at once. The official copy of the Code of Hammurabi was inscribed upon a stone pillar, but copies on clay tablets were made for use in the law courts of the different cities of the empire. Fragments of such have come down to us. From these one may estimate the probable number of tablets in such an edition. Six or at most seven is the writer's estimate. Now the Book of the Covenant plus the "curses" would not crowd two cuneiform tablets of similar size. We have laid great stress on the fact that in the Amarna period the Babylonian language and script were in general use in Canaan. Has the Old Testament story preserved the evidence that the *Canaanite* laws handed down from Mount Gerizim were written on clay tablets and in the cuneiform script?

The question of the origin of Yahweh-worship in Israel still remains. Luther states frankly his belief that we are altogether in the dark as to how and when Yahweh came to the Israelites. The writer believes, however, that we have one line of trustworthy evidence open to us, namely, that of the personal names found in the Old Testament. The study of the personal names found in the cuneiform has been of the greatest value for determining the movements of the different racial elements in the Nearer Orient. Gray, in his *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (1896), has summarized the evidence of the Old Testament names for us:

Moses, according to the Old Testament tradition, revealed to the Hebrews the name Yahweh. Whether the name was known before his time, either in

other tribes or in Moses' own family or not, has long been a matter of dispute; and it is a question which the present investigation cannot decide. . . . The next point to be considered is the infrequency of the compounds with יה in the earliest period [before David]; for in view of two facts—(1) the greater frequency in the same period of compounds with אל, (2) the rapid increase of compounds with יה in the following period—we may safely infer that the infrequency of these names in the literature of the earliest period corresponds to infrequency in actual life. . . . Further, the only name which is philologically quite certain and unambiguous, and which goes far back beyond the Davidic period, is יהונתן (Judg. 18:30), and this, significantly enough, is the name of a member of the family of Moses. The other quite early name is יהושוע . . . [pp. 257 f.].

In short, with a very few exceptions, the personal names of the Hebrews before the Davidic period were not compounded with the name of their deity. On the other hand, beginning with this period such compounds become increasingly common. Did Moses introduce Yahweh into Israel?

But, before answering this question, we must tarry a moment over the names found in extra-biblical, cuneiform sources, which have been produced as evidence to show that Yahweh-names are known from at least 2000 B.C.

Barton, in an article "Yahweh before Moses,"¹ has gathered the names together. His attitude is generally skeptical, but he admits the possibility that a goodly number of these examples may contain the name of Yahweh. Now Daiches,² whose work Barton ignored, had already disposed of most of these supposed Yahweh-compounds. Indeed we might have been spared all sorts of wild conjectures had those who took up this matter been willing to keep before them the known facts when they set out to attempt the interpretation of uncertain ones.

First of all, we must bear in mind that there are no personal names containing the element Yahweh (יהוה), either in the Old Testament itself or in the extra-biblical sources (the Aramaic papyri found at Elephantine). The names found in the Old Testament and the papyri which contain the name of the Hebrew deity as an element give that name as Jeho (or Jahu יהו), Jo (י), or Jah (יה).

¹ *Studies in the History of Religion Presented to C. H. Toy* (1912), pp. 187 f.

² In *ZA*, XXII (1909), 125 f.

Furthermore, and this point is particularly emphasized by Daiches, both the biblical and extra-biblical *post-exilic* names invariably have Jah (יה) as second element, never Jahu (יהו), which is used interchangeably with Jah (יה) in the names of the earlier periods. Now these are known quantities. Let us turn to the known quantities in the cuneiform documents. We begin with a few Hebrew names found in the historical texts from the Assyrian period: *Ia-u-ha-zi*=Jehoahaz (יהואחז, evidently the fuller form of the name of which Ahaz, אחז, is an abbreviation), *Ha-za-ki-ia-a-u* (variant forms are found)=Hezekiah (חזקיהו), *Az-ri-ia-a-u*=Azariah (עזריהו; the name is not that of the king of Judah). These Assyrian renderings of western names agree with the Old Testament forms in giving the name of the deity as Jeho or Jahu (יהו). The *h* (ה) of the Hebrew forms would naturally fall out in the Assyrian version. The Murashû texts from Nippur give us the late Babylonian (Persian period) writing of Hebrew names, the names of exiles or their descendants. Here we find *Ia-a-hu-u-na-tan-nu*=Jehonathan (יהונתן). Note that the Hebrew *h* (ה) is here rendered by *h*, the Babylonian equivalent of Hebrew *h* (ח), but more particularly that the determinative for deity (*ilu*) stands before the name. Here יהו is the first element of the name. What about the forms with the name of the deity as second element? Professor Clay¹ has gathered together "no less than twenty-five names which have as a first element a word that has its exact equivalent or parallel in the Bible, which is followed by Jâma or Jâwa." This Jâma (*always* written *ia-a-ma*) should and undoubtedly does correspond to the element Jah (יה) of the post-exilic names mentioned above. The theory of Professor Clay is "that the Babylonian scribe, recognizing the element as being the Hebrew god Yahweh, arbitrarily decided to write it, when it was final in these West-Semitic names, always in accordance with the way they heard the full name pronounced." In other words, Jâma or Jâwa gives the pronunciation of the tetragrammaton יהוה. But, if the Babylonian scribe knew that this was the name of the Hebrew deity, why did he in every case fail to add the determinative *ilu*? Its absence is rendered more noticeable by its

¹ *Light on the Old Testament from Babyl.*, pp. 244 f.

presence in the form ¹⁴*Iđhūnatannu*. And why did he invariably write it *ia-a-ma*? Why not occasionally *ia-ma* or *ia-mi*? There is no reason for thinking that this *ia-a-ma* is anything else than the Babylonian rendering of the Hebrew *Jah* (יָהּ). The *ma* is in all probability the emphatic particle appended hundreds of times to verbal and other forms to draw the accent to the final syllable. The *a* of יָהּ was long and *stressed*.¹ Thus we see that the known quantities of the cuneiform agree with the known quantities of the biblical and non-cuneiform extra-biblical sources in rendering the name of the Hebrew deity as יָהּ (contracted to יִי) or יָהּ when it appears as an element in personal names. If the form יָהּ (an *x* so far as our knowledge of its pronunciation goes) never occurs as an element in the personal names found in biblical and extra-biblical documents, why should we insist on finding it in the cuneiform? The whole vicious circle of reasoning which gathers together names containing elements like *ia-pa*, *ia-ba*, *ia-mi*, and heaven only knows what else, derives from these the pronunciation of the tetragrammaton יָהוָה, ignores the fact that in no case are these supposed renderings of יָהּ preceded by the determinative for deity (which would be the only final test in case the names were not on other grounds clearly recognizable as Hebrew), and then, on the basis of this *x* derived from *y*, concludes that Yahweh was known practically over the whole Semitic world 2000 B.C. and earlier—certainly such reasoning needs no refutation. The elements *ia-pa*, *ia-mi*, and the like are beyond the shadow of a doubt West-Semitic imperfect forms similar to the first elements of names like *iađah-ilu*, *iađbarilu*,

¹ I wonder whether we shall not be compelled to reconsider the significance of the element יָהּ. Is it an abbreviated form of יָהוָה? Or is it the hypocoristic ending *ia*, found in the cuneiform rendering of Semitic (including West-Semitic) names from the earliest to the latest periods? (For the literature on hypocoristic endings see Clay, *Personal Names from the Cassite Period*, p. 23.) That *Jah* is a form of the name of the Hebrew deity follows from יָהּ. But *Jah* is always written יָהּ in this formula (the one exception is Ps. 104:35) which is not the case in personal names. The form Abijam (אֲבִיָּאִם), variant of Abijah (אֲבִיָּאִה), in which the *jam* is the exact equivalent of the *ia-a-ma* of the names mentioned above, certainly looks more like a hypocoristic than like a name containing a shortened form of *Jahu*. That the Hebrews of the later period may have looked upon this hypocoristic ending *ia* as a shortened form of the name of their deity is possible. But it is significant that the determinative *ilu* is never found before *ia-a-ma*, which is, as we saw above, undoubtedly the cuneiform equivalent of יָהּ.

iakub-ilu, and dozens of others. Such a name as *ia-u-ba-ni* of the Cassite period looks at first sight as if it might contain the cuneiform equivalent of Jahu or Jeho. But so long as there are no other reasons for supposing that the name of the Hebrew deity would occur in a Babylonian (*not a Hebrew*) name five hundred years before the time of David, and there certainly are no such reasons, and until the determinative for deity is found prefixed to such a name, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the form. To the writer it seems quite probable that the element *ia-u* is but a variant form of the interrogative pronoun *a-a-u* (*aiiu*). It is true that no example of a writing *ia-u* for this pronoun has been found. But when we turn to the indefinite pronoun *aiiumma* (where *ma* is added to *a-a-u*, *aiiu*) we find the variant writing *ia-um-ma* (cf. Delitzsch, *AGr.*, pp. 153 f.). Furthermore, the hypocoristic forms of *ia-u-ba-ni* (or similar names), namely, *ia-u* and *ia-(a-)u-tum*, found in the same period, certainly argue against taking *ia-u* as the name of a deity.

The cuneiform versions of names containing the name of the Hebrew deity as first or second element all *date from the Assyrian (after 750 B.C.) and later periods and agree with the Old Testament and Aramaic forms of such names in giving the name of that deity as ירה or ירה*.

How and when did Yahwism come to Israel? Perhaps all of the tribes which later made up Israel and Judah knew and worshiped Yahweh before they entered their later homes. If so, it would appear as if we had to assume that all of the stories connected with the patriarchs, the judges, and early heroes were Canaanite stories taken over bodily into the Hebrew tradition. Or, on the other hand, Yahweh was introduced by Moses at a date not long before the time of David—the time when names compounded with ירה and ירה become common, largely superseding the older *El*-compounds.¹ The writer believes that *unless Yahweh was one of the negligible gods of the pantheon of the early Israelites, he was unknown to them until the missionary Levites brought him to them not many generations before the time of David.* An account of one of these missionary activities

¹ The cuneiform documents from the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon show that *El*-compounds were common in the West in 2000 B.C. and earlier.

(naturally worked over by later editors) may be seen in *Judg.*, chaps. 17 f.

Summing up: In the Amarna period, roughly 1400 B.C., a wave of Aramean tribesmen flowed into Canaan from the desert and steppes to the east. Among these were the people who later made up the tribes of Israel. That the names of these tribes as well as their number were changing all the time is to be taken for granted. About 1225 B.C. we hear for the first time of Israel, probably at this time the name of a tribe. Later the name came to be applied to a loose confederacy of the "sons of Jacob." Gradually these newcomers, who at first had simply sat down in the territory of those who could not oust them, absorbed the more advanced civilization of the old Canaanites, intermarried with them, took over the cults connected with the sacred places of the land, and told their children the same stories about these places which had been told by the older population from time immemorial. Thus the heroes (patriarchs) of Israel, as well as the Israelites themselves, came to have names such as are known to have been common in Amurru (the Westland) from before 2000 B.C., names like Jacob-el, Jephthah-el (cf. *Josh.* 19:14, 27), Joseph-el, etc. That these people, however, retained customs and cults which had been theirs before they entered the land is certain. But just which of the customs and cults mentioned in the Old Testament were pre-Canaanite it is hardly possible to determine. At Shechem, Joshua (the name need not have been the same in the oldest versions of the story¹) handed down a code of laws to the Israelites—laws which may for the most part have been codified long before by the Canaanites, perhaps on the basis of the Babylonian legal system (the Code of Hammurabi). Here also the people entered into covenant relationship with Yahweh, who now became the God of Israel. That this God had been known to the Israelites before they entered the land is possible, but not probable. It is more likely that his worship was the result of the missionary propaganda of the Levites from the south (cf. *Judg.*, chaps. 17 f.). These Levites

¹ Note that Joshua is called Hoshea in *Deut.* 32:44, *Num.* 13:8, and in *Num.* 13:16 this is given as the original name. Was Hoshea the Canaanite predecessor of the Israelite Joshua?

may once have been a tribe in the country to the south of the Israelites (among the Israelites themselves, Benjamin, "the son of the right-hand, the south," was evidently the southernmost), but they seem to have been without a country when our history begins. Moses, whose name is Egyptian, was their eponymous hero (Deut. 33:8 f.). The work of the Levite missionaries was taken up and continued by the prophets. But their activities belong to the historical period and need not detain us here. The one thing that seems certain about the ultimate source of Yahwism is that it belongs to "Sinai." "Yahweh came from Sinai, And rose from Seir unto them; He shined forth from mount Paran, And came from Meribah-Kadesh"¹ (Deut. 33:2).

We return to those writers who took their pens in hand to write the history of the Hebrews. They were Yahweh-worshippers. They insisted that the Baal-worship of the Canaanites must go. But the common people loved to gather at the sacred places to listen to the stories of the appearances of the *el*'s to men. J and E told the people that these *el*'s were but manifestations of the true God, Yahweh. Finally, Moses, in whose hands were the Urim and Thummim and who may have introduced Yahweh to Levi (Deut. 33:8 f.), became the great lawgiver of Israel, and Joshua, the earlier lawgiver, became Moses' "minister" who looked on at Sinai. All law-giving was traced back to Moses, just as Solomon received credit for all the proverbs and David for all the psalms which the Hebrews produced. It was the religious experience of the prophets of Israel that made Yahwism the religion which it became, not their adherence to and partial realization of an ideal set up centuries before by Moses.

This paper is nothing more than a modest attempt to show the necessity of keeping constantly before us the history of the whole Nearer Orient when we try to visualize the earliest steps in the political and religious evolution of the Israelites. Wellhausen's great work appeared in 1878, and since that date more than a dozen histories of Israel have been written from the Wellhausenian point of view. That steady progress has been made goes without saying, but the writer feels that, like Darwinism, the evolutionary theory

¹ Following Wellhausen's emendation of the text.

of the Wellhausen school has shown a tendency to become rigid or "orthodox." Meanwhile the rapid advances made in the decipherment of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions have made it necessary to rewrite, perhaps one had better say have made it possible to write for the first time, the ancient history of the Nearer East. The Amarna Letters have thrown a flood of light upon the condition of Syria-Palestine in the middle of the second millennium B.C.—roughly speaking, the "patriarchial period." The discovery of the Code of Hammurabi, which dates from a period more than half a millennium before the traditional date of Moses, has been regarded by many as sufficient reason for reopening the whole question of the development of Israelite legislation. The excavation of mound after mound in Palestine has brought to light an enormous mass of archaeological material which must be taken into consideration in any discussion of the early history of the Hebrews. I believe that most Old Testament scholars feel that the results of all of these new discoveries may be fitted into the Wellhausen theory of Israel's evolution. This is probably true. But that the theory, as far as it applies to the beginnings of Israel, needs radical revision is the view of the historian Eduard Meyer. That some Old Testament scholars have the same feeling is shown by the incisive article on "Some Problems in the Early History of Hebrew Religion" by my colleague Professor J. M. Powis Smith (*AJSL*, XXXII [1916], 81 f.). Indeed, I know of no article in which the problems raised by our larger vision of the early history of the Nearer Orient have been more clearly seen or more forcibly stated. I have approached these problems from the viewpoint of the Assyriologist and have no doubt unduly stressed the Babylonian influences upon the civilization of Canaan. If I have ventured in some cases to suggest answers where my colleague in the Old Testament field was content to state the problems, it may be only another demonstration of the truth of the proverb concerning the rash fools and the reluctant angels, but if I have succeeded in bringing these problems once more before students of the Old Testament then the good old Assyrian phrase, *ulluṣ libbi*, "rejoicing of the heart," will best describe my feelings.



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POSSIBLE BABYLONIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SO-CALLED PHOENICIAN ALPHABET

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Although recent excavations in the Near East have compelled us to make almost daily readjustments in our views on the development of ancient history, nevertheless the tradition, mentioned by Herodotus (Book v. 58) and other classical writers, that the Greeks (Ionians) adopted for their writing the letters of the Phoenicians, seems to maintain an unshaken hold on the credence of scholars. And rightly so: for the Semitic names of the Greek letters would in themselves be the strongest evidence of an Asiatic origin of the European alphabet, even if we did not have the proof positive in the archaic forms of the letters of the early Greek and Phoenician (North Semitic) inscriptions which have survived to our own day. But the moment we raise the question of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet we are confronted by the widest divergence of opinion. "The prevalent theory, universally accepted till a few years ago, was that of Viscomte Emmanuel de Rougé, first propounded to the Académie des Inscriptions in 1859, but unnoticed by the world at large till republished, after de Rougé's death, by his son in 1874. According to this view the alphabet was borrowed by the Phoenicians from the cursive (hieratic) form of Egyptian hieroglyphics."¹ This theory was popularized and disseminated throughout the English-speaking world by two volumes, entitled *The Alphabet*, by Canon Isaac Taylor, published in 1883.² It received even wider publicity through the same writer's presentation of it in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (art. "Alphabet"). But today even an Egyptologist is ready to admit that it "enjoyed a wholly undeserved popularity."³

It is not the purpose of this article to pass in review the onslaughts which have been made on the theory of de Rougé, much less to defend

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh ed., art. "Alphabet." For other theories, see Gardiner's article mentioned below.

² Second, practically unchanged edition, appeared 1899.

³ Gardiner: see following note.

the rival theories put forth by the Assyriologists, but rather to point out a number of things which I believe have unwisely been lost sight of in recent discussions of the problem. All who have given the matter serious attention realize that the relevant facts at our disposal are exceedingly limited in number; and, from the nature of the case, that number is not likely to be increased materially in the future. Indeed, the history of the alphabet bids fair to continue to be a scintillating piece of work, if, as has been maintained recently, "ignorance is the first requisite of the historian."

Three studies¹ by as many Egyptologists have, I believe, brought about a decided advance in our knowledge of the history of the Phoenician alphabet and have done much to rehabilitate the claim that it is of Egyptian origin. While I find myself in agreement in the main with the conclusions arrived at in these studies, I also find myself increasingly dissatisfied with some of the arguments on which these conclusions were based. As already hinted, I have no intention of attempting to derive the Phoenician alphabet from the cuneiform characters. But we know that the cuneiform writing was in use in Canaan perhaps for close to half a millennium before the Phoenician script displaced it. Now it would be strange indeed if this old system of writing had disappeared without leaving any traces behind it.

As the title of his article indicates, Schäfer's argument rests wholly on the vowelless character of the Phoenician alphabet. This is likewise one of Gardiner's chief points. Let me quote first from the latter:¹

Thirdly, the alphabetic and non-vocalic character of the writing is of great importance. The Babylonian and Mediterranean (*e.g.*, Cypriote) scripts, so far as they are known, were syllabic and non-alphabetic, and the proto-Semitic script, if derived from any of them, might therefore have been expected to follow suit. The Egyptian hieroglyphic system eschews vowels, and comprises a full alphabet of consonants besides its biliteral and triliteral signs. The omission of the vowels in Egyptian was undoubtedly due in part to the special nature of the language, and the Semitic languages are very

¹ "Die Vokallösigkeit des phönizischen Alphabets," in *Zeitschrift für die Ägyptische Sprache*, LII (1915), 95 f., by Heinrich Schäfer. "The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (III [1916], 1 f.), by Alan H. Gardiner. → "The Physical Processes of Writing in the Early Orient and Their Relation to the Origin of the Alphabet," in *AJSL*, XXXII (1916), 230 f., by James H. Breasted.

similar; still, there was another important reason that was operative in the case of Egypt, namely the particular manner in which it derived its phonetic signs out of its ideographic writing.¹

Schäfer put the same argument into a series of brief propositions which I shall condense still more, retaining, however, the numbering of his paragraphs: (1) The Semitic (Phoenician) alphabet is vowelless. The fact that at any early stage the letters ׀ ׀ ׀ were used to indicate vowels does not speak against the non-vocalic character of the alphabet, but, on the contrary, in its favor. (2) In the Semitic languages the consonants are the bearers of the idea, the word-stem, while the vowels serve to differentiate the parts of speech and to indicate their grammatical relationships. (3) In the non-vocalic character of his creation, the "inventor" of the Phoenician alphabet gives evidence of having reckoned "in genialer Weise" with the peculiar genius of the Semitic tongues. (4) But no one would invent an alphabet to write general ideas such as would be expressed by the vowelless קטל (=general idea of killing); he would want it for writing words like *kôtēl* (killing) and *kātāl* (killed). (5) A non-vocalic alphabet is decidedly defective. Hardly any alphabet derived from the Phoenician but felt the necessity of correcting this defect. If the "inventor" did not feel this it was because of the influence of something already in existence. We must presuppose a prealphabetic stage in the development of a system of writing. (6) This is picture-writing. Here vowels might be neglected and ideas expressed. (7) But the language which did this must have had the genius of the Semitic tongues. A non-Semitic people could not have arrived at a vowelless script. (8 f.) We know of no picture-writing stage in the history of the Phoenician alphabet. Therefore we must look beyond Phoenicia. We find it in Egypt.

Schäfer takes up the Babylonian-Assyrian script and remarks that, while it began in picture-writing, it was invented and developed by the non-Semitic Sumerians. The development went in a different direction from that of the Egyptian writing, namely, to syllabic writing in which the vowels are an essential part. The Semites who borrowed this script never thought of discarding the vowels.

Now the idea that a consonantal alphabet is peculiarly adapted to the writing of Semitic languages is an old and a persistent one.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

Just when it originated I do not know. No doubt it goes back to the time when this writing was first compared with European writing. I find it in Fr. Müller's *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*.¹ It is the kind of thing Renan could speculate about so brilliantly. Schäfer admits that a non-vocalic alphabet is defective, and is sure that a non-Semitic people could not have invented or developed one. But why could not people who say and write 'man,' 'men'; 'run,' 'ran'; 'sink,' 'sank,' and 'sunk' have developed just such an alphabet, had they not been able to take over one all ready-made containing vowels as well as consonants? For just herein lies perhaps the chief peculiarity of the Semitic languages, that in them more largely than in any other group of languages inflection is accomplished by means of *internal vowel change*.² A picture of a pair of legs in motion, with or without the consonants *r* and *n* added as phonetic complements, the whole surrounded by various combinations of prefixes and suffixes, would do just as well to express the English words 'run,' 'runs,' 'running,' 'runner,' 'ran,' 'he runs,' 'he ran,' etc., as to express similar ideas in the Egyptian or Semitic languages. And surely it is conceivable that the non-Semitic Sumerians might have developed biconsonantal and triconsonantal signs as easily as did the Egyptians. For example, we find one of their signs, originally a picture, having the values *ġar*, *ġir*, and *ġur* (Semitic, *har*, *hir*, *hur*); another with the values *dub*, *dab*, *tub*, *dig*, *sumug*, *samag*, etc. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely. When the first-mentioned sign came to have the values *ġar*, *ġir*, and *ġur*, it ceased to represent a vocalized syllable and became a biconsonantal sign. According to the late Babylonian scribes, whose knowledge of the Sumerian may have been defective, the *na*-sign had the values *na*, *ni* and *nu* in the Sumerian (*Chicago Syllabary*, 102 f.). Now I am sure that the Sumerians would have had no more difficulty in reading their writing, if it had expressed the consonants only, than had the ancient Egyptians, for we have ample evidence from the early and late texts that the vowels were a very unstable part of their syllabic signs. The Sumerian was what we may perhaps best describe as an agglutinative

¹ Bd. I, pp. 171 f.

² By this statement I am not denying the truth of the first part of Schäfer's second proposition, but merely stressing what I believe to be the more important matter.

language. Like the Turkish and the Hungarian it was characterized by the principle of vowel harmony and very probably, like the Chinese, made use of tones.¹ It developed vowel signs² alongside of its syllabic signs. But even then their script, as is the case with any script, only imperfectly reproduced the spoken word. The Sumerians probably realized this. If the Semites ever really did think that they could get along with a system of writing which made no provision whatever for the expression of vowel sounds, must we assume that this was done because of the genius of their language? May it not have been due to the fact that they were not as exacting and discriminating—to use two modern advertising terms—in their tastes as were the Sumerians? May it not be that they came by their alphabet at a time when they had not much that mattered to put into written form? But such theorizing—like much of Schäfer's—leads nowhere. We might just as well speculate as to why the crow grew *black* feathers.³

There are, however, reasons for my dwelling upon these matters at some length. Both Schäfer and Gardiner seem to think that there was a great difference in the lines along which the Egyptian and cuneiform systems developed. The former is sure that the vowels were a very important part of the syllabic signs, the latter speaks of the "peculiar manner in which it [the Egyptian] derived its phonetic signs out of the ideographic writing."⁴ We have seen that even in the Sumerian (pre-Semitic) period of the cuneiform the vowels were by no means so well looked after as Schäfer supposes, and anyone acquainted with the Assyrian knows that frequently final vowels, though apparently written, were in reality dropped. One example will suffice: the oft-occurring *mandattašu kabittu*. If the final vowel of the adjective (*kabittu*) had been pronounced it would certainly have been written *a* instead of *u* so as to bring the

¹ Prince has rightly stressed these points.

² One might say that the "alphabet" the Sumerians developed was purely vocalic. But see the following.

³ For years I have been making it a practice to read a few chapters from Wundt's volumes on language ("Die Sprache") in his *Völkerpsychologie* whenever I have occasion to peruse anything from the hands of our Semitic philologists. It is an excellent antidote. The Indo-European philologists are perhaps too skeptical, but this is better than the it-must-be-so attitude of the Semitists.

⁴ See above.

adjective into agreement with its noun in case. In spite of Gardiner's remarks to the contrary, the Persian cuneiform is the logical outcome of the process, already begun in the earliest period, whereby syllabic writing tends to develop into alphabetic.¹ The only difference between the Egyptian and the cuneiform that I have been able to discover is the fact that the former reached the alphabetic stage earlier. But then we must remember that the Egyptians never took full advantage of the alphabet they developed. There probably were a variety of reasons for this.

But there is a more pressing reason for my pushing this matter. No doubt both of the scholars whom I have been quoting would insist that the point of their argument lies in the fact that the Egyptian system developed consonantal letters only, whereas the cuneiform developed signs for its vowels but no purely consonantal signs. Without trying to settle the family disputes of the Egyptologists, I merely take advantage of this opportunity to remind them that the matter of the purely non-vocalic character of the hieroglyphic writing has been questioned by some of their own household.² But even if we grant that there is no doubt in the case of the Egyptian writing, how does Schäfer know that the Phoenician alphabet was originally vowelless? Is the use of אהוי to indicate vowels proof of this? Is there any evidence that these letters were not thus used from the start? If there is, it ought to be produced.

Let us turn to the North Semitic inscriptions. Speaking of the language of the Moabite Stone, Cooke says: "The scriptio defectiva is the rule, e.g., הא is used for the 3rd sing. mas. pronoun, though consonants are employed for the final vowels, e.g. אבי, לפני, בי, בה, and in דיבן, דיבני; the suffix of the 3rd sing. mas. is ה' for 'י."³ And of the language of the Siloam Inscription: "It will be noticed that the final vowels are represented by consonants, e.g., נקבה, היה, זה, כי, ילכו; but within the word the

¹ Just how this came about in the case of the Old Persian, is not at present ascertainable. Cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden*, chap. 5.

² W. Max Müller, *MVAG*, 1912, 3 (and already in *Asien und Europa*, chap. v). I ought, perhaps, to add that to me the weakest part of the late Professor Müller's thesis seems to be the derivation from the "Babylonian world-script" of whatever vocalization the Egyptian writing may have developed. Müller is just as positive as any member of the "Berlin school" in his statements as to the non-vocalic character of the original hieroglyphic script. Cf. p. 13 f.

³ *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 5.

vowel letter is not written, e.g., צר, אש, ימן; $\delta = au$ diphth. is written *plene*, עור (from *aud*), מוצא, but $\delta = \hat{a}$ is written *defective*, שלש, אמה, קל, הצבם.¹ The same holds for all the other inscriptions which have come to light.

Would it not be better to express the peculiarities of the writing of these inscriptions as well as of the Hebrew and other Semitic writing something as follows? The *scriptio defectiva* is the rule, but some of the vowels are written. The characters used to express these are also used to write certain consonants.

I believe that the cuneiform will help us here. As in the case of the Hebrew, the Babylonian language early dropped initial *w* (*y*). So we have *abálu* from *wabálu*. The Babylonian also dropped initial *i*. Consequently difficulties were encountered when the cuneiform was used to write West Semitic words. On the other hand, *i* in *bêli-ia* is clearly consonantal. The same may probably be said of *y* in words like *šépûa* (pronounced *šépûwa?*). Similarly *a* seems to have served for ' (spiritus lenis) as well as for the vowel, e.g., *tiamtu*, (cf. *ti'amtû*). Long vowels were indicated by adding *a*, *i*, *e*, *u*, to the syllabic signs, e.g., *šadu-u = šadû*, *ma-a-tu = mâtû*. In a word, certain signs are used to express both vowels and consonants. It might be urged that here consonants were written by means of vowels, while in the Phoenician or West Semitic script it was the other way round. But this is begging the question. The fact that our Semitic philologists have been vacillating between the terms semi-vowel and semi-consonant is significant. When any attention is paid to the phonetics of modern spoken Semitic dialects, it is discovered that they violate most of the "laws" according to which, so say the grammarians, Semitic words were "originally" pronounced. All of which goes to show that we have needlessly been heaping up difficulties by insisting that the early Semites must have been able to distinguish down to a hair's breadth between vowels and consonants—a feat which our most modern phonetic science has difficulty in doing. We do the same when we dogmatically assert, for example, that each initial vowel in the Semitic *originally* had a "clear" beginning, that is, was preceded by a consonant, **N**, or as we say in modern phonetic parlance, by a "glottal stop," and that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

only *later* were "gradual" beginnings indulged in.¹ In a word, I believe that a knowledge of Babylonian usage will help us to a better understanding of the vocalization of the Western writing, in so far as this was done through characters which also served as consonantal letters. And that, furthermore, if the Egyptian script really was vowelless, and if the Phoenician alphabet was patterned upon the consonantal alphabet of the Egyptians, then it might not be too rash to conclude that as to the vocalization of its writing, which we grant was "defective," the Phoenician was influenced by the Babylonian, the other script with which its "inventors" seemingly must have been more or less familiar.

But after all, in matters of this kind absolute certainty is not attainable. The best that we can hope for is that the cumulative evidence of a large number of heterogeneous facts, none of which alone would carry much weight, will make the hypothesis we advance seem reasonably plausible. As to Egypt's contribution to the Semitic alphabet, Gardiner has done just this. After having "reached the uttermost limit to which the balancing of probabilities" could carry him, he turned to the task of gathering new evidence. This he found in some monuments from the Sinaitic peninsula, ten in number, "bearing inscriptions in an unknown script, which at first sight appeared to consist of roughly graven Egyptian hieroglyphs, but on a closer inspection revealed the presence of signs not belonging to any known Egyptian style of writing."² In these inscriptions he noticed a "sequence of four letters that recur five, if not six times," which he believes should be read בַּעֲלַת = Ba^calat = Βαάλτις.³ Further than this he is not able to go with the decipherment. Petrie assigned the date *ca.* 1500 B.C. to these monuments, but Gardiner is by "no means convinced that the end of the Twelfth Dynasty would not be a more probable date."⁴ This would make the date *ca.* 1800 B.C. and would push back the beginnings of the Semitic alphabet nearly a thousand years.

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. I, pp. 44 f. "Jeder aplautende Vokal wurde im Semitischen ursprünglich fest, d.h. mit Stimmritzenverschluss eingesetzt." This is the dogmatic assumption of the grammarian. But note: "In den einzelnen semitischen Sprachen treten nun aber vielfach auch schon Vokale mit leisem Einsatz auf." And again, "In neuarabischen Dialekten ist der leise Einsatz oft beobachtet worden."

Op. cit., pp. 12 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Gardiner's conclusion that the new Sinaitic writing was Semitic and not Egyptian was reached after he had made a careful study of the "Phoenician" alphabet and its descendants. He advocates "a much greater importance for the traditional *names of the letters*, which are almost identical for the Phoenician and the Greek, and are still for the most part recognizable in the Ethiopic (an offshoot of the Minaeo-Sabaeen)."¹ Lidzbarski had attempted to overcome some of his difficulties by substituting the names *dad*, 'the female breast' for *delt*, *qesheth*, 'bow,' for *qof*, *garzen*, 'axe' for *gaml*, etc. But Gardiner believes that "whether these names please us or not, they are our *data* and we have to accept them, or at least to account for them in some way or other."²

Assuming that the letter *aleph* had that name because its original form was the picture of an ox-head, he looked over the new Sinaitic inscriptions and found this head in a number of places. It closely resembles one of the Egyptian hieroglyphs (F 3).³ Without following him in his search, we will merely note that he finds hieroglyphic equivalents for א = 'ox-[head],' ב = 'house,' ג = 'hook' or 'nail,' ד = 'hand,' ז = zigzag line, 'water,' ח = 'fish' or 'snake,' ט = 'eye,' ק = 'mouth,' ל = 'head,' and, perhaps, מ = 'door' and נ = '[bent] hand.' Some of these are found in the Sinai texts. But here he also found other characters, "foreign to the Egyptian hieroglyphs, but answering well to the names of proto-Semitic letters."⁴

Gardiner was thus led to return to the view of Lenormant, who sought to derive the Phoenician letters directly from the Egyptian hieroglyphs.

But there is one question which keeps coming up in my mind, to which I would like an answer before I am ready to accept the hypothesis of direct borrowing. If the "inventors" of the Semitic alphabet were sufficiently well acquainted with the Egyptian hieroglyphs to single out from among them characters which should make up their alphabet, why did they not take over the alphabet which had long since been developed by the Egyptians? Only a few changes or additions would have been necessary to adapt it for their

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ *Schrifttafel in Erman's Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3d. ed.

⁴ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

purposes. Indeed this is exactly what the de Rougé hypothesis had them do. According to Taylor, the first letter of the alphabet, which was derived from the hieratic form of the picture of the eagle (G 1),¹ in course of time came to look like an ox's head and was renamed. The same thing happened to the other letters.

I cannot make myself believe that the ready-made Egyptian alphabet would have been passed by just for the sake of having an alphabet embodying the acrophonic principle. Of course, there is no difficulty whatever in that part of the hypothesis which calls for the renaming of the hieroglyphic signs by the Semites. This was done to some extent by the Eastern Semites (Babylonians) who borrowed their script from the Sumerians. The picture of the ox-head, named *gud* in the Sumerian, became *alpu(aleph)*. The sign for head, *sag* in Sumerian, became *reš*, *riš* (*resh*). However, the Sumerian values were retained alongside of the new Semitic values. So the sign derived from the picture of the head has the syllabic values *šak(sag)* as well as *riš* in the Babylonian. In the main, however, the syllabic values in the Babylonian were taken over directly from the Sumerian. If the Eastern Semites did this, one wonders why the Western Semites did not do the same. If the Western Semites just set out to invent an alphabet embodying the principle of acrophony, there is no reason for supposing that they needed to go to the Egyptian hieroglyphs for pictures of an ox-head or of a house. It may be, however, that the similarity between some of the signs, for example, the  and the zigzag line representing 'water' in the hieroglyphic, will compel us to conclude that there was direct borrowing of pictures. But why then give the value *m*, from *mem*, to a sign which had already become the letter *n*? If the Western Semites were really acquainted with the hieroglyphic writing, they must have been aware of this.

However, Gardiner is very modest in his claims, as the concluding paragraph of his article shows. "Thus we have to face the fact that at all events not later than 1500 B.C. there existed in Sinai, *i.e.*, on Semitic soil, a form of writing almost certainly alphabetic in character and clearly modelled on the Egyptian hieroglyphs. . . . The common parent of the Phoenician, the Greek, and the Sabaeen may

¹ See note 3, p. 35.

have been one out of several more or less plastic local varieties of alphabet, all developing on the acrophonic principle under the influence of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Further speculation as to details is hardly likely to prove fruitful, in the lack of more decisive evidence" (p. 16).

There is one other matter which I should like to take up, namely, the order of the letters in the Semitic alphabet. Gardiner does not discuss this, but in view of the fact that he rejected so much of what the Assyriologists advanced, it seems to me that it would have been only fair to consider what they have to say on this subject. Perhaps it was overlooked. As far as we know, the Egyptians had no fixed order for their characters, and consequently the order of letters in the alphabet would not be so likely to attract the attention of an Egyptologist.

A good many years ago¹ Zimmern pointed out the remarkable fact that in the case of eight out of the twelve characters in the Phoenician alphabet about whose names there is little doubt (on the whole they are the ones which Gardiner found represented in the hieroglyphs) the order of their occurrence in the alphabet coincides most curiously with the order in Syllabar A of Babylonian signs having the same names (values). His list follows:²

1. *Aleph* = *alpu*, ox (105)
2. *Beth* = *bitu*, house (147)
3. *Gimel* = *gammalu*, camel
4. *Daleth* = *daltu*, door (155)
10. *Yodh* = *idu*, side (140?)
11. *Kaf* = *kappu*, hollow hand (140?)
13. *Mem* = *mû*, water (1)
14. *Nun* = *nûnu*, fish (17)
16. *'Ayin* = *ênu*, eye (42)
17. *Pe* = *pû*, mouth (51)
20. *Resh* = *rêšu*, head (52)
21. *Shin* = *šinnu*, tooth

It will be noticed at once that the two halves of the Babylonian (second) column have to be changed about to get the signs into the

¹ *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, L (1896), 667 f.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 668. The numerals in the Babylonian column would today be somewhat different, in view of our possessing more complete copies of the Syllabar, but their order would not be changed.

Phoenician order. That is, in the Syllabar the signs corresponding to *Mem* and following, of the alphabet, precede the group corresponding to *Aleph* and following. To my knowledge no one has attempted to account for this, and I shall try to do so presently. But inside the groups representing the two halves of the Babylonian column and their equivalents in the alphabet, the sequence of the signs is so strikingly similar that it is difficult to believe it accidental. That the order of the signs in the Syllabar goes back practically unchanged to the Sumerian days had been inferred from some fragments of tablets in the Assurbanipal Library which contained copies of the Old Babylonian version of the Syllabar with Assyrian equivalents.¹ We now have positive proof.² That Syllabar A was familiar to and used by the scribes in Canaan and Egypt is proved by the occurrence of a fragment of it among the Amarna finds.³ Note that I said that the order of the signs remained *practically* unchanged through the centuries. The Amarna fragment shows a slight divergence from the late Assyrian order.⁴ If it were not for this it would be difficult to account for the insertion of two letters between 𐤁 and 𐤂, Nos. 17 and 20 in the alphabet, corresponding to *pû* and *rêšû*, which follow directly the one upon the other in the Syllabar (Nos. 51 and 52).

Now I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that the arrangement of the letters in the alphabet was influenced by the arrangement of the signs in the Babylonian Syllabar A, and that those who were responsible for that arrangement were familiar with the cuneiform writing. The cuneiform was in use in Canaan for centuries. Of course there may have been slight changes in the order of the alphabet⁵ just as there were in the Syllabar. But how did the *aleph* get into the first place? No answer to this has been proposed, and yet I think it is perfectly plain. Because Syllabar A begins with *a*. Now I hear the objection that *aleph* is a consonant

¹ *CT*, V, pls. 7 f.

² In fragments of the Syllabar found at Nippur and dating from ca. 2000 B.C., Langdon, *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, Text 5.

³ Kn. 348. Cf. Syllabar A, IV, 12 f., in *CT*, XI.

⁴ In this fragment *tir* is inserted after *dar*; in the *CT* texts this sign is found in Col. VI, 21.

⁵ Such occurred in its later history.

and *a* a vowel. But I have already given my answer to this objection in the first part of the paper.¹

In conclusion: The *order of the letters* in the Semitic alphabet was influenced by the order of the signs in the Babylonian Syllabar A. This, I believe, is a certainty. The *vocalization* of the Western writing may have to be explained on the basis of the Babylonian writing. This I regard as a probability. The cuneiform may not, therefore, be brushed completely aside in our endeavors to write the history of the so-called Phoenician alphabet.

I have touched only incidentally upon the strictly historical problems, because a discussion of these would carry us too far afield. One thing, however, becomes increasingly clear to me as I think over the matter of the development of this alphabet in the light of the history of Western Asia, and it is this: It would be strange indeed if the new system of writing which sprang up in Syria had not drawn upon both of the systems, the Egyptian and the Babylonian, long in use, side by side, in that region. I think Professor Breasted was on the right track when he linked up the Aramaean scribe, pictured on the Assyrian monuments and mentioned in their inscriptions, with our problems. I believe it will be possible to unearth the forebears of this Aramaean scribe, and that when we have done this we shall have come upon the "inventors" of the Semitic alphabet. But I leave this search to him.

¹ The correspondence between the arrangement, within certain groups, of the laws of the Code of Hammurabi and those of the Book of the Covenant is regarded by many as perhaps our strongest evidence of the dependence of the Hebrew law upon that of Babylonia.



The "Wandering Aramaean"

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L. 22. Read *da* instead of *uš*. Two or three lines may be missing at the bottom of the column.

Rev. Col. II: Two-thirds of every line is missing at the beginning.

Text 22

Change Obverse into Reverse and vice versa.

Obv. l. 4. Nothing missing after the sign *sa*.

Ll. 7-11. At the end of these lines some signs are probably missing.

Rev. l. 1. All signs are doubtful.

Text 24, Obverse

L. 5. Seventh sign is *uš*(= *Ē*+*SAL*, Br. 5515). Next sign *gé*.

L. 8. Last two signs: *mu-na*. . . .

L. 9. Last sign probably *ta*.

L. 11. Instead of *ta* very probably *al*.

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THE "WANDERING ARAMAEAN"

For many years the problem of the relationship between the *ḥabbiri* (*SA-GAZ*) of the Amarna Letters and the Hebrews (עִבְרִים) of the Old Testament writings engaged the attention of biblical scholars. We now know that the word *ḥabbiri* (*SA-GAZ*) is not a gentilic but a class noun meaning "plunderer," "Bedouin," and that it was thus used as early as the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon.¹

I am inclined to believe that we have been reading too definite a meaning into another biblical expression descriptive of Israel's ancestors. I refer to the "Syrian ready to perish," "schweifender Aramäer" (אֲרַמִּי אֲבִיר) of Deut. 26:5. In commenting on this verse Driver² says: "Jacob is so styled, with intentional disparagement, on account of his foreign connections; his mother's home had been in Aram-Naharaim (Gen. 24:10-24), and he spent himself many years in the same country (Gen. 29-31) in the service of his mother's brother, Laban 'the Aramaean' (Gen. 25:20; 28:5 in P; 31:20-24 in JE), whose two daughters he married." There seems to be unanimity of opinion in this matter on the part of scholars. I am aware that it is somewhat venturesome to offer another interpretation.

On the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, Col. V, 11, we are now able to restore a broken context.³ According to the Assyrian king, there gathered around Shuzubu, the Chaldean, "the fugitive Aramaean, the runaway, the

¹ Cf. my arti → "On Israel's Origins," *AJTh*, XXII (1918), 37 f.

² *Deuteronomy* (ICC), 289.

³ Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 5th ed.

murderer, and the plunderer" (*Amel Ara[mu ḥ]alku munnabtu amir dame ḥabbilu širuššu ipḥuruma*). In the documents from the Cassite Period, *ḥalku* is frequently placed after the names of persons in the employ of the temple. There is no doubt as to its meaning. The persons thus designated are fugitives. *Munnabtu*, a word of frequent occurrence in the cuneiform texts, comes from the root *abātu*, the equivalent of the western אָבַד; cf. אֲרָמִי אִבֵּד. It is another term for "fugitive," "runaway." *Ḥabbilu*, from *ḥabālu*, "to ruin," is closely related to *ḥabāru*, the root from which *ḥabbiru* (cf. *ḥabbiri*, above) is derived.

It is evident that Sennacherib is describing Shuzubu's army as composed of the offscourings of society. One thinks at once of the motley and unsavory crowd that gathered about David at Adullam.¹ Now it is undoubtedly true that Aramaean nomads, "Bedouin," were pushing into lower Babylonia in Sennacherib's day. But *Aramu ḥalku* as used by the Assyrian king in the passage under discussion seems to me to have a very general meaning. Is it not possible that אֲרָמִי אִבֵּד of Deut. 26:5 is likewise nothing more than a general term for "fugitive"? "A roustabout was my father; and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, few in number; and he became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous."

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¹ I Sam. 22:2.



Hittite Treaties and Letters

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HITTITE TREATIES AND LETTERS

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The documents here translated form a small part of the archives of the Hittite kings found by Winckler at Boghazkeui in 1906. Winckler's preliminary report of his discovery, with translations of some sections of these treaties, appeared in *MDOG*, No. 35 (1907). It was hoped that the texts might be given out at an early date, but the long illness of the discoverer of the archives prevented it: all that Winckler published before his death (1913) was a discussion of the Harri-Aryan problem in *OLZ*, 1910, cols. 289 f. Here a few additional paragraphs from the texts were translated.¹ After the work of publication had been turned over to other hands, the war came on, and it was not until 1916, ten years after the discovery of the archives, that the first volume of the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkői*² appeared. The copies were made by H. H. Figulla and E. F. Weidner. The published texts did not, of course, reach scholars outside of Germany until after the end of the war. A study of these texts by Weidner is planned for the "Boghazkői-Studien," but with the present uncertainty in Germany there is little hope of our seeing this work for some time to come.³ A translation into English of these texts does not, therefore, seem out of place.

¹ Winckler's "Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend," published in *MDVG* (1913), after his death, added nothing to our source material.

² Abbreviated hereafter *KBo*.

³ Weidner's preliminary study, *MDOG*, No. 58 (1917), was not accessible until all of my translations had been made.

I am indebted to Meissner for many suggestions,¹ but I was not able to make use of Langdon and Gardiner's translation and discussion of the Ramses-Hattushili treaty until my translations were in type.² Nor have I seen Golla's dissertation on the treaty of the Hittite king with Shunashshura (No. 4, below).³

I do not deceive myself into thinking of the translations here offered as being final. After more than thirty years, the Amarna letters, which belong to the same category of texts as the ones here translated, still bristle with problems, both of philology and interpretation. The stilted translation English which will be found in almost every paragraph cannot be more offensive to any reader than it has been to me. But I have deemed it wiser to err in this direction and thereby preserve some of the flavor of the original together with its ambiguities and obscurities than to hide these latter under cover of a smooth translation. Translations depending on textual emendations or restorations have been bracketed. In the parentheses are found variant translations or such words as the difference in our idiom requires to bring out the sense of the original.

No. 1. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 1 and 2.

Treaty between Shubbiluliuma of Hatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni. The introduction recounts the differences which arose between Hatti and Mitanni because of the "presumptuousness" of Tushratta, the father of Mattiuaza, and also describes the disorder into which Mitanni fell on the death of that king. Mattiuaza is to be given a daughter of the Hittite king in marriage and is to be placed on the throne of Mitanni—as a vassal of the great king, of course. The document defines the conditions. Mattiuaza's relationship to Biashshi-ilim (Biashshili), another son-in-law(?) of the Hittite king, is also defined.

¹ *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXII (1918), 32 f.; *Sitzungsberichte der . . . Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1917), 282 f.; and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1918, cols. 18 f.

➔ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI (1920), 179 f.

³ *Der Vertrag des Hattikönig's Muršil mit dem König Šunaššura von Kiṣwadna* (Breslau, 1920).

OBVERSE

(1-16) When with the Sun,¹ Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the valiant, the king of Hatti, the beloved of Teshub,² Artatama, the king of Harri,³ made a treaty (lit., between them they made a treaty), and thereafter, Tushratta, king of Mitanni, exalted himself⁴ against [the great king], the king of Hatti, the valiant, (then I,) the great king, etc., exalted myself against Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, the lands on this side⁵ of the river I plundered, and Mount Niblani I restored to my domain.

A second time Tushratta, the king, acted presumptuously⁶ toward me. Thus he spoke: "Why dost thou plunder that side of the Euphrates, which belongs to Tushratta, the king? If thou dost plunder the lands on that side of the Euphrates, I also will plunder the lands on that side of the Euphrates. Tushratta, the king, is desirous of keeping this (region) intact; but if thou plunderest them (these lands), what am I to do for them? I shall cross over to this side⁷ of the Euphrates, whether it is a lamb or a child(?)⁸ that I hear."

(Whereupon I), the great king, the king of Hatti, displayed (my) might⁹ before him. Now against the father of the king of Hatti, Ishuwa¹⁰ had rebelled. The Hittites (or the troops of Hatti) entered Ishuwa. The people of Kurtalisha,¹¹ the people of Arawanna,

¹ The Hittite "emperors" are regularly referred to as the "Sun," a title of royalty with which the Amarna letters have made us familiar. The Assyrian kings, beginning with Tukulti-Ninib, also made occasional use of the title. → *AJSL*, XXVIII, 164.

² The chief god of Hatti; written (*ilu*) *U* or (*ilu*) *IM*, in these texts, and identified by the Babylonians of later days with their storm-god Adad.

³ The land, city, people, and king of the Harri are frequently mentioned in these texts. Winckler saw in them the Aryans.

⁴ From *na'adu*, "to be high, glorious," or (trans.) "to raise, to praise." The Hittite scribes are in the habit of assigning rare or hitherto unknown meanings to common Babylonian words.

⁵ "This" and "that" side of the Euphrates should refer to the west and east banks respectively. Considerable confusion is caused by making Tushratta, who lived east of the river, use the same designations for east and west as the Hittite king is made to use.

⁶ "Made himself big."

⁷ See above, n. 5.

⁸ Translation doubtful. I have assumed that we have a badly written *NAM-TUR*.

⁹ "Made myself big."

¹⁰ Name of a land.

¹¹ Name of a city. In these documents the determinatives "land," "city," and the double determinative "land-city" seem to be used interchangeably. Except in cases where doubt might arise I have not indicated the determinatives.

Zaz[zi]sha, Kalamashu, Timna, Mount Haliwa, Mount Karna, the people of Durmitta, Alha, Hurma, Mount Harana, half of the land of Tegarama, the people of Teburzia, the people of Hazga, and the people of Armatana, against my father they rebelled. But (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, the great king, etc., defeated them. At that time, the people who had escaped from my hand, these entered Ishuwa; and whatever peoples or lands there were that rebelled against my father, these as subjects(?) of Ishuwa in the midst of a hostile land were dwelling.

(17-24) Now (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., took measures against the presumptuousness of Tushratta, the king. The Euphrates I crossed; against Ishuwa I marched and Ishuwa in its totality I devastated. For the second time I brought them into servitude to me. The people and the lands who in the time of my father had gone over to Ishuwa, namely the people of Kurtalisha, the people of Arawanna, Zazzisha, Tegarama,¹ Timmina, Mount Haliwa, Mount Karna, the people of Durmitta, Alha, Hurma, Mount Harana, half of Tegarama, the people of Teburzia, the people of Hazga, the people of Armatana, these peoples and lands I conquered and restored them to Hatti. The lands which I seized I set free, their (former) place(s) they occupy. Indeed, all of those whom I set free returned to their peoples and occupied their (former) place(s) in Hatti.

(25-29, 6-10) Again (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., marched against Alshe.² The fortress of Kutmar I stormed, and gave (it) to Antaratli of Alshe as a present. The fortress of Shûta³ I entered. The fortress of Shûta I took as my plunder. I brought (its booty) into Washshukkani. Of the fortress of Shûta, oxen, sheep, horses, their property as well as their booty, I brought back to Hatti. As for Tushratta, the king, he marched out against me, but he did not get into the fight.

(30-37, 11-19) I returned, crossed the Euphrates and overpowered Halpa⁴ and Mukishhe. Takuwa, king of Nia, came to

¹ Also written *Togarama* (cf. Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, 105); the *Tilgarimmu* of the later Assyrian texts.

² Probably the *Alzi* of the Assyrian documents → Toffteen, *AJSL*, XXIII, 333 f.).

³ Variant *Zûta*.

⁴ Variant *Halba*, the modern Aleppo.

Mukishhe (to enter into) covenant with me. Behind the back of Takuwa, Akit-Teshub, his brother, roused land and city of Nia¹ to hostility. And Akit-Teshub won over these Mariannu (lit., turned them to one). Hishmia,² Asiri, Zulkia, Habâhi, Parria,³ and Niruwâbi,⁴ together with their chariots and their men, were brought into agreement with Akia, king of Arahti.⁵ They seized Arahti and rebelled, saying: "Let us fight the great king, the king of Hatti." (I), the great king, the king of Hatti, overpowered them in Arahti and seized Akia, king of Arahti, Akit-Teshub, brother of Takuwa, all of their Marianni, together with their possessions and brought them to Hatti. Katna, together with their property and possessions, I brought to Hatti.

(38-47, 20-28) When I went against Nuhashshi,⁶ I seized all of its lands. Sharrupshi⁷ escaped to distant parts (perhaps, died). His mother, his brothers, and his sons I seized and brought to Hatti. Takibsharri, the servant of Sharrupshi, over Ukulzat as king I set. Then I marched to Abina. But I had no thought of attacking Kinza, when Shutatarra, with Aitakkama, his son, and his chariots marched out against me to give battle. I defeated him, and they fled (entered) to Abzuia. I besieged him (in) Abzuia.⁸ Shutatarra, together with his son, his Marianni, his brothers, and their (I seized) and brought to Hatti. Against Abina I marched and Ariwana, king of Abina, Luambadura,⁹ Akparu, and Artaiia, his nobles, came out against me to give battle.¹⁰ All of these, their land, together with their possessions, to Hatti I brought. Because of the presumptuousness of Tushratta,¹¹ the king, for one year I plundered all of these lands and brought them to Hatti. From Mount Niblani, from that side of the Euphrates, I restored them to my domain.

(48-58, 29-39) When his son "waxed strong"¹² with his servants, he slew his father Tushratta, the king. And when Tushratta, the king, died, Teshub gave a decision in favor of Artatama, and his son Artatama he spared (lit., caused the dead to live). But all

¹ Variant Ne-ia.

⁴ Variant Ni-ru-u-a.

⁷ Variant Sharrupshe.

² Variant Heshmia.

⁵ Variant Arahati.

⁸ Variant Abzu.

³ Restored from No. 2.

⁶ Variant Nuhashshe.

⁹ Reading doubtful.

¹⁰ No. 2 omits all but the last clause of this sentence.

¹¹ Variant Tusheratta.

¹² Variant *uṣ-ṣi-im-mi-iḫ*. I can do nothing with the text of No. 1.

of Mitanni went to ruin. The Assyrians and the Alsheans¹ divided it among themselves. Up to this time (I), the great king, etc., did not cross to the other side (of the Euphrates); neither *ḥâma* nor *ḥuṣṣapa*² of Mitanni did I carry off.

Now when the great king, etc., heard of the misery of Mitanni, the king of Hatti, sent palace-servants (lit., sons of the palace), oxen, sheep, and horses. But the Harri people had become discontented and Shutatarra³ with the Marianni tried to kill Mattiuaza, the prince. He escaped and before the Sun, Shubbiliuma, etc., he came. The great king spoke thus: "Teshub has rendered a decision in his favor." Whereupon I took Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, the king, into my hand, and placed him on the throne of his father. In order that Mitanni, that great country, might not go to ruin, because his⁴ daughter had looked upon Mitanni with favor, I, the great king, the king of Hatti, took Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, into my hand and gave him my daughter in marriage.⁵

(59-67) (And I commanded) that Mattiuaza, the king's son, should be king in Mitanni, and that the daughter of the king of Hatti should be queen over Mitanni. To thee, Mattiuaza, ten women are to be allowed. But no second wife is to be advanced over my daughter. Thou shalt not send a second wife into her presence (or, to be a rival of hers). No one shall . . . her house. Thou shalt not bring my daughter into the position (place) of a second wife. In Mitanni she shall [rule] as queen. The children of Mattiuaza and the children of my daughter, their children and their children's children, shall [rule] in Mitanni in future days. And in future days, the Mitannians shall plan no rebellion against Mattiuaza, the king's son, or my daughter, the king's daughter, [or against their sons] or sons' sons. Mattiuaza, the king's son, in days to come,

¹ Variant Alshai.

² *Ḥam(m)u*, a plant. *Huṣṣapa*, probably the same as *ḥuṣṣabu*, some part of the date palm.

³ Variant Shuttarna.

⁴ The great king's daughter.

⁵ Fragments of only two lines of the rest of the obverse of No. 2 are left, but it is evident from these that the following paragraphs were not the same as in No. 1. They run; ". . . king of Hatti to Mitanni . . . —a(?)—li my oldest daughter." Since Blashshili figures in the opening lines of what is left of the reverse, it is possible that the Hittite king had given his eldest daughter to this prince. He would then have been on practically the same footing with the Hittite king as was Mattiuaza.

[to my sons], he shall be a brother, he shall be an equal of theirs, and the sons of Mattiuaza, the king's son, or sons of mine, or grandsons of mine, ... to my grandsons, he shall be a brother, he shall be an equal.

(68-73) The Hittites and the Mitannians, in the days to come, with an evil eye [shall not look upon each other]. The Hittites shall do no evil to the Mitannians [and the Mitannians] shall do no evil to the Hittites. When the king of Hatti is at war with an enemy [of Hatti or an enemy of the king of Hatti], then the king of Mitanni [shall seek the well-being of the king of Hatti], and when an enemy of Mitanni, or an enemy of [the king of Mitanni appears], then the king of Hatti [shall seek] the well-being of the king of Mitanni.

(74) [The son] of Mattiuaza, (I), the great king, the king of Hatti. (75) [Any treaty] which I, the great king, shall make (76) the land of Mitanni

REVERSE

(3) If the land of (4) are dwelling (5) is not planning, then against this enemy (6) (if) rests, and the enemy who comes to you (7) according to (?) or, under this oath, we will not place (if an enemy) (8) of Hatti come to thee for help

(9-13) If a fugitive flee from Hatti, [and the king of Mitanni does(?) not seize him, does(?) not] return him; if a fugitive (flee) from Mitanni, and the king of Hatti does(?) not seize him, does(?) not return him, nor [invokes?] the law of Shamash of Arinna. The house of Mattiuaza, the king's son, in Hatti, he shall build. The fugitive for the city, Mattiuaza, the king's son, shall cause him to dwell. To Hatti

(14-21) (I), the great king, the king of Hatti, seized the lands of Mitanni. In the time of [Artatama, when I was?] a king's son, I did not seize them. In the time of Tushratta I seized them, and [crossed] the Euphrates and for my outpost I brought Mount Niblani inside my borders. All the fortresses of of Harmurik, Shibri, Mazuwati, Shurun, these fortresses as the stronghold of to [Biashshi-ilim?] my son I gave. All the fortresses of

Ashtati, on the other side of (the river from) Mitanni, . . . Ahuna and Tirga, these fortresses of Ashtati, when Biashshi-ilim, the king's son, with [Mattiuaza], crossed the Euphrates and entered Irrite; all of the fortresses on the other side, which Biashshi-ilim regained(?), these belong to Biashshi-ilim.

(22-27, 2-6) Now I, the great king, the king of Hatti, caused the dead Mitanni to live and restored it to its former estate. And thou shalt not diminish it, thou shalt not violate it. From your treaty thou shalt not depart and your — thou shalt not seek. Biashshi-ilim is a king's son and Mattiuaza is a king's son. Their border shall [be established] between them. If(?) a city of Biashshi-ilim, the king's son, sends a secret (message) to Mattiuaza, Mattiuaza shall render (send out) his decision, his . . . he shall seize and to Biashshi-ilim, his brother, he shall send (cause to be brought). As for Mattiuaza, since he is not sending *hibûti*¹ to a city of Biashshi-ilim, Biashshi-ilim and Mattiuaza, let them make a brotherly covenant with each other.

(28-34, 7-12) As to Biashshi-ilim, when Mattiuaza calls him for a conference² to Irrite or to Taita, Mattiuaza shall plan no treachery against Biashshi-ilim, his brother, nor shall he incite another to commit treachery against Biashshi-ilim. Furthermore, Biashshi-ilim shall not overthrow(?) any stronghold of Mattiuaza's nor plan treachery against him. He shall plan no treachery or evil whatever against Biashshi-ilim. If Mattiuaza calls Biashshi-ilim, his brother, to Karkamish for a conference,³ Biashshi-ilim shall not plan any kind of treachery or evil against Mattiuaza. As to the strongholds of Mattiuaza which are situated on the bank of the Euphrates, these let him⁴ hold; but any other city which is on the bank of the Euphrates he shall not seize.

(35-53, 13-29) A copy of this treaty (lit., tablet) was placed⁵ before Shamash (goddess) of Arinna, for Shamash of Arinna grants

¹ *hi(ti)-bu-ti*, some official?

² *ana bi išašši*, "calls for a word."

³ One expects Mattiuaza to be invited to Karkamish by Biashshi-ilim, not the other way round.

⁴ *likellu*, possibly a plural.

⁵ No. 2 has a different beginning to this section. It probably read "a copy be sent to — . . . before the sons of . . ."

kingship and queenship. And in Mitanni (another) was placed before Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa.¹ Kinship,² yea, kinship let them proclaim before the king of Mitanni and before the Harri. And now, if anyone, before Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, shall change this tablet or put it into a secret place; if he break it, or if he alter the words of the writing of this treaty, may the gods of secrecy and the gods whom the one who has taken (lit., lord of) the oath by the lifting of the hand has [invoked],³ may they stand, and may they give ear. For they are the witnesses. Shamash of Arinna, who grants kingship and queenship in Hatti, Shamash, lord of heaven, Teshub, lord of Hatti, Shêri, Ashhurra (of) Mount Nanni (and) Mount Hazzi, Teshub, lord of trade, Teshub lord of the camp, Teshub, lord of relief, Teshub of Betiarik, Teshub of Nirik, Teshub, lord of mounds, Teshub of Halab, Teshub of Lihzina, Teshub of Shamuha, Teshub of Hurma, Teshub of Sharishsha, Teshub of Shaganuwa, Teshub of Hishshashhapa, Teshub of Tahaia, Teshub of —biki, Teshub of Kizzulana, Teshub of Uda, the Lamassu⁴ of Hatti, the Lamassu of Garahum, Zithariash, Karzish, Hapanta—,⁵ the Lamassu of the plain, the Lamassu of the air, the Lamassu of the mountains(?), Liliwanish, Ea and Damkina, Telibinu of Tawinia, Telibinu of Durmitta, Telibinu of Hanhana, Isthara, *multarihu*,⁶ Ashgawaba, Nisaba, Sin, lord of the oath, Ishhara, lady of the oath, Hebe, lady of heaven, Hebe of Halpa, Hebe of Uda, Hebe of Kizzulani, Zamama, Zamama of Hatti, Zamama of Illaia, Zamama of Arzia, Iarrish, Zappanash, Hashmilish, Hantedashshuish of Hurma, Abara of Shamuha, Gadahha of An—, the queen of Kasha—, Mamma of Tahirpa, Hallara of Dunna, Gazbâe of Hubishna, Bilala of Landa, Niawannish of Landa, gods of the Lullahi, the gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ);⁷ the male gods, the female gods, all of them,

¹ The meaning of *Kurinni* I do not know. Kapa is the name of a city.

² *e-im-mu-ti*, for *emûti*, which evidently means the relationship of the father-in-law to the son-in-law.

³ Variant has *iltasu*, "he invoked."

⁴ Protecting deity.

⁵ A number of the names which follow have been restored from No. 2. I have not thought it necessary to bracket all such restorations.

⁶ "The brilliant" or "sublime."

⁷ *ilâni Lu-la-ûi-i, ilâni SA-GAZ.*

of Hatti, the male-gods, the female gods of Kissuadni, the gods of the earth, the river-god, Namshara, Minki, Ammuki, Tuhushi, Ammiz-zadu, Alalu, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ninlil, Nin-egal, the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds, the clouds.

(54-69, 30-37) Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, lords of heaven and earth, Teshub, lord of 'Kurinni of Kapa, Nergal (Gir) of Kurta, Teshub, lord of Uhushman, Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom, Anu, Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, the gods Mitrashshil, the gods Uruwanashshil, the god Indar, the gods Nashatianna,¹ Ellatsha, Shamanminuhi, Teshub, lord of Washshukkani, Teshub, lord of all of Irrite, Partahi of Shuta, Nabarwa, Shuruhi, Ashur, the star, Shala, Nin-egal, Damkina, Ishhara, the mountains and the rivers, the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, by the words of this treaty may they stand, and may they give ear. For they are the witnesses. If thou Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the Harri, dost not keep the words of this treaty, thou, Mattiuaza, and the Harri, together with your land, together with your wives, and together with your possessions, may the gods, the lords of the oath, destroy you, like a radish(?) from its stalk(?) may they drag you, as from a *bubuwaḥi*, having no ——. And thou, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom thou shalt take, and the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and together with your land, in that they have no seed, may these gods, who are the lords of the oath, give you poverty and want. And thou, Mattiuaza, may they overturn thy throne. And thee, Mattiuaza, together with thy land, may these gods by whom thou hast sworn, break thee like a reed. Thy name and thy seed by the second wife whom thou shalt take, from the earth may thy seed be destroyed. And thou, Mattiuaza, together with thy land, (like) a tablet laid aside, not sent, from the midst of the Harri, shall (thy) name perish. The land, may it be devastated and uprooted. The land of your country, truly it is a *ṣāḥu* which has been closed(?); it shall go under, it shall not survive. And thou, Mattiuaza, and the Harri, you are enemies of the thousand gods; may they overcome you.

If thou, Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the Harri, this treaty and oath dost keep, thee Mattiuaza, together with thy wife, the

¹ *ilāniḫl mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il, ilāniḫl u-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il, ilu in-dar, ilāniḫl na-ša-ti-ia-an-na.*

daughter of the king of Hatti, his sons and his grandsons, the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and your grandsons, may these gods keep you; and may Mitanni as of old, may it return to its (former) position (place), may it prosper, may it grow (become wider). And thee, Mattiuaza, thy sons and thy grandsons by the daughter of the king of Hatti, may they give thee (lit., him) the land(?) of Harri as an everlasting kingdom; may the throne [of thy father grow old], may Mitanni grow old.

Lines 18 f. of the reverse of No. 2 follow:

Shamash, lord of heaven, Teshub, lord of Hatti, ... Teshub, lord of relief, ... Teshub of Bittiarik, Teshub of (Teshub of) Shabuha, Teshub of Teshub of Sharishsha, Teshub of [Teshub of] Gizzula[na], ... Teshub of Uta, the Lamassu of Hatti, ... the Lamassu of the plain, the Lamassu of Liluwanish, Ea and Dam[kina] Ashur, us— (the star)Dilbat, Ashkawabash, Nisaba Hebe of Gizzulani, Za[mama] of Zappanash, Hashmilish, ... Mamma, Tahurma, ... the gods and the brothers(!)¹ of the gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ), ... Ninkigal, the river-god (Narra), Namsharra, ... Ninib, Nin-egallim, the mountains and rivers

Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, Sin of Har[rani] Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ni[nlil] Ellat, Samanminuhe, Teshub, lord of Uashshukani, ... Shuruhe, Ishtar, (the star)Dilbat, Shala, Nin-egal, Nin[ib]

No. 2. Text *KBo.* I, No. 3.

Mattiuaza's version of the treaty entered into with the king of Hatti, as given above. Here we have additional details of the struggle between Shuttarna, son of Artatama, and Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, for the kingship of Mitanni.

OBVERSE

(1-9) [When(?)] (I), Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, handed over² to Shuttarna, son of Artatama, [king of Harri, the

¹ Evidently a scribal error for Lullahi.

² Whether Mattiuaza's withdrawal in favor of Shuttarna was voluntary or otherwise is not indicated.

rulership] of Mitanni, Artatama, the king, his father, did what was not right. His palace(?) . . . together with his possessions, he wasted;¹ to give them to Assyria and Alshe, he wasted them. Tushratta, the king, my father, built a palace, filled (it) with treasures, but Shutarna destroyed it, he overthrew it. The . . . of the king, headbands of silver and of gold, vessels of silver from the "house of vessels," he smashed, and to none of the . . . of his father and his brother did he give anything. But toward the Assyrian, the servant of his father, who was bringing (lit., giving) the royal tribute to him, he became friendly² and his treasures he gave him as a gift.

(8-20) Thus (I), Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta: The doors of silver and gold which Saushshatar, the king, the father of my grandfather, had taken from Assyria by his might and power, and had set them up in his palace in Washshukkani, and then Shutarna in his meanness gave them back to Assyria. All sorts of precious vessels of silver and gold he gave to Alshe. And the palace of the king of Mitanni, together with its wealth and treasure, he ruined (wasted), into the dust he brought it (lit., with the dust he mixed it). The palace he destroyed, and the houses of the Harri he ruined. He caused the nobles to be taken to Assyria and Alshe, he carried them off. They came back and in Taite they crucified them;³ he ruined all of them. The Harri and Akit-Teshup then fled from before him, into Karaduniash they entered. With two hundred chariots he fled. But the king of Karaduniash took for himself the two hundred chariots and their belongings, all that Akit-Teshub had brought along. And Akit-Teshub and his Marianni (*plural*) he persecuted and tried to kill him (Akit-Teshub). Against me, Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, the king, he fought, but I tore myself out of his hand. Through(?) the gods of the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., I escaped, by a road which was not — they pursued us. The gods of the king of Hatti and the gods of the king of Mitanni helped (lit., caused) us to come before the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc.

(21-30) In my — I cast myself at the feet of the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., and he took me into his hand, he rejoiced over me. Every

¹ "Went through with."

² "Warmed up to the Assyrians," if one may be permitted to use this colloquialism.

³ *ana išepl izzagabušunuti.*

customary privilege¹ of Mitanni he bestowed on me. The — of Mitanni I heard(?). The great king, the valiant, spoke thus: If Shuttarna or the people of Mitanni come, I will not turn you over (to them). I will make you a child of mine. At my head(?) thou shalt stand, on the throne of thy father I will place thee. And the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., the gods know him; the words which go forth from his mouth do not return to him.² Thus I, Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta: The words of the king, my lord, I have heard and I rejoice. And I, Mattiuaza, the king's son, to the great king, my lord, speak thus: If my lord grants me life, and the gods stand at my head, and the great king, the king of Hatti, etc., does not oppose Artatama on the throne of royalty, then I will stand under his leadership, and let Mitanni accept Shuttarna. But he made the lands "not good" while I did no evil to anyone.

(31-40) When I, Mattiuaza, came before the great king, (I had) three chariots, two Harri, two "goers-after" who go forth with him,³ one garment for my front,⁴ but no food whatever, and the great king had mercy on me and chariots, wrought with gold, horses, chariots, with a covering⁵ of —, *ZA-LAM-GAR*⁶ of —, "goers-after" of *bitga*, two *zati* of [silver] and gold, together with their *gasi* which were of silver and gold, implements [and ?] vessels of silver, four —⁷ of silver, — garments, all of them made of wool, and rings of all kinds . . . were given to me. With Biashshilim, [the king's son], he received me,⁸ and the king entrusted me to the hand of Biashshilim (to be) over his chariots and his people. On our reaching Karkamish we sent a messenger to the people of Irrite: Shuttarna alienated(?) the Harri with the riches of Tushratta and made them of one mind. To Irrite we sent word to them, and these Harri sent a reply to Biashshilim: "Why dost thou come? If thou comest to fight, come on: to . . . thou shalt not." When

¹ *parqu*, cf. No. 14, Rev. (1-10).

² *ana kutallišu ul itâr*.

³ That is, "with the great king."

⁴ Or, "which I had on."

⁵ *sariam*. In the Amarna letters the *sariam* is usually of leather.

⁶ Some wooden object.

⁷ Text has "four men of Meluhha," Ethiopians.

⁸ *uttehiranni*.

we heard the words of the people of Irrite, Biashshilim, the king's son, and Mattiuaza, the king's son, crossed the Euphrates, to give battle forthwith we marched against Irrite.

(41-47) And the gods of the great king, the king of Hatti, went before [us]. And Shuttarna sent to(?) the Harri to Irrite to guard the ——. The chariots and men of the fortress of Irrite gathered together, they waited for us. On our approaching Irrite, the men and chariot(s) which were in the city, he encouraged (strengthened) against us; every with our hands we seized, and we destroyed. When the people (lit., sons) of Irrite they sent to make peace. In Irrite and the fortress of Irrite, all of them to us (the people) of Harrana and rani, gathered together and came to us. . . . in we put them.

(48-55) he sent him. One Mariannu, to go before them, he (I?) gave Washshukkani, to make peace they do not allow (favor). When the chariots Mattiuaza, the king's son and Biashshilim, the king's son, in Irrite the Assyrian his and his chariots against the chariots a messenger to us chariots and men into Washshukkani we brought him men and chariots. . . .

REVERSE

(1-7) [lord of] Hatti lord of the bow Hanti-[dashshuish of Hurma]¹ tapa, Mam[ma of Tahirpa] [Hallara of] Dunna, Gaz[bâe of Hubishna] [Niawan]nish gods of Nulah[hi gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ), the male gods [and the female gods, all] of [them of Kissua]dni, Damkina, ... the river-god [Tuhu]shi, Amizz[adu, A]lalu, Anu, [Antum, Enlil], Nin-lil, Nin-egal, [the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven] and earth, the winds and the clouds.

(8-17) Of the words of this treaty [the gods of] are the witnesses. If thou, Mattiuaza, and the sons of [Harri, dost not keep] the words of this treaty, thou and the Harri, together with your land, together with your wives, together with your [possessions] and together with your treasures, may these gods of the oath destroy you [like a radish(?) with its stalk(?) may they drag you away; as from

¹ Restorations after Nos. 1 and 2.

bubuwahhi, having no ——. ¹ If thou, Mattiuaza, dost take [a second wife], then to thee, Mattiuaza, together with the [second] wife whom thou shalt take, and the Harri, together with their wives, their sons, [in that they have no seed], may these gods, who are lords of the oath, give you poverty and want. As for thee, Mattiuaza, may they overturn [thy throne]. And thee, Mattiuaza, together with your land, may these gods by whom thou has sworn, break like a reed. Thy name and thy seed by the second wife whom thou shalt take, from the earth may thy (*text has*, his) seed be destroyed. And thou Mattiuaza, together with thy land, (like) a tablet laid aside, not sent, from the midst of the Harri shall thy name perish. The land, may it be devastated and uprooted. The land of your country, truly it is a *šāhu* which has been closed(?); it shall go under, it shall not survive. And thou, Mattiuaza, and the sons of the Harri, you are enemies of the thousand gods; may they overcome you.

(18-22) If thou, Mattiuaza and the sons of Harri, this treaty and oath dost keep, thee, Mattiuaza, together with the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, his son, and his grandson, the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and together with your land, may these gods keep you, and may Mitanni as of old return to its (former) position (place), may it prosper, may it grow (become wider). And to thee, Mattiuaza, the sons and the grandsons of the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, may they give you the mountain(?) of Mitanni as an everlasting kingdom; may the throne of thy father grow old, may the land of Mitanni grow old.

(23-45) Teshub of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, Sin of Harrani, (of) heaven and earth, Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, Teshub, lord of Uhushmani, Ea, lord of wisdom, Nergal, Kurta, Anu and Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, the gods Mitrashshil, the gods Arunashshil, the god Indara, the gods Nashatianna, Ellat, Shamanminuhe, Teshub, lord of Washshukkani, Teshub, lord of the city Kamaribi,² of Irrite, Naparbi, Shuruhi, Ishtar, god(dess) and star, Shala, Nin-egal, Ninaiakki,³ Ishhara, Pardâhi of Shûda, the mountains and the rivers and

¹ Cf. No. 1. "Having" seems to be without any object in this text. In No. 1 what may be the object is rubbed.

² Cf. No. 1.

³ No. 1 has *Damkina*.

the wells, the gods of heaven and earth: If I, Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the sons of Harri, (if) we do not keep this treaty and oath, may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our wives, together with our sons, and together with our land, like the *ushu* tree, which has no shoots when it is cut off, may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our lands, and together with our wives, and together with our sons, like this *ushu* tree may we have no seed (offspring). As water of the cistern does not return to its place, so may we, like the water of the cistern, not return to our place. I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our possessions, like smoke to heaven, may we go. Like syrup,¹ which has no seed, so may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and (we) the sons of Harri, together with our lands and our wives and our sons, like the syrup have no seed; like the sip of syrup, may we not return to our place. I, Mattiuaza, if I take a second wife, may my throne be overturned. If we do not keep this treaty and oath, may the gods, the lords of the oath, destroy you. Thus Mattiuaza, the king's son, thus also the sons of Harri (shall say): "If we keep this treaty and oath with the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., may the gods whose names we have called upon, go with us, increase our numbers (widen us), guard us, strengthen us. As lord, may Mattiuaza, go on ahead; under his protection may we enjoy abundant harvests; favor and honor may we see."

May Teshub, first of heaven and earth, forever be our ally. May Mattiuaza, and we, the Harri, forever enjoy health and peace of soul. As the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., as he loves his table, his lands, his people, his sons, and his grandsons, so may he love, like these, me, Mattiuaza, together with my wife, the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, and us, the sons of Harri, the land of Mitanni, together with our lands, together with our possessions.

(46) Tablet No. 1 of his treaty and his oath, by the hand of Kiliandi.

¹ Or "salt."

No. 3. Text *KBo.* I, No. 4.

Treaty drawn up between Shubbiluliuma and Teitte of Nuhashshi, a city-state in northern Syria, near Aleppo, after the great king had driven out the king of Mitanni and his army.¹

OBVERSE

(Col. I, 1-11) Thus, the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant: When the king of Mitanni sought to kill Sharrupsha, and the king of Mitanni, together with his picked² troops and his chariots entered Nuhashshi; when he pressed him hard, then Sharrupsha sent his messenger to (me), the king of Hatti: "The servant of the king of Hatti am I, save me." And (I), the Sun, sent men and horses to rescue him, and the king of Mitanni, together with his picked troops and his chariots they drove away from Nuhashshi.

(12-22) In this matter I did not become angry(?), but went to Sharrupsha, to rescue him. And when in those days, with the king of Hatti, ... the king of Hatti to (against?) Ishuwa. When he devastated Ishuwa and against of Sharrupsha in Mitanni when I (he?) reached, of Mount Kashia[ra] king of Alshe Kashiara when I devastated(?).

(23-33, *only ends of lines left*) my words made war before him, ... he heard and this one the city with them

(Col. II, 1-5) In one year let the merchants of Hatti surely [bring] his *argamanna* (purple?) and with weights (stones) weigh (it). Teitte before the Sun, his lord, to Hatti shall come in his time (year).

(6-20) And with my friend he shall be at peace, with my enemy he shall be at enmity. If the king of Hatti, into Harri, or into Egypt, or into Karaduniash, or into Astata or into any lands of the enemy which are near the border of thy land, which are at war with the king of Hatti; or any lands which are near the border of thy land, which are at peace with the king of Hatti, (if) they besiege

¹ This Teitte, or Tette, is mentioned in the "Hittite" texts from Boghazkeui, cf. Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 135.

² *qábē ħuratišu*, cf. glossary to *Amarna Letters*.

Mukish,¹ or Halpa, or Kinza, make war on the king of Hatti, when the king of Hatti goes forth to plunder (these), if Teitte in his heart (that is, loyally) does not guard his troops and his chariots, or if in the evil of his heart he does not follow them(?); or whether it is a prince or a great lord (who comes out) with his men and his chariots

(21-32) and calls on(?) Teitte for his troops to go to plunder another land, if Teitte, in the evil of his heart does not guard his men and his chariots and does not fight with the enemy, or if he does any hostile act (act of treachery), saying: "What of the oath and the treaty? If the enemy kills him or if the enemy kills thee, surely he will not know about it." And if against this enemy (he goes) thou shalt surely not write(?): "Behold the troops of Hatti are marching out to plunder, indeed he has surrounded the stronghold(?), and has departed from the oath."

(Seven lines uninscribed)

(40-47) second if the people(?) of Harri of Astata² of(?) Lubka² enter the king of Hatti [from his oath he has departed.

(48-56) (against) the king another enemy comes out and plunders Hatti, if with the king of Hatti Teitte shall hear it his men, his chariots to the forces of(?) the noble he goes forth, and if thou, Teitte, ... do not follow(?); whet he it be his son, or his brother, or a Mariannu, to men, chariots, and to the forces of the king of Hatti, may he come in haste.

REVERSE

(Col. III, 1-10) To anything they destroy and to the king of Hatti, goods place, and the king and if a — [or if a —] or if a king's son or if a great lord, when he sends, and that enemy and Teitte, to him(?) and because of his carelessness, if shall return to him. After men, chariots. . . .

(11-20) And and against his fortress, the king of [Hatti] —s them. The treasure he enters What of the treaty? surely does not in his heart

¹ Scribal error for *Mukishhe*.

² Names of lands.

(21-24) If to Teitte he shall seize and Teitte the woman will not send to him

(25-32 Any son of Nuhashshi who in Hatti dwells whether it be a servant, a woman, a female slave Teitte to the king of Hatti return them, he shall give to him, he shall take [them] any he shall not give him his servant to Teitte Hatti shall steal he shall go.

(33-53) And if

(54-57) Nuhashshi any he shall take, any noble he shall not take.

(57-59) Teitte, his bow, dead his we(?) will send to him.

(Col. IV. 1-10) —*hatu* [Mount] Hazzi [Teshub of A]bina, Teshub of [Teshub of Be]tiarik, Teshub of N[irik] Teshub of Sharish[sha] [Teshub of Ki]ssuti, Teshub of Uda, Teshub of Ishhubitta, Teshub of Nuhashshi

(11-16) the Lamassu of Hatti, Zithari[ash] Daliash, the Lamassu of Karah— . . . Ea, Alla— Durmitta, Telibinu of [Tawin]ia, [Tell]ibinu of Hanahana. . . .

(17-21) lord of the oath, Ishhara, queen of the oath, Hebe, ... Ishtar, Belit, Ishtar of Ninuwa, Ishtar of Hattarrina, Ninadda, Kulitta, Zamama, Zamama of Hatti, Zamama of Ellaia, Zamama of Arzia, Iarri, Zappana.

(22-35) Hantitashshu of Hurma, Aparu of Shamuha, Kadahha of Anshuwa, Sharrat of Gatapa, LUGAL-SAL-NUN-ME (=Mamma) of Tahurpa, Hallara of Dunna, Gazbâ of Hubishna, Tabishûwa of Ishhubitta, Beldi of Lanta, Niawannish of Lanta, Nin-PISAN-PISAN-na of Kinza, Mount Lablani, Mount Shariana, Mount Bishaisha, the gods of the Lulahhi, the gods of the Habiri, Nin-kigal, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Hatti, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Kissuwadni, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Nuhashshi, the gods of eternity, all of them, the river-god, Namtara, Minki, Tûhushi, Ammuki, Ammizatum, Alalu, Antum, Anu, Apantum, Enlil, Ninlil,

(36-49) the mountains, rivers, wells, the great sea, heaven and earth, the winds, all of them, to this treaty and oath, truly they are the witnesses. All the words of this treaty and oath, which are written in this tablet, if Teitte does not keep the words of this treaty and oath and from this oath departs, may the gods of this oath (lit., the oath by these gods) destroy Teitte, [his brother], his wives, his sons, his grandsons, his house, his city, his land, his . . . together with all that he has. But if Teitte keep the words of this treaty and oath which are written in this tablet, then may Teitte . . . from his head, his wives, . . . his . . . his . . . his land(?)

(50-51) This tablet . . . according to . . .

No. 4. Text *KBo.* I, No. 5.

Copy of the treaty between Murshili, son of Shubbiluliuma, and Shunashshura of Kissuwadni.¹

OBVERSE

(Col. I, 1-4) Thus [Murshili, the great king, etc.]: When with . . . between them . . . this treaty between them they drew up.

(5-7) Formerly in the time of my father's father, Kissuwadni was part of Hatti, and later Kissuwadni broke away from Hatti and went over to Harri.

(8-13) When, in Ishuwa, [the servants] of the Sun plotted evil against the Sun, the Sun went to seize them. Ishuwa was willing (to have) him (do so) but . . . fled before the Sun and reached Harri. The Sun sent to the Harri saying: "Return my servants." And the Harri afterward sent (a message) to the Sun (as follows):

(14-19) "These fortresses (that is, the people of these fortresses) formerly came to my grandfather, to Harri, and dwelt there, and then, afterward, they went to Hatti as fugitives. And, thereupon, oxen and the stables of their oxen were assigned them, so they have come to my land."

(20-24) The Harri² did not return my servants to the Sun. His men and his horses he sent and they plundered Ishuwa behind

¹ I have not seen Golla's dissertation on this text. Cf. p. 162, n. 3.

² *Sing.*, "man of Harri."

the back of the Sun. All kinds of plunder, oxen, sheep, they captured, and took them back to Harri. The Sun was stationed (lit., dwelt) in another place, making war against an enemy.

(25-29) The Harri violated the oath by the gods. The Sun sent this (message) to the Harri: "If this reaches you: Is any land separating itself from you, and going over to Hatti?" After this word, the Harri sent this to the Sun: "'Tis surely a revolt."

(30-33) Now Kissuwadni, belonging to Hatti, oxen and the stables of their oxen were assigned them. From Harri they broke away, to the Sun they went over. The Harri sinned against Hatti and against Kissuwadni greatly he sinned.

(34-37) Kissuwadni followed him (the Harri?) exceedingly much in his separation (from Hatti). Now Hatti and Kissuwadni from the oath of the gods are surely freed. Now the Sun has restored Kissuwadni to freedom.

(38-44) The Harri (the people) call Shunashshura a slave; but now the Sun makes him a legitimate king. Shunashshura shall come before the Sun, the face of the Sun shall he see. When he comes before the Sun, none of the nobles of the Sun shall remain seated on the couch(?)¹ before him. Afterward, he shall return to Kissuwadni.

(45-48) Whenever the Sun says to him: "Come before me." If he is not willing to come, whatever son of his the king commands, this one shall come before the Sun, but to the Sun he need surely give no *argamanna* (purple?).

(49-54) The Sun, the great king, shall not oppose Shunashshura, shall not make war against him. As the Sun guards his own head and his land, so may he also guard the head and land of Shunashshura. Any heir of his, whom Shunashshura shall mention to the Sun for the kingship, that one the Sun shall guard (approve of) for the kingship.

(55-59) Shunashshura shall not oppose the great king, nor shall he make war against him. As Shunashshura guards his land and his head, so may he also guard the head and land of the Sun. Any heir of his whom the Sun shall mention to Shunashshura for the kingship, that one Shunashshura shall guard for the kingship.

¹ *iqū* M A S, glossed *A*, which has the value *maialu*.

(60-64) If the Sun opposes anyone the Sun, may he attain to the desire of his heart also that one. If the Sun, his enemy him.

(65-71) (*Only a few signs of ends of lines left*) He shall give to him kingship.

(Col. II, 1) Shunashshura, when (if) he wishes, with

(2-6) If any approach the head of Shunashshura, Shunashshura [shall act according to] the desire [of his heart]. If a foe [enter] Kissuwadni, if he seize a city and shut it up, as he is the enemy of Shunashshura, so shall he also be (an enemy) of the Sun.

(7-10) If the people of Kissuwadni seize that enemy, they shall kill him. If they give him over to the Sun, he shall kill him. The Sun is truly at peace with the people of Kissuwadni.

(11-15) [If an enemy of] Shunashshura desires it of the Sun, and(?) he cause him to take his seat on the throne, if the people of Kissuwadni do not slay that enemy, do not give him over to the Sun, he does not kill him, the [Sun] is able, then with Kissuwadni he is at war.

(16-18) If anyone, whether man or city, make a revolt against the Sun, or make war upon him, Shunashshura as soon as he hears of it, shall report it to the Sun.

(19-21) If anyone, whether [man or city], make a revolt against Shunashshura, [or make war on him], the Sun, as soon as hears of it, shall report it to Shunashshura.

(22-23) If another land starts any hostility against the Sun, when Shunashshura hears of it, he shall report it to the Sun.

(24-25) If another land starts any hostility against Shunashshura, when the Sun hears of it, he shall report it to Shunashshura.

(26-28) If any city starts hostility in the land of the Sun, as this one is the enemy of the Sun, so also shall it be the enemy of Shunashshura, together they shall make war (against it).

(29-30) The property of the city, which as booty the men of Shunashshura shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him).

(31-33) The property of the city, which as booty the men of the Sun shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him). The city is ground (lit., dust) of the Sun.

(34-36) And if any city starts hostility in the land of Shunashshura, as this one is the enemy of Shunashshura, so also shall it be the enemy of the Sun, together they shall make war (against it).

(37-38) The property of the city, which as booty the men of Shunashshura shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him).

(39-41) And the property of the city, which as booty the men of the Sun shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him). The city is ground (dust) of Shunashshura.

(42-45) If any land starts hostility against the Sun, and the land at the time is under oath of the gods to Shunashshura, and the Sun asks Shunashshura for "mustered troops," he shall give him the "mustered troops."

(46-48) If Shunashshura gives the troops, says: "Against the enemy take them." He shall take them. If he does not say so, they shall remain in his land to guard it.

(49-50) If he takes the troops against the enemy, the troops of the Sun, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it. The troops of Shunashshura, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it.

(51-55) If any land starts hostility against Shunashshura, and the land at the time is under oath of the gods to the Sun, and Shunashshura asks the Sun for "mustered troops," the Sun shall give him the "mustered troops."

(56-58) And if the Sun gives the troops, says: "Against the enemy take them." He shall take them. If he does not say this, they shall remain in his land to guard it.

(59-62) If he takes the troops against the enemy, the troops of Shunashshura, the spoil, the booty which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it. The troops of the Sun, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it.

(63-69) If there arise serious (great) hostility against the Sun, and the enemy enter into his land in his assaults; if into the land of Shunashshura (the call?) comes: "Shunashshura together with thy picked troops to my rescue come." If before thee any such word comes, before thy picked troops, send thy son, to my rescue come.

REVERSE

(Col. III, 1-6) If there arise serious hostility against Shunashshura, if the enemy in his assaults come into his land; if into the land of the Sun (the call?) comes, I, the Sun, will come with¹ my picked troops to thy rescue. If before the Sun any such word comes, before my picked troops, I will send help.

(7-10) Anyone starting hostility with the Sun, he is surely an enemy of Shunashshura. Shunashshura (shall say): "My assembled troops are at the disposal of the Sun. With him let us indeed make war."

(11-13) And anyone starting war with Shunashshura, he is surely an enemy of the Sun. The Sun (shall say): "My assembled troops [are at thy disposal].² With him let us indeed make war.

(14-15) [If] anyone instigates a rebellion against the Sun, I, Shunashshura will hunt him down.

(16-17) And [if] anyone instigates a rebellion against Shunashshura, thou, the Sun, shalt surely hunt him down.

(18-19) The land of Hatti, in the days to come, shall surely not instigate any rebellion or evil against Kissuwadni.

(20-21) And Kissuwadni, in the days to come, shall surely not instigate any rebellion or evil against Hatti.

(22-24) If any man of Hatti shall hear of a matter concerning Shunashshura from the mouth of an enemy, he shall report it to Shunashshura.

(25-27) And if any man of Kissuwadni shall hear of a matter concerning the Sun from the mouth of an enemy, he shall report it to the Sun.

¹ Text has "from."

² Omitted by scribe.

(28-30) If the Sun sends his messenger to Shunashshura, Shunashshura shall do nothing wicked, he shall not ensnare him in any magic (magical plant).

(31-34) If Shunashshura (sends) either his son or his messenger into the presence of the Sun, or if Shunashshura goes himself, the Sun shall do nothing wicked to them, he shall not ensnare them in any magic.

(35-36) Hatti and Kissuwadni, an exceedingly strong alliance let them make between them.

(37-39) Again: If any stronghold of Harri "overflows" against a stronghold of Shunashshura, in any city of Harri we will make war together against it.¹

(40-44) And whatever booty the troops of the Sun capture, the troops of the Sun shall take. And whatever booty the troops of Shunashshura shall capture, the troops of Shunashshura shall take. The ground of that city the Sun shall give to Shunashshura, the Sun shall surely increase (widen) his land.

(45-49) And of any stronghold of Harri that we smite, whatever I, the Sun, desire, I, the Sun, shall take. And whatever he desires to Shunashshura I will give. The land of Kissuwadni, in the days to come, shall never turn back to Harri.

(50-55) Again: If the Harri shall hear (it said): "Did not Shunashshura break away from the king of Harri and go over to the Sun?" If the king of Harri attempts any [evil?] because of Shunashshura, [I, the Sun], because of Shunashshura, will not accept any greetings (peace gifts) from the king of Harri.

(56-59) [And if] the king of Harri, shall cease from persecuting Shunashshura, [the king of] Harri shall say: "The land of Kissuwadni is indeed the land of the Sun, and I, moreover, shall not do any violence to the land of Kissuwadni."

(60-63) [And when] the king of Harri is thus placed under oath by the gods, and I, the Sun, make peace with the king of Harri, and if the king of Harri does not cease persecuting Shunashshura, his greetings (gifts) I will not accept.

¹ We will make war together against any city of Harri in which this occurs.

(Col. IV, 1-4) Shunashshura together let us make war

(5-10) Anyone of the land of Harri, whether merchant or (trades)man,¹ of the city of Urushsha, who has been given over into the hand of Shunashshura, hereafter to the king of Harri, I will never give. And hereafter, if the king of Harri seeks anything of them through a "good" claim, I, the Sun, will not permit it. The king of Harri is to be placed under oath by the gods.

(11-13) If against (me), the Sun, my enemy (comes), he shall be my enemy; if he comes against (thee), Shunashshura, he shall be thy enemy; and (if) this enemy undertakes war against us

(14-18) and (thou), Shunashshura, shalt say: "Thy troops of Hatti, may they come to my rescue, and may fear of thee be established in my land." Then, I, the Sun, will give thee troops and horses in sufficient (numbers). Shunashshura shall give me troops and horses, as many as are (needed).

(19-24) Further: If (I), the Sun, go into another country to make war, be it into Harri, be it into Arzauwa, Shunashshura shall furnish one hundred horsemen and one thousand foot soldiers for the camp. With the Sun he shall march. Their rations (food for the road) which they receive up to the time they reach the Sun, the Sun shall give them.

(25-31) Further: The tablet of the oath by the gods, which he (?) has made, we will surely destroy it: the word of the Harri, we will put it into the water(?).² In addition, Shunashshura shall not be [the subject] of the Harri. We will make a second tablet. Nor shall Shunashshura send his messenger to the king of Harri. And a messenger of the land of Harri shall not be brought into his land.

(32-39) Again: If the Sun send thee a letter (tablet), in which letter the (record) of a matter has been put down, and the messenger report (verbally) to thee about the matter which he has brought to thee: if the words of the messenger agree with the wording of the

¹ Possibly "slaves."

² Destroy the writing by putting the tablet into water. The *me* may, however, go with what follows.

letter, then thou, Shunashshura, trust (believe) him. But if the words which thou hast from the mouth of the messenger do not correspond with the words of the letter, thou, Shunashshura, shalt not trust him; and thou shalt surely not take any harm in thy heart over these words.

(40-42) Beginning at the sea (the Black Sea?), they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory) between Lamia (a city) which belongs to the Sun, and Bituratu, which belongs to Shunashshura. The Sun shall not rebuild Lamia.

(43-51) They shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory) between Arûna (city), which belongs to the Sun and Bituratu, which belongs to Shunashshura. The Sun shall not rebuild Arûna. Between Shâlia, which belongs to the Sun, and Zinziluwa and Erimma, which belong to Shunashshura, they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory). The Sun shall rebuild Shâlia. Between Anamushta, which belongs to the Sun, and the mountain of Zabarina(?), which belongs to Shunashshura, they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory). The Sun shall rebuild Anamushta.

(52-57) The ancient boundary of both of these (shall be kept). That which is in the neighborhood (lit., by the side of) Turutuna, let the great king keep, and that which is in the neighborhood of Atania, let Shunashshura keep. From Luwana to Durbina (runs) the boundary of Shunashshura. That which is on the side of Hatti, let the great king keep; that which is on the side of Atania, let Shunashshura keep.

(58-61) Sherigga belongs to the Sun; Luwana, to Shunashshura. The Shamri river (lit., "powerful, raging," river) is the boundary. The great king shall not cross the Shamri river to the side of Atania; Shunashshura shall not cross the Shamri river to the side of Hatti.

(62-66) From Zilabbuna the Shamri river is the boundary, from . . . the Shamri river is the boundary of Shunashshura. Shunashshura shall not cross the Shamri river to [the Hatti] side; the great king shall not [cross the Shamri river to the side of . . .]

No. 5. Text *KBo.* I, No. 6.

Treaty between Murshili and Rimisharma, king of Aleppo. The original having been broken, a new copy was drawn up by Mutallu, the son of Murshili. This is the text we have.

OBVERSE

(1-2) the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant
. . . . the valiant, the grandson of Shubbiluliuma, the great king
. . . .

(3-8) A treaty tablet for Rimisharma, king of Halab, my father Murshili caused to be made and the former(?) tablet was broken and I, the great king, wrote another tablet for him. With my seal I sealed it and gave it to him. By day, in the morning, any word which is in this tablet, no one shall blot out. The word of treaty of the great king, it is not to be not to be broken the oath and the treaty which my father Murshili made for him, is here written.

(9-10) Thus the Sun, Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, son of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti:

(11-14) Formerly the kings of Halab held a great kingdom (kingship), and their kingdom, Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, took away.¹ After Hattushili, king of Hatti, Murshili, the great king, the grandson of Hattushili, the great king, destroyed the kingdom of Halab and the land of Halab.

(15-18) When Dudhalia, the great king, ascended the royal throne, the king of Halab with him the king of Halab with the king of Hanigalbat and the king of Hanigalbat; and the king of Halab, because of this matter devastated for him(?) and the city of Halab he destroyed.

(19-20) The king of Halab sinned against the king of Hanigalbat, and with Hattushili, king of Hatti, he

(21-22) The people of Ashtati let us make(?) and our boundaries of Halab let us for him.

(23-24) And the king of Mitanni the people of Nuhash-shi, strongholds and boundaries he gave.

¹ *ulteli*, might also be translated "kept it up."

(25-27) And their tablets which these he wrote for them with his seal he sealed them the people of Halab against Hattushili, the king of Hatti, thus committed sin.

(28-32) to Hattushili, and the king of Hatti [our] fortresses [and our boundaries] of Halab, returned to him our fortresses and our boundaries of Halab which the king of Halab and to the king of Nuhashshi, and he pardoned them bears.

(33-36) king of Hatti, my father, [ascended] the throne of royalty Karkamish, Halab, and the lands of Nuhashshi which the king of Amurri(?) took from them our he established.

(37-41) the king of Ashtati and against the people of Nuhashshi king of fortresses of of Halab

REVERSE

(1-10) the great king the Sun Rimisharma I will guard, and the sons of Rimisharma, let the sons of the Sun, Murshili, king of Hatti, guard them. And the sons of the Sun, the sons of Rimisharma shall not plunder (ruin) them. The Sun, the great king, shall be the ally of Rimisharma, king of Halab, and Rimisharma, king of Halab, shall be the ally of the Sun, the great king. The sons of the Sun, Murshili, king of Hatti, shall be the allies of the sons of Rimisharma, and the sons of Rimisharma shall be the allies of the sons of the Sun. And we, the sons of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, all of us, and our house, are surely of one (mind) in this matter. The gods of Hatti and the gods of Halab are witnesses.

(11-16) In future days, for the king of Hatti, the kingship of Halab, on him shall surely not(?) —. Let Rimisharma, king of Halab, guard the Sun, Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, and let the Sun, Murshili, the great king, guard Rimisharma, king of Halab. Any to the hand of Rimisharma or to the hand of his son or his grandson, they shall surely not take it away(?). And the kingship of Halab the son or grandson of Rimisharma, king of Halab, shall hold.

(17-22) This tablet, in Hatti, before the Rabсарis, —hurunuwa, king of —naia, the Rabсарis, Gashshû urianni, A—anhabili, ... Lupakki,¹ chief of the sons of the palace, ... chief of the scribes, ... — washili, the scribe wrote.

No. 6. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 7 and 25.

Copy of the treaty, long since known from the hieroglyphic version, between Hattushili, grandson of Shubbiluliuma, and Ramses II. It should be read with Breasted's *Ancient Records*, III, secs. 367 f., at hand.

OBVERSE

(1) [Thus, the tablet of the treaty] of Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, [the king of Egypt, the valiant], with Hattushili, [the great king], the king of Hatti, his brother, to give [good] peace, good brotherhood, and great between them to Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, the valiant in all lands, son of (5) Minmuaria, the great king, the king of Egypt, the valiant, grandson of Minpahiritaria, the great king, [the king of Egypt], the valiant, to Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant, son of Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant, grandson of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant: Behold, now I have given good brotherhood and good peace between us, to give good peace and good brotherhood for all time in the [relations] of Egypt with Hatti, for all time, thus: Behold the relationship of the great king, the king of Egypt, (10) and the great king, the king of Hatti, from of old; god will not allow an enemy (enmity) to be made between them forever. Behold, Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, to make a relationship such as Rîa made, such as Teshub made, for Egypt and for Hatti, by his relationship from eternity to prevent the making of enmity now and forever and ever; (this) Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, has accomplished this (day) by the treaty on a silver tablet (15) with Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother, in

¹ Cf. *Amarna Letters*, 170, 15.

order to give good peace and good brotherhood, now and forever. He is my brother, and I am brother to him, and I am at peace with him, forever. Let us make our brotherhood and our peace, and let it be a better brotherhood and peace than there was before between Egypt and Hatti.

Behold Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, (is in a state) of good peace and good brotherhood with Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti. Behold, the sons of Riamashesha-mai-Amana, king of Egypt, (20) are at peace and in brotherly relationship with the sons of Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, forever. And they, because of our state of brotherhood and peace, even Egypt with Hatti, are at peace and in brotherly relationship, as we are, forever.

And Riamashesha-mia-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, shall not plunder (devastate) Hatti in order to get something out of it for . . . and Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, shall not plunder Egypt in order to get something out of it (for) . . .

Behold the eternal decree which Ria and Teshub have made (25) for Egypt and Hatti, that there should be peace and brotherhood, that they should not allow any enmity (to arise) between them. Behold, Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, has taken advantage of (lit., laid hold on) this (decree) to keep the peace unto this day. Behold Egypt (in like manner, shall maintain) its brotherly relations with Hatti, forever. And if another enemy comes against Hatti and Ha[ttushili, the great king, the king of Ha]tti, sends to me, saying: Come to me, be my ally against him. Then Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, (30) shall send his troops, his chariots and they shall slay [the enemy] . . . Hatti. And if Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, is angered against his servants because they have sinned against him, and thou sendest to Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, about this, behold Riamashesha-mai-Amana, will send his troops and his chariots and they shall destroy all who oppose them.

And if another enemy come against Egypt, and Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the king of Egypt, thy brother, sends to Hattushili,

(35) the king of Hatti, his brother, saying; "Come to my aid against him." Then Hattushili, king of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots, and shall kill my enemy. And if Riamashesha-mai-Amana, king of Egypt, is angered against his servants because they have sinned against him, and I send to Hattushili, king of Hatti, my brother, about [this], then Hattushili, king of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots and they shall slay all who oppose him.

(40) And behold, the son of Hattushili, king of Hatti, ... (whatever) he does(?) in the place of Hattushili, his father, after years (if any of) Hatti commit sin until he returns the chariots

No. 7. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 15 and 19.

As Meissner observed, this badly broken text is evidently the Hittite version of the famous battle of Kadesh, described in prose and verse by the scribes of Ramses II. Here also Breasted's *Ancient Records* should be kept in hand (III, secs. 294 f.).

OBVERSE

(3-9) And thou to hear what — when — me this matter thou could'st not. . . . Truth, not truth (are) these words. . . . Over all that was done for him, and let them do it, and when thou many to a side, and so far thou hast not

(10-14) Again: And what thou hast written me, I thus: thou art not mindful of the days when the enemy. . . . Behold, the enmity which this god and this one in the midst of the enemy of Hatti, like of Muttalli, king of Hatti

(15-23) And the armies (camps) of the great king, the king of Egypt and when the armies which were in front of the great king, the king of [Egypt] (the road to) Hatti he was taking, and they said three armies are advancing over the roads and thus far and the king is sitting on his throne by the side(?) they made, they burned, and while the king went (rushed) about, and the king did not know together with the lands that were with him, all of them his side(?), and there were no armies of mine(?) [in] my — and no armies [of his in].

(24-28, 3-7) I carried off the enemies of these lands, of the land, of before the sons of Egypt (Egyptians) and before the sons of Hatti (Hittites) and when thou didst say to my armies: there are no armies in one of his armies was in the midst of Amurru, and a second army (was in) and the second army was approaching Taminta

(29-31, 8-16) And when the king — thy — to Kinahhi, against (in front of) [against] Hatti thou wast exceedingly haughty(?) [against] Kinza and against Hareta, and against and Muwatalli, king of [Hatti], ... and he was sitting in the city why these to (against) against them, and if me, and he(?) thee(?), behold, the oath

REVERSE

(1-2, 1-8) Shamash of Kianna(?), before the great gods which thou didst do (make) against me

. . . . dost thou remember the enemy behold, the great gods of the lands . . . we made, thus I did not I will guard him, greatly peace

(3-6, 9-12) And I did not know any of these things. Thou hast written to me as follows: Seize him are seized, but they did not seize him. Behold, the good condition for Egypt with Hatti, before me for.

(7-15, 13-17) Again: And what thou hast written about the matter of Paku together with a hundred others, when he of the Meluhhites (people of Meluhha); Biati thou shalt not give like him. Behold, Birihnawa, the old man thou shalt not give. The governor(?). . . . Behold, Riannâ(?) to make, the governor of to make, the king of Halba, ... against them, and they were not like

(16-22) And thou hast written about the matter and the city of Kiswadna about this matter thus he stands and before Shamash, before and the king at thy side greatly the great gods, they will

(23-26) Behold, this . . . who was (or did) not and the king

No. 8. Text *KBo.* I, No. 29.

Naptera, wife of Ramses II, sends greetings to Pudu-Hepa, wife of Hattushili. On the silver tablet containing Ramses' copy of the "Hittite treaty" there were represented the figures of the Hittite king and queen. "[That which is in the middle on its other side] is a figure, in the likeness of — (goddess) of Kheta, embracing the figure of the princess of Kheta, surrounded by the following words: 'The seal of the Sun-god of the city of Ernen (Arinna), the lord of the land; the seal of Petkhep (Pudu-Hepa), the princess of the land of Kheta, the daughter of the land of Kezwenden (Kissuwadni),' etc."—Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, sec. 391.¹

(1-2) Thus: Naptera, the great queen of Egypt, to Pudu-Hepa, the great queen of Hatti, my sister. Speak!

(3) To me, thy sister, there is peace, to my land there is peace.

(4-11) To thee, my sister, may there be peace, to thy land may there be peace. Behold, I have heard that my sister has written to me, to ask about my health (lit., peace), and she has written to me about the relationship of good peace, about the relationship of good brotherhood wherein the great king, the king of Egypt, (abides) with the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother.

(12-19) Ria and Teshub will lift up thy head, and Ria will give peace for thy benefit. And he will give good brotherhood of the great king, the king of Egypt, with the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother, forever. And I am at peace and sisterly with the great queen, my sister; I, now [and forever].

No. 9. Text *KBo.* I, No. 21.

Perhaps another letter from Naptera to Pudu-Hepa. It may have formed part of the correspondence which led to the visit of the Hittite king, Hattushili, to Egypt to be present at the marriage of his eldest daughter to Ramses II (1259 B.C.).

OBVERSE

(1-6) daughter against Id²—— to send it to the king what my sister wishes to be sent to to send it.

¹ I have added in parentheses the proper names as they appear in the cuneiform.

² A man's name.

(7-13) these men of the land of Ga—— them, and they are obedient of my brother with him the sister(?) who in it which they made for them, not for my sister(?) thou art a lady of the land of her ——, all

(14-16) and what my sister has written me thus: "He will not give them in their houses(?)"

REVERSE

(1-4) what my sister has written to me, behold [the things] have been done . . . before them according to the right, and according as they do to bring(?) anything before them to bring before another.

(5-8) what my sister has written to me their —— marched is desirous of coming here(?) they ——, they ——.

(9-13) behold, I am burning (with desire), ... with Riamashia to come before thee to see how you are (your peace) the peace of your land.

No. 10. Text *KBo.* I, No. 23.

A letter concerning the bringing-up of a child born to the king of Egypt, possibly a little granddaughter of Hattushili (cf. No. 9).

OBERSE

(1-2) Copy of the writing which Teshub made between Egypt and between Hatti.

(3-11) What was not¹ upon the writing which thou didst send: A daughter was born to the king of Egypt. The writing speaks thus, and the great gods of Egypt spoke to him; and to speak the truth is on their lips; and as men act, so may he; they spoke to him, saying: "This daughter which has been born to thee, bring her to us and we will make her queen (lit., to queenship) of another land."

¹ I do not understand the force of the negative. Meissner suggests it is a mistake for *ultu*, but this would not make any sense either.

(12-15) And the land in which we will make her queen shall be made, together with Egypt, ... their and that one said(?) they keep her

REVERSE

(1-5) Written according to the wording (mouth) of the original tablet: nothing has been changed.

No. 11. Text *KBo.* I, No. 24.

A letter from Ramses to the king of Mirâ, in which he denies having acted in a manner contrary to his treaty with the Hittite king.

OBSERVE

(1-5) Thus Washmuaria-Shatebnaria, the great king, [the king of Egypt], son of Ria, Riamashseha-mai-Amana, to Sha— (or Ku—), king of Mirâ, speak: Behold, to me [there is peace, to my house there is peace, to my wife there is peace], to my sons there is peace, to my troops there is peace, to my horses [there is peace] to my chariots there is peace, in the midst of all of my land there is abundant [peace].

(6) To thee, king of Mirâ, may there be peace, to thy land may [there be peace].

(7-13) Behold, the great king, the king of Egypt, has heard all the words [which thou hast written] to me about what follows: Concerning the matters about Urhi-Teshub, they did not [happen after the manner] of what thou hast written me thereof. And so again I say: Behold the good relationship which the great king, the king of Egypt, has established (made) with the king of [Hatti], my brother: in good brotherhood and good peace, like Ria, and [Teshub] may they live forever. Again, behold the matter of Urhi-Teshub, whereof thou [hast written me], the great king, the king of Hatti, has acted according to

(14-20) And that one wrote to me thus about him: Let him give the great king, the king of Egypt, for the quieting of his troops, let him give for the and let that one give his gold, and let that one give his silver, and let him give his horses. And give thou for the giving of his bronze, and give and let him seize Urhi-Teshub great king, the king of

REVERSE

(1-2) the great king, the king of Hatti. . . .

(3-7) this word about which I have written to thee and about which thou hast written to me concerning them (*fem.*). Behold the writing of the oath which I swore for the great king, the king of Hatti, my brother, it is placed under the feet of [Teshub], before the great gods. Are they not the witnesses [of these words?]

(8-10) And behold, the writing of the oath which the great king, [the king of Hatti], swore (made) for me. It is placed under the feet of Ria, ... before the great gods. Are they not the witnesses of these words?

(11-15) I have held fast to the oath, I have not let it go. Thou, do thou not [believe] the words of untruth which thou hast heard about (the matter). There is nothing in it. Behold the good relationship (of brotherhood) and peace wherein I (live) with the great king [the king of Hatti]. Therein I (abide) now and forever.

No. 12. Text *KBo*, I, No. 8.

Treaty between Hattushili and Bantishinna of Amurru. The opening lines contain references to Shubbiluliuma's treaty with Azira of Amurru, pictured in the Amarna letters, by those who did not like him, as a consummate villain.

OBVERSE

(1-3) [Thus Hattushili, the great king, etc., grandson] of Shubbiluliuma, the king of Hatti, the valiant [with Bantishinna]. . . . ,

(4-6) Before Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, Azira, king [of Amurru, had fled and thrown himself on the mercy of the king] of Egypt, and [then, later, he threw himself] at the feet of Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, and my grandfather had mercy on him and wrote a treaty of peace (tablet of treaty), the boundaries of Amurru as his fathers knew them,¹ he defined (lit., wrote) and gave to him.

(7-10) When Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, died, Murshili, my father, the son of Shubbiluliuma, sat on the royal throne. In

¹ Lit., "of his fathers."

Amurru, Idin-Teshub seized the kingship. After Idin-Teshub, Abbi-Teshub seized the royal throne. According to the treaty which Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, wrote for Azira, the treaty (lit., tablet) of my grandfather they observed.

(11-15) After my father, Muwattalli, my brother, seized the royal throne. Muwattalli, my brother, — Bantishinna. [When Azira] died, Bantishinna of Amurru seized the royal throne. Muwattalli, my brother, ... Bantishinna, king of Amurru, from the throne of Amurru he removed him and brought him to Hatti. I, at that time, requested him of Muwattalli, my brother, and alone(?) I took him to Haggamishsha; a palace I gave him; no harm befell him (lit., he saw no harm); I guarded him.

(16-21) When Nergal had snatched the great king to his fate, I, Hattushili, sat on the throne of my father. Bantishinna, a second time, I made ruler(?) of [Amurru]. The house of his father and the royal throne I confirmed upon him. Between us [we established] kinship. My son Nerikka-ilim took the daughter of Bantishinna of Amurru for his wife. And the king's daughter, Gashshuliaue, in Amurru, for the king's house, to Bantishinna I gave for his wife. (In) Amurru she shall hold the place of queen (?). The kingship in Amurru shall belong to the son and grandson of my daughter for all time.

(22-27) again(?) spoke as follows: To my lord: surely a dead man was I, ... my of Amurru, to the throne of my father he restored me to life he restored me, and may my lord, the tablet of treaty and oath let them write(?) Bantishinna of Amurru, as king, in future days, the kingship of Amurru [shall hold]. From(?) the hand of his son or the hand of his grandson, let no one take it. Whatever thou, Bantishinna shalt ask of me, I, the Sun, will not withhold it.

(28-33) [I, the Sun, wrote] for Bantishinna a treaty tablet according to the original tablet which Shubbiluliuma, the great king [had written for Azira], ... the great king, wrote for Bantishinna, king of Amurru, according to the text (lit., mouth) of the treaty of my [grandfather Shubbiluliuma], and I gave it to him.

The kingship of the king of Amurru, to Bantishinna, to the hand of his son, his grandson, ... [Banti]shinna, and the seed of my daughter has seized (holds) it, they shall not take it from him(?). The kingship of Amurru, the son of Bantishinna, his grandson, the brother of Bantishinna, or my daughter's son. If against Bantishinna or against his son, his grandson, anyone shall plan any harm, this one is the enemy of the king of Hatti and of the sons of the king of Hatti.

(34-36) a king's daughter he does not take, sons he does not have, whether a king's son of Amurru or a son of his brother, or a daughter of his [brother]. Bantishinna whom I — because of these things, ... of Hatti(?) and the sons of Hatti, truly they shall not —

(37-44) for thee, Bantishinna I have made in Amurru on the throne of royalty I have placed thee. And if thou this Hattushili, the king, ... Pudu-Hepa, the great queen, thy lady, his son, his grandson, ... [of] Hattushili, the king, and of Pudu-Hepa, the queen, ... lordship thou dost not guard, may the oath by the gods any son of mine, grandson of mine, any of mine, whether it be my brother or the son of my brother, whether it be a son-in-law (or mine) another is he. Thou my son, my grandson, thou shalt not send; to place (thou shalt not?) go; when thy wife, (thy) sons, thy brother, ... the head of(? the king)

REVERSE

(1-4) king of Hatti to plunder(?) he has sent out. If from — thou goest

(5-11) And if a king's son, a great lord, with his troops and his chariots against another country, to plunder, I send his chariots does not guard but with the enemy anything does not do. Thus thou shalt say to(?) and if the enemy —, I (will) indeed. . . . Shall send, behold, the troops of Hatti from the oath ¹

¹ Cf. No. 3, Col. II, 6 f.

No. 13. Text *KBo.* I, No. 10.

A diplomatic letter from Hattushili to Kadashmanturgu of Babylonia (Karduniash). The latter, a minor, seems to be under the thumb of an old "grand vizier" who is not inclined to be friendly toward the Hittite king. Hattushili also attempts to settle the trouble between the Babylonian king and Bantishinna of Amurru. I fail to grasp the meaning of a number of sections of the correspondence.

OBVERSE

(1-2) [Hattushili], the great king, the king of Hatti, [to Kadashmanturgu], the great king, the king of Karduniash, my brother, speak:

(3-4) [Before me there] is peace. To my house, my wife, my sons, my troops, my horses, my chariots, my land, all of it, there is abundant peace.

(5-6) [Before thee], may there be peace. To thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy troops, [thy horses], thy chariots; and in the midst of thy whole land, may there be abundant peace.

(7-24) [When thou] and I established kinship and became good brothers again (lit., to good brothers returned), we did not do it (return) for one day, we did not establish brotherhood and kinship which shall have an end . . . let us now establish, saying: We are mortals (lit., people) . . . whether (either of us) goes to his fate or lives, let him guard his sons, and from the gods . . . who made us (or for us?). Now when thy father went to his fate, (as though we had been) brothers, I mourned the death of thy father, my tears were copious, a messenger [I sent] and to the nobles of Karduniash I am now sending (this): "If the [claim] of my brother to rulership thou dost not recognize (lit., guard), I will make war on you. [After the messenger?] I will advance into Karduniash. And if any enemy marches against you, write to me. I will surely come to your aid." Further: In days past my brother (spoke) thus: "The tablets they did not read (lit., call) before thee." Now these scribes are not living (any more). None of the tablets has been cast aside. Let them now read these tablets before thee. I

wrote these words to them as a matter of decency. But Itti-Marduk-balatu, whom the gods have allowed to grow old beyond limits (lit., no traversing), in whose mouth evil words have no end; the words which he wrote—my heart was torn by his word (message). Thus (he spoke): "Thou dost not address us as brothers, as thy slaves thou art subjecting us."

(25-35) Thus to my brother: "Why should I have subjugated them as my servants? Never have the sons of Karduniash (Babylonians) subjugated the sons of Hatti, nor have the sons of Hatti ever subjugated the sons of Karduniash." With kind word(s) I thus addressed them: "Let them guard the seed of my brother Kadash-manturgu." And this Itti-Marduk-balatu replied: "Why did I address these slanderous words to them?" These things Itti-Marduk-balatu is writing. Now let me address this to them: "If thou dost not guard the son of your lord for the rulership, never, if any enemy comes against you, will I come to your aid." I never took a word of Itti-Marduk-balatu into my heart. In those days my brother was a minor and Itti-Marduk-balatu an evil man when he was speaking before him. But surely, why should I accept his word?

(36-54) Thus to my brother: Concerning the matter about which my brother has written: "That I have discontinued my messengers. Because the Ahlamu are hostile, I have discontinued my messengers." What is this word? That thou, my brother, because of the Ahlamu, hast thou discontinued thy messengers: that the kingship of my brother is diminished: and that words which are not good are spoken before my brother by (lit., at the hand of) Itti-Marduk-balatu: and that my brother for these reasons has discontinued his messengers. In the land of my brother horses are more numerous than straw. A thousand chariots accompanied thy messenger, to Duldul they brought him (safely); as for the Ahlamu, they kept their hands off. And if my brother now says: "The king of Assyria (detains) my messenger in the midst of his land . . . he does not bring(?)." The king of Assyria with camp and chariots . . . thy land is not conquered. Surely thy messenger, because of the might . . . thy land. What king of Assyria is it who restrains thy messenger?

. . . . they go, and the king of Assyria restrains thy messengers, (why) dost thou not go with me? My brother, thou art a great king, and in might. . . . And, my brother, behold, as I am in love with my brother but my brother does not send his messengers do(es) not know. The matter about which my brother has written, surely I will attend to it are at war, their messengers do not go together why dost thou keep back thy messenger?

(55-81) [Concerning] the messenger of the king of Egypt about whom my brother has written: [About this messenger of the king of] Egypt, now to my brother I will write: [The king of Egypt] and I, we have established kinship and have become brothers again. . . . (We) say: we are brothers. And thus: with the enemy of both [we are at war, and with], the friend of both at peace. And when the king of Egypt [and I] were angry, to thy father Kadashmanturgu, I wrote: "[The king of Egypt] has made war against me." And thy father replied as follows: "[As] went against the king of Egypt, so will I go with thee. . . . I will go, camp and chariots, such as I have, for the march. . . ." Now, my brother, ask thy soldiers and let them tell thee camp and chariots, as thou shalt command(?), with me for [the march I shall take] whatever he took. My enemy, who (flees) to another land (and) comes before the king of Egypt, according to my letter to him and he, (if) he does not hand over my enemy, [I and the king of] Egypt shall be angry with each other. But [we will be at war] with each other (if) he comes to aid my enemy the king of Egypt has interrupted [the messengers of my brother] and after my brother Egypt wrote, and the matter of the messenger (the king of) Egypt thee he took (seized). Now writes (has written): I am restrained, restrain thee and now a valiant man art thou the peace of my brother let them receive (take) make(?) now if

(82-83) three times, four times son and son of

REVERSE

(1-8) Kadashmanturgu and I Karduniash king of Hatti king of Karduniash through love for his brother the son of his brother shall guard through love for his father from east to west they have heard speaks to me, let them hear.

(9-13) wrote. That (for) Adad-shar-ilani I had rendered a decision brought him(?). The lawsuits of the merchants of the king of Karkamish them. My brother, hasten, send another messenger . . . none of their litigants have I sent let them judge.

(14-25) Now thou hast written as follows: My merchants, in Amurru, (the people of?) Ugarit (. . . . ?) slew; in Hatti they did not slay them (lit., did not slay the corpse) they slew. If the king gives ear (hears) to this matter (and) he captures (seizes) the slayer (lit., slayer of the corpse), to the brothers of the slain [he shall hand him over] and the property (furniture) of the slain his brothers shall take, and they shall hang the slayer in the city in which the man was slain (lit., which the corpse was slain). And if his brothers they shall not receive. The slayer shall him. If a man who has committed a sin against the king flees to another country against killing there is no commandment(?), my brother, ask and let them tell thee. The slayer of the criminal they did not kill, a merchant they did kill whether the Subari how does he know? If they did kill (him), then I(?) will hear(?) the brothers of the slain merchants and will look into their case (suit).

(26-33) Thus to my brother: Concerning Bantishinni about whom my brother has written: "He is cursing the land." When I asked Bantishinni, he spoke as follows: "Three talents of silver were owed (me) by the people of the city of Akkad." And now, behold the vassalage of Bantishinni (to me) has come about, let my brother bring suit against him. And because of the curses against the land of my brother, Bantishinni shall take oath before my gods in the presence of Adad-shar-ilani, thy messenger. And if my brother does

not trust (me in this matter), let thy servant who heard Bantishinni when he cursed the land of my brother, come and try him. And I will press (the matter) against Bantishinni; Bantishinni is my vassal, if he curses my brother, does he not curse me?

(34-41) Thus to my brother: Concerning the physician about whom thou hast written: My physician, when they took him, prayed for him(?), but the sick man, when he — him, (saying) "Over him I sigh, — I—" . . . found (reached) him, he was dead. And his servants, behold, they have seized my messenger. My brother, (ask) them, let them tell my brother the things which my physician did. And if (what) I gave them they have lost and are afraid, let them bring the matter before my brother. My brother . . . the chariot, wagons, horses, silver, and furniture which I gave to the physician, which . . . let them return(?). And let me send a letter to my brother, let my brother hear. . . . found him, (he was) dead. My physician I am holding back, and shall hold back from you(?).

(42-48) . . . from(?) my brother Muattalli they took an *ashipu* priest and a physician. They kept them back. I said to him, why dost thou hold them back? . . . to hold them is not lawful. And now I am holding back a physician for you(?) . . . the former, whom they took, truly the *ashipu* is dead . . . the woman whom he married, she is of my seed. Then take some lumps . . . to my land I will go; let him arise, let him go . . . the physician, Raba-sha-Marduk, I am holding back for you(?).

(49-55) . . . thus; my brother has turned into a mighty man and has grown up to be a young wild-ox . . . of the seed of my brother, Kadashmanturgu, Adad (Teshub) they raise(?) . . . go and plunder the land of the enemy and I will surely hear it and . . . we(?) will slay. Thus to my brother: "The king who put aside his weapons . . . him." Not so did they speak to him . . . my brother, thou art not dwelling. To the land of the enemy go and kill the enemy . . . went (let them go). To a land three or four times as great, go.

(56-57) . . . one (a certain?) . . . angered his father, and behold, his wife, his son . . . did not bring him.

(58-61) I will make, and in the house of my family(?) I will set (it). My brother a bound man they finished(?) I wrote to him and he came. The bound man Kadashmanturgu did not seize, did not take do not hold back.

(62-66) stallions, fine young animals, send. The stallions which thy father now my brother has sent, are — and broken down, and the horses are old (in my) country it is very cold and old horses cannot live send young horses, broken down horses are plenty in my land let him tell thee.

(67-72) not good why did he bring? To the word which he brought why this? The servants of thy father I caused to be brought, and now the work and lapislazuli which he caused to be brought, make, and not good thou didst cause to be brought to me before we to the brothers any lapislazuli not from Karduniash since to my brother lapislazuli he caused to be brought.

(73-77) (of) my lord, I desired bring I will send I will cause to be brought tablets now tablets as many as which thy father caused to be brought my brother wishes, my brother for much(?) gold did not

(78-81) of my brother I know, and peace is disturbed(?) in my house there are, to my brother I will cause to be sent. . . . my brother, and anything else which my brother (desires) in my house there are, to my brother I will not

No. 14. Text *KBo.* I, No. 14.

A badly broken letter in which the king of Hatti explains to the Egyptian king(?) why he has not been more prompt in sending some iron that had been asked for.

OBVERSE

(1-5) I wrote to thee these thou didst write

(6-19) Turira plundered my land Karkamish, since here, the land of the king of Hanigalbat dug(?) for himself Turira, not any since I sent thy Turira what? Turira — not of the king of Hanigalbat, the matter of Turira, dost thou not see? When Turira, the land, was plundered, into the city of Turira the plunder was brought(?); my servants who were robbed, came(?) into Turira. If they are dwelling in Turira(?), reimburse (? , lit., fill up) my servants who are dwelling in the city; none of them shalt thou approach. If they are not dwelling in(?) Turira, write to me and I will surely reimburse(?) thy men who are dwelling in the city; to none of them will I approach. Why do the people of Turira hear my name as that of a lion?

(20-24) As to the good iron about which thou hast written to me: There is no good iron in my "sealed" house in Kissuwadna. It is a bad (time) to make iron, but I have written (ordering) them to make good iron. So far they have not finished it. When they finish it, I will send it to thee. Behold, now, I am sending thee an iron dagger-blade.

(25-28) the — which thou hast sent have no blades [I have ordered blades] to be made, but so far they have not finished them. [When they finish them, I will send them] to thee. When the weapon(?) which I — to thee, ... the wishes which thou didst write.

REVERSE

(1-10) the great king, the king of Karaduniash he wrote to thee to thee. [He did] not send thee any good greetings (presents). When I seized the kingship, thou didst not send a messenger. The obligation of kings, when they attain to (seize) the kingship, to send each other good greetings (presents), a kingly garment, good [oil] for anointing, this thou hast not done at this time.

(11-19) Behold now, my messenger whom I have sent to thee, and the one "mighty one" I have detained (or, detain) here, and because of these things I have detained (or, detain) him. All of the requests which thou hast written I have sent to thee. And

because of these things [I have detained (or, detain)] him. The messengers which thou didst send to me before Si(?)'in, were found to be ill; today thou shalt not speak as if the one who sees a sick man (or sickness) at that time, and thou shalt not ask a "mighty one" in their going, ... whether they are well anointed(?).

No. 15. Text *KBo.* I, No. 11.

Concerning the trouble which some successor of Dudhalia, son of Hattushili, had with rebels inside and outside his city, possibly Hatti.

OBVERSE

(1-9) bring me(?) he sent: go behold me rebellious, stubborn(?). Thirty chariots of the city of which entered into Ashili, they seized and to the city of Hurihhi they went). . . . Thus Kuleid:¹ "The sons of Mar-Teshub fought because of the kingship (over the kingship). . . . Thou, why dost thou turn away, and daily dost bring before the king ? As for them, they are hostile and I am hostile."

(10-21) Shanda brought the command: Thus the king: "Why dost thou not make war? in canopied chariots thou dost stand, to whatever thou dost turn, it is near (favorable) to thee. If thou didst humble thyself before him, why didst thou kill him? why didst thou fear (honor) him? Now all is done. The sons of Laria for(?) Laria sang the song of the god Zamama in Hush-kiwantesh, ... They brought *lazilu*, they took away an ax; they brought reeds, they took away a *kirassu*; they brought a *shakkul*,² they took away all kinds of *sharmu*(?)." As(?) Dudhalia made it, so thou dost now make the request: Thus the king: "Go, ask them. When I go to the city Tashshita, wilt thou set the gate on fire? wilt thou give battle?" Thus they (reply): "For the eighth time we are giving battle, their — we will storm, the city we will destroy." Thus, the king: "'Tis well."

(22-32) Until they had destroyed every city (lit., until any city they did not make), the many servants of the king fought, and

¹ An Arabic-sounding name.

² "Bolt of a door."

many died. The king was attacked. Thus the king: "Guard the roads which enter the city and those which leave the city, guard (them) well that no enemy go out to the city of Aruar, to Halab, to the Harri, to Luppa." Thus they (replied): "We are on guard. Eighty chariots of eight men surround the city. Let not the heart of the king be cast down, to its place let it —." A fugitive going out of the city spoke as follows: "A servant of a Halabite entered five times, a servant of Luppa is dwelling in the city, men of Aruar entered and went out, a servant of Mar-Teshub, my lord, went back and forth, speaking thus: 'Behold I have gathered silver, clothes, oxen, sheep, I will give them to the soldiers of Harri. If they are opposed (hostile), seven times . . . will I carry off, if some of my land they carry off, double will I carry away, before . . .'"

The king stood up. Thus the king: "The words which were spoken to thee . . . eighty chariots of eight men . . ."

REVERSE

(1-9) Shanda brought the command: Thus [the king]: ". . . five roads Shanda, two roads Menania (shall guard)." . . . Thus the king: "Shanda, go . . . make, while thou art going, let him destroy the city; truly . . . he destroyed, and sin was committed. If thou dost stand . . . he destroyed and now thou art starting (?) to fight . . . to a distance let him(?) go . . . go, before me come, go, under . . . anyone sees him." Thus they (spoke): "We will stand, and sin we will destroy . . ."

(10-18) Thus the king: "They have destroyed the city, sin has been committed, crime has been committed." Thus they (replied): "For the eighth time we have waged battle. The city he has destroyed, but we will destroy (wipe out) the sin. May the king be gracious." *Kuru* they sent, the king went forth(?), overpowered(?) (them), not many (were there?). An evil word they brought: "May the stone of Teshub¹ overwhelm you." Thus the king: "Do not be puffed up. The *kuru* of the Harri make, and let it be put down. A *hursha* make, and set it down. A great *kuru* from

¹ The thunderbolt is meant.

Mount Hanishu bring, let it be set down is seized. Now let anyone seize his land, wage war. And what is theirs, may he smash their word."

(19-20) Thus Shariwanda: "The cold has come, may the bolt of heaven be 'poured out' by day, and may heaven —. May it be well with the king (or, may the king be gracious)."

(21-27) As king, Shanda —ed in Luhussandia, and the king questioned a servant of a man of Karkamish: "How is the land talking (what do people say)?" Thus he (replied): "If he destroys Urshu (a city), (and) a servant falls into our hand, then their servants, who are dwelling in the mountain, will see it." Thus the king: "Thou shalt think about it I will think about it. Go speak to them: If thou and if thou dost take care and it turns out favorably, there will be no evil in Hatti. But now Nusizanu and Kuliaid have done evil. Now thou hast seen what the man of Karkamish has done."

(28-33) Let anyone think (of a thing), Iriaia will come and be obstreperous. A pillar and *kuru* we bring, pillar and *kuru* they do not bring. The matter he will see and let him not —(?), he brings (will bring?). Now approach him, thus address him: "You have been obstreperous toward us and we have been obstreperous toward the king. . . . In Hatti there are no pillar and *kuru* because this one is near the yoke(?)."

(34-37) The king abandoned the word of my father, the word of my grandfather. A GIRGAL comes and a powerful soldier(?) comes in great ones in their(?) place, the chief of the shepherds did not (let him not) leave. May the king not — his command.

No. 16. Text KBo. I, No. 20.

OBVERSE

(1-21) your great your lord, to his eyes I At the time Adad-nirari, (our?) lord, from Hanigalbat they were hostile. Hanigalbat their fortress they left, to

they entered. That which, when the Shuprite¹ king this one, whom for protection thou didst (invite) against me, and the throne he seized fortress and fugitive who from Hanigalbat had turned to you, everyone he seized fortress and fugitive of yours (?)he (they) the wealth he (they?) destroyed, to they entered

REVERSE

(1-5) My lord, the Shuprite king your foundations(?) he your whole land, by oppression, he

(6-9) At the time Hanigalbat, when they were destroyed for their who (what) when they were many and what

(10-16) The Shuprite king, from my lord, truly while they were alive, the lord of the oath my lord, what

No. 17. Text *KBo.* I, No. 22.

OBVERSE

(1-2) despise him(?), to thus has spoken.

(3-13) they have caused them to come(?) to thee to guard(?) their command these — which that one caused to be brought to him (or them) there is not, and the king, let him write to thee all which are alike, to make it(?)

REVERSE

(1-2) before Teshub, before(?)

(3-8) into. Kiswadna he marched who —ed him, there was not. Into Halsua he came who —ed him, there was none. Into Kinza he came — him.

(11-15) they came together with this man, and they that one (took) the daughter of the king with him to be his wife and if evil is done him, and if good(?) is done thy — all of them, command now, and the sons of the land of together with the sons of Amurru

¹ Gentilic of Shupria? Cf. for this land, Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 146.

No. 18. Text *KBo.* I, No. 26.

. . . . Hatti to the land of. . . . Be mindful of the oath by the
god, thou to what king art thou not writing today?
good vessels of gold, a *bibru* *nibihu* garments, horses
good *attaganna*(?) and gold —

No. 19. Text *KBo.* I, No. 27.

(1-4) my enemy is she(?) son of the messenger
(*sukallim*) the queen commanded his *madu* together
with his sons

(5-10) [Han]teli, queen of Luk— (a city) and
these he (she?) killed by the gate he caused to stand
his family seized him(?) bring them, in my hand
them

(11-15) Lishtib went to his fate. . . . Bisheni, son of
Hanteli he (she) killed which (of) Bisheni



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THE ASHUR VERSION OF THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION

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It was early in the year 1875 that George Smith first called attention to some fragments of cuneiform tablets in the British Museum on which he had discovered "the Chaldean account of Genesis." In view of the acrimonious debate which Langdon's *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (1914) precipitated, it may be of interest to remark, incidentally, that Smith's account of the seventh tablet of the Babylonian creation story was entitled "Tablet Describing the Fall." The story of the early attempts at reconstructing the Babylonian account of the creation out of the scraps of texts available is an interesting one, and has been well told by King in the Introduction to his *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (1902). That the discovery of new tablets or parts thereof would be sure to work havoc with restorations of the text and assignments of the different fragments to their proper places in the epic was probably expected by most of those who indulged in this sort of dissipation. But such mistakes are easily made. Even King's assignment of the fragment K. 11,641 to the fifth tablet has turned out to be an error. And King, with many new fragments at hand, could and did profit by the example of others.

Since the appearance of King's work, almost two decades ago, considerable progress has been marked in our knowledge of Babylonian accounts of beginnings. However, this advance was made, not through new fragments of the *Enuma elish*, but through the discovery of older, Sumerian, legends. With the publication of the documents found by the Germans at the ancient capital of Assyria our interest again returns to the "Seven Tablets." By a most remarkable chance—the initiated know how tantalizingly fate has dealt with us in these matters—the Ashur texts practically close up the two serious gaps in the *Epic of Creation*, the one in the first tablet where the creation of the gods is described, the other in

the sixth where the creation of mankind is the theme. These texts were published by Ebeling in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, religiösen Inhalts* (hereafter abbreviated *KAR*).¹ Ebeling also gave a preliminary translation of parts of these new tablets in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (No. 58, August, 1917). He has found a few additional fragments which will no doubt be published along with his critical study of this new version. Meanwhile I am sending out a translation of the first and sixth tablets, realizing that the fragments to which I did not have access will surely correct some of my readings, but feeling confident that I have contributed a small mite to the understanding of the texts. I have been able to fill in a number, but not all, of the lines left blank by Ebeling.

I shall let the tablets tell their own story. But I cannot help commenting on one point, namely the "gentle cynicism" of the author or authors of this epic. Man was created, not, as had been conjectured, from Marduk's blood, but out of the blood and bone of the inventor of war, Kingu.² The author of the *Gilgamesh Epic* has a harlot introduce Engidu, the man of nature, into the amenities of civilization (we speak of the "civilizing influence" of "fire water"). I cannot follow Gressmann in his learned comments on this episode of the *Gilgamesh* story. Another Semitic story-teller reminded his hearers that murder was committed just as soon as there were two brothers on this earth to get into a quarrel. Semitic humor is apt to be grim and biting.

As an appendix I have added a translation of a Sumerian "creation" text, published by Barton in *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8. A new copy of the text (it cried to heaven for one) was given by Langdon in *Le poème sumérien*, Plates VII and VIII. My translation, made from the photograph, had practically the same shape it has now before Langdon's work appeared, but the delay in publication, occasioned by a visit to the scenes of the exploits of the Sumerian and Babylonian heroes, allowed me to profit by Langdon's study of the text.

¹ Besides the texts containing the first and sixth tablets, Ebeling found and published parts of Tablets II and III. But the latter have added nothing new (except some philological points) to our knowledge of the great epic.

² According to the bilingual text *KAR*, 4, ll. 25 f., the Lamgas (plural, not singular, as Ebeling and Landersdorfer construe) were slaughtered, and out of their blood mankind was formed. Just what class of divine beings the Lamgas represent is still uncertain.

TABLET I

Text KAR, 118, 162, 163, and King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*.

- e-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-u ša-ma-mu*¹
*šap-liš am-ma-tum*² *šu-ma la zak-rat*³
apsu-um-ma riš-tu-u za-ru-šu-un
*mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at*⁴ *gim-ri-šu-un*
 5 *mê*^{pl} *šu-nu iš-te-niš i-ḫi-ḫu-ma*⁵
*gi-pa-ra*⁶ *la ki-iš-šu-ru šu-ša-a la še-ʾ-u*⁷
*e-nu-ma ilâni*⁸ *la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma*
*šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-ta*⁹ *la ši-i-mu*¹⁰
ib-ba-nu-ma ilâni ki-rib-šu-un
 10 *laḫ-mu* *la-ḫa-mu uš-ta-pu-u šu-mi*¹¹ *iz-zak-ru*
*a-di-i*¹² *ir-bu-u i-ši-ḫu*
an-šar *ki-šar ib-ba-nu-u e-li*¹³ *šu-nu at-ru*
ur-ri-ku umê^{pl} *uṣ-ši-pu šanâte*^{pl14}
*a-nu-um a-pil-šu-nu ša-nin*¹⁵ *abê*^{pl16} *šu*
 15 *an-šar* *a-nu-um bu-uk-ra-šu u-maš-šil-ma*¹⁷
u a-nu-um tam-ši-la-šu u-lid *anu-dim-mud*
*anu-dim-mud ša abê-šu ša-liṭ-šu-nu šu-u*¹⁸
*pal-ka uz-ni ḫa-sis e-mu-kan pu-uk-ku-u*¹⁹
gu-uš-šur ma-ʾ-diš a-na a-lit abi-šu an-šar
 20 *la i-ši ša-nin ina ilâni*^{pl} *at-ḫe-e-šu*²⁰
in-nin-du-ma at-ḫu-u ilâni^{pl} *(ni)*²¹
e-šu-u ti-amat kiššat (?) ²² *na-šir-šu-nu iš-tab-bu*²³
*da-al-ḫu-nim-ma ša ti-amat kar-as-sa*²⁴

¹ 162, *mi*.² *Ibid.*, *ab-ba-tu*.³ *Ibid.*, *ru*.⁴ *Ibid.*, *ât*.⁵ *AN-AN*, used interchangeably with *AN-MEŠ* in these texts.⁶ 162, *te*.⁷ *Ibid.*, *ši-mu*.⁸ 118, *šu-ta-pu-u-šu-nu*.⁹ *Ibid.*, *a-di-ma* (?)¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *eli*¹¹ *MU-AN-NA-MEŠ*.¹² 162, *ša-ni-nu*.¹³ 118 seems to have *kiš* = *kiššat*, while 163 has end of [*kiš-š*]at.¹⁴ So 163; 118 has *la*.¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *i-ḫi-iḫ-ḫu-ma*.⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *ru*.¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *i*.¹⁸ 118, *AD-AD*.¹⁹ *Ibid.*, over erasure.²⁰ 162, *šu-ma*; 163 omits.²¹ 162 and 163, *pu-un-gul*.²² 163, *AD-MEŠ* = *abê*^{pl}.²³ *Ibid.*, *nu*.²⁴ 163, *ka-ras-sa*.

TABLET I

Translation.

- When above the heaven was not named,
 below the earth was not called by name,
 but Apsu, the primeval, their progenitor,
 Mummu and Tiamat, who bore all of them,
 5 their waters as one they¹ mingled:
 (when) reeds were not yet matted together, marshes had not
 yet appeared,
 when the gods had not yet been fashioned, not one,
 none was called by name, destinies were not fixed:
 then the gods were created in their¹ midst.
- 10 Lahmu and Lahamu were fashioned, were called by name;
 as they grew they became mighty.
 Anshar and Kishar were created—they were (now) more than
 they.²
- Long were the days; years were added thereto:
 Anu, their son, rival of his fathers—
- 15 Anshar made Anu, his first-born, (their) equal.
 Then Anu begat Nudimmud (in) his (own) image.
 Nudimmud became master of his fathers;
 keen (open-eared), thoughtful, mighty in strength,
 stronger, by far, than his begetter, his father Anshar:
- 20 he had no equal among the gods, his brothers.
 So came into being the brothers, the gods.
 They perturbed Tiamat, they overpowered all³ of their guards,
 troubling the belly of Tiamat.

¹ The three elements of chaos, Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat.

² Perhaps, "were stronger than they." I take it to mean that the gods were now in the majority.

³ The reading *kīššat*, "all," is not beyond question.

- i-na šu²-a-ru šu-du-ru¹ ki-rib AN-KUN-NA*
 25 *la na-ši-ir apsu-u ri-gim-šu-un*
u ti-amat [šu]-ka-am-mu-ma[at . . . š]u-un²
im-ḥaš-ša-am-ma ip-še-ta-šu-nu [e-li-šu-un]
la ta-bat al-kat-su-nu šu-nu-ti i-ga-me-la³
i-nu-šu apsu za-ri ilāni ra-bi-u-tim
 30 *is-si-ma⁴ mu-um-mu suk-kal-la-šu i-zak-kar-šu*
⁴mu-um-mu suk-kal-li⁴ mu-ṭib-ba ka-bit-ti-ia
al-kam-ma ši-ri-iš⁵ ti-amat i ni-[il-lik]
il-li-ku-ma ku-ud-mi-iš⁶ ti-[amat]⁷ sak-pu
a-ma-ti im-tal-li-ku aš-šum ilāni [mârê-]šu-un
 35 *[apsu pa]-a-šu i-pu-[šam-ma] izakkar-ši*
a-na ti-amat el-li-tu-ma i-za[k-kar a-ma-tum]
im-[ḥaššamma ?]⁸ al-kat-su-nu e-li-ia

Text KAR, 117, 162; CT, XIII, 31 (Rm. 982+80-7-17,178);
 and King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*.

- 53 *⁴mu-um-mu i-te-dir ki-šad-[su]⁹*
uš-ba-am-ma bir-ka-a-šu u-na-aš-šak¹⁰ ša-a-šu
 55 *mim¹¹-mu-u ik-pu-du ina puhru-uš-[šu-un]*
 (5) *a-na¹² ilāni bu-uk-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni*
iš¹³-mu-nim-ma ilāni¹⁴ i-dul-lu
ku-lu iṣ-ba-tu ša-ku-um-meš uš-bu
pal(?) -ka(?)¹⁴ uz-ni it-pe-ša¹⁵ te-li-[-a]
 60 *⁴e-a ḥa-sis mim-ma i-še²-a me-ki-šu-un*
 (10) *ib-šim-šum-ma uš-rat ka-li u-kin-šu*
u-nak-kil¹⁶ šu-tu-ra ta-a-šu el-lum
im-ni-šum-ma ina mē¹⁷ u-šap-ši-[iḥ(?)¹⁷]
šit-tu ir-te-ḥi-šu ša-lil tu-up-k[a-tum]

¹ Reading *šuduru* is based upon 118 + 163 + (45,528 + 46,614).

² Here the Ashur texts break off.

³ Very doubtful.

⁴ Vars., *lu, sukallu*.

⁵ Var., *riš*.

⁶ Var., *ḫud-meš*.

⁷ Var., *ta-a-ma-ti*.

⁸ Cf. I. 27.

⁹ So King.

¹⁰ Nineveh text, *ša-ka*.

¹¹ *ŠAL-si n*; 162, has *an-n[u-ti ?]*.

¹² 162, omits.

¹³ So 162, 117 has *it*.

¹⁴ 162, *šu-i* (cf. M-A, *šu²u*).

¹⁵ K. 4,488, *šu*.

¹⁶ Nineveh text, *ki-il*.

¹⁷ For restoration of this and following line, see Zimmern, *MDVG*, 21 (1917), 216.

- In ——¹ they mourned(?) in the midst of ——.²
- 25 Apsu (could) not diminish their uproar,
and Tiamat was distressed by their . . . ;
their deeds "smote" [them],
their way was not good, they ——.
- Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
30 cried to Mummu, his messenger, saying unto him:
"Mummu, my messenger, who rejoicest my soul,³
come, to Tiamat let us go."
They went and before Tiamat they lay down.
They consulted on a plan concerning the gods, their sons.
- 35 Apsu opened his mouth, addressing her,
to the shining Tiamat he spoke:
"Their way annoys me."⁴

- 53 Mummu fell upon his neck,⁵
took him on his knees, kissed him.
- 55 Whatever they planned in their assembly
to the gods, their first-born was repeated.
The gods heard⁶ it, they rushed about(?),
they kept silent, they sat in sorrow.
Then the keen, the wise, the exalted,
- 60 Ea, perceiving all things, saw their plot,
he reproduced⁷ it, the outline of the whole he set down.
He cunningly applied his superior, holy (pure) incantation,
he told⁸ it off, with water he quieted him(?).
Sleep overcame him, lying in the cave;

¹ Ebeling translates "mit Gesang," which hardly fits the context.

² Ebeling, "Götterwohnung(?)." Is the god Duruna (CT, XXIV, 2, 11) a personification of "the heavenly abode"?

³ Literally, "liver."

⁴ For what follows, see King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, I, 8 f.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ The variant reading has *itmu*, which Ebeling renders "cursed."

⁷ We would say, "he plotted it on paper."

⁸ "Counted."

- 65 *u-ša-aṣ-lil-ma apsa-am ri-ḥi šit-tu*
 (15) *ᵀmu-um-mu uṭ-la-tuṣ da-la-biṣ¹ ku-u-ru*
ip-tur rik-si-šu iš-ta-ḥat a-kit . . .
me-lam-me-šu it-ba-la šu-u u-ta-di-na[m(?)]²
ik-me-šu-ma apsa-am i-na-ra-aṣ-[šu]
 70 *ᵀmu-um-mu i-ta-sir eli-šu ip-tar-ka*
 (20) *u-kin-ma eli apsî šu-bat-s[u]*
ᵀmu-um-mu it-ta-maḥ u-kal šir-rit-su
ul-tu ši-ni-e³-šu ik-mu-u i-sa-a-du
ᵀe-a uṣ-ziz-zu⁴ ir-nit-ta-šu⁵ eli⁶ ga-ri-šu
 75 *kir-biṣ kum-mi-šu⁷ šup⁸-šu-ḥi-iš i-nu-uḥ-ḥu*
 (25) *im-bi-šum-ma apsû u-ad-du-u eš-ri-e-ti*
aš-ru-uš-šu gē-par-ra-šu⁹ u-šar-šid-ma
ᵀe-a (ᵀlaḥ-mu) ᵀla-ḥa-mu ḥi-ra-tuṣ ina rab-ba-a-te uš-bu
ina ki-iṣ-ši šimâte¹⁰ ad-ma-an uṣurâte¹¹
 80 *li-ᵀ-u li-ᵀ-u-ti abkal¹² ilâni¹³ an-šar uš-tar-ḥi*
ina ki-rib apsî ib-ba-ni an-šar
ina ki-rib elli apsî ib-ba-ni an-šar
 (5) *ib-ni-šu-ma ᵀlaḥ-mu¹³ a-ba-šu*
ᵀla-ḥa-mu ummi-šu mur-ša-as-šu
 85 *i-ti-nik-šu-ma šir-rit ᵀištārâte¹⁴*
ta-ri-tu it-tar-ru-šu pul-ḥa-a-ta uš-ma-al-li
šam-ḥat nab-[ni]t¹⁴-su za-ri-ir ni-ši êni-šu
 (10) *uṭ-ṭu-la-at¹⁵ ši-ta-šu mu-šir ul-tu ul-la*
i-mur-šu-ma ᵀlaḥ-mu¹⁶ ba-nu-u abu-šu
 90 *i-riš im-mir lib-ba-šu ḥi-du-ta im-la*
uš-te-is¹⁷-bi-šum-ma šu-un-na-at ili uṣ-šip(?) -šu(?)
šu-uš-ḫi ma-diš eli-šu-nu a-tar miḥ-mu-u
 (15) *la na-da-a-ma¹⁸ nu-uk-ku-la mi-na-tu-šu*
ḥa-sa-siṣ la na-da-a a-ma-riš pa-aš-ḫa

¹ Nineveh text evidently had *dal-la-[biṣ]*.

² Cf. Nineveh text.

³ 163 omits.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *za*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *tuṣ*.

⁶ 163, *e-li*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *ku-um-mi-šu*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *ḫa* (probably error).

⁹ *Ibid.*, *gi-pa-ra*.

¹⁰ *NA M-MEŠ*.

¹¹ *GIŠ-ḤAR-MEŠ*.

¹² *NUN-ME*.

¹³ *CT*, XIII, 31, *ᵀe-a*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *ni*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *lat*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *ᵀa-[num]*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *ta-as*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *la lam-da-ma*.

- 65 he caused Apsu to lie down, overcome by sleep.
 As to Mummu, his manhood was woefully distressed,
 he (Ea) loosed his (Mummu's) "bands," tore off his . . . ,
 he took away his splendor, he (Mummu) lay there.
 He bound him, namely Apsu, and slew him.
- 70 Mummu he locked up, used violence upon him.
 He established his abode upon Apsu.
 Mummu he seized, holding him by his rope.
 After he had bound the two, and overpowered (them),
 Ea established his triumph over his foes,
- 75 and rested quietly in his chamber.
 He dragged him away, namely Apsu, and appointed (him)
 for shrines:
 in his place he founded his park(?).
 Ea (Lahmu) and Lahamu, his spouse, sat in splendor,
 in the abode of the fates, the dwelling of canons,¹
- 80 the mighty one of the mighty, the chief of the gods, Anshar
 he begat;
 in the midst of the Apsu he created Anshar,
 in the midst of the bright (holy) Apsu he created Anshar.
 There created him Lahmu, his father.
 Lahamu, his mother, bore him,
- 85 the breast of the goddesses suckled him,
 a nurse cared for him, she filled him with terrors.
 Mighty was his stature, brilliant the glance of his eye,
 noble (manly) his going forth, gracious(?) from of old.
 Lahmu, his begetter, his father, saw him,
- 90 he rejoiced, he beamed, his heart was full of joy.
 He caused him to be desired, equality with the gods he gave
 him in addition.
 He was exceedingly tall, in all respects greater than they (his
 parents).
 Beyond comprehension was the beauty of his members,
 beyond imagining, hard for the eyes to look upon.

¹ A prize should be offered for a good English rendering of *uṣurāte*.

- 95 *irba*¹ *ênâ-šu* *irba uznd[-šu]*
*šap-ti*²-*šu* *ina šu-ta-pu-li girri*³
ir-bu-*u*⁴ *4-ta-a-an*
(20) *u ênâ ki-ma*⁵ *šu-a-tu i-maš-[-ša-lu-ni]*
*ul-lu-ma*⁶ *ina ilâni*
100 *meš-ri-tu-šu*
. . . -*ši ilu*
. . . -*tu*
(25) . . . -*me*

TABLET VI

Text KAR, 164; King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, Pl. XXXV, 92,629; CT, XIII, 24, K. 12,000, b, and 23, K. 3,449, a.

- [^dmar]duk *zik-ri ilâni ina še-mi-šu [ub]-bal lib-ba-šu i-ban-na-a*
nik-la-a-te
[*ip*]-*šu pi-i-šu a-na* ^d*e-a i-[zak-kar] ša ina lib-bi-šu uš-ta-mu-u*
i-nam-din mil-ku
da-mi lu-uk-šur-ma iš-ši-im-tum lu-šab-ši-ma
lu-uš-ziz-ma LU-GAL-LU-a lu a-me-lu šum-šu
5 *lu-ub-ni-ma LU-GAL-LU-a a-me-lu*
*lu-u en-du dul-li*⁷ *ilâni-ma šu-nu lu-u-pa-aš-ḥu*
*lu-ša-an-ni-ma al-ka-ka*⁸ *ilâni lu-u-nak-kil*⁹
*iš-te-ni*¹⁰ *lu-kub-bu-tu-ma ana*¹⁰ *ši-na lu-u-zi-zu*
*i-pul-šu-ma*¹¹ ^d*e-a a-ma-tu*¹² *i-ḫab-bi-šu*
10 *aš-šu tap-šu-uḫ-ti ša ilâni u-ša-an-na-aš-šu ṭe-e-mu*
*li-in-na-ad-nam-ma iš-ten a-ḫu-šu-nu | šu-u li-ab-bit-ma nišê*¹³
lip-pat-ḫu
*lup-ḫu-ru-nim-ma ilâni rabûti*¹⁴ *an-ni li-in-na-din-ma šu-nu*
*lik*¹³-*tu-nu*
^d*marduk u-paḫ-ḫir*¹⁴-*ma ilâni*¹⁵ *rabûte*¹⁵ *mil-ku*¹⁵ *u-[ma-]a-ar*¹⁶
i-nam-din ter-tu

¹ *Ibid.*, *ir-ba*.² *Ibid.*, *ta*.³ *dGIŠ-BAR*.⁴ *CT*, *ir-bu*-*u*-[*u*].⁵ *Ibid.*, *ktma*.⁶ *Ibid.*, *ul-lu-u-ma*.⁷ 92,629, *lu*.⁸ *Ibid.*, *ka-ti*.⁹ *Ibid.*, *ki-i*[*l*].¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *a-na*.¹¹ *Ibid.*, *i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma*.¹² *Ibid.*, *tum*.¹³ *Ibid.*, *li-i*[*k*].¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *ḫi-ir*.¹⁵ Very doubtful.¹⁶ 92,629, *ma-?-a-ra*.

- 95 Four were his eyes, four his ears;
 his lips breathed out fire, like those of the fire-god.
 There grew for him four ears,
 and of eyes he had the same number.
 Exalted was he among the gods, ...
- 100 His members

TABLET VI

Translation.

- When Marduk heard the word of the gods, his heart was
 moved and he devised cunning plans;
 he opened his mouth, to Ea he spoke, as to that which he had
 planned in his heart, he gave counsel.
 "Blood will I fashion (lit., bind) and bone will I cause to be.
 I will set up an *amelu*, man shall be his name,
 5 I will create the *amelu*, man.
 They (mankind) shall perform the service of the gods, these
 (the gods) shall be pacified.
 I will change the 'ways' of the gods, cunningly will I contrive it.
 All alike shall they be honored, and to their (several ways)
 let them be assigned."
 Ea answered him, the word he spoke,
 10 for the pacification of the gods, he imparted to him a plan.
 "Let one of their brothers be offered up, let him be destroyed
 and let people be formed.
 Let the gods gather together, let this one be offered up, let
 them remain."
 Marduk assembled the great gods, he put forth his plan(?),
 his command he gave.

- ip-šu pi-i-šu ilâni u-paḫ-ḫad | šarru a-na ^da-nun-na-ki a-ma-ta*
i-zak-kar
- 15 *lu-u-ki-nam-ma maḥ-ru u-nim-bu-ku-un*
ki-na-a-ti a-ta-ma-a i-nim-ma-a it-ti-ia
a-nu-um-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḫu-un-tu
^dti-amat u-ša-bal¹-ki-tu-ma ik-ṣur-ru ta-ḫa-zu
li-in-na-ad-nam-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḫu-un-tu
- 20 *ar-nu-uš-šu lu-u-ša-aš-ša-a pa-ša-tu lušešiba(ba)*
i-pu-lu-šu-ma ^digigi ilâni rabûte^{pl}
a-pil šarri dim-me-ir šamê iršitim ma-lik ilâni be-la-šu-un
^dk[in]-gu-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḫu-un-tu
ti-a[mat] uš-bal-ki-tu-ma [i]k-ṣu-ru ta-ḫa-zu
- 25 *ik-mu-š[u] maḥ-riš ^de-a u-[r]u-šu | an-nam i-me-du-šu-ma da-*
me-šu ip-tar²-u
ina da-me-šu ib-[na] a-me-lu-tu | i-na [dul]-li ilâni-ma ilâni
um-taš-šir
ul-tu a-me-lu i-i[b-ba]-nu-u ^de-a i[r-t]e-šib dul-lu ilâni i-mi-du
a-ša-a-šu
šip-ru šu-u la na-tu-u ḫa-sa-siš | ina nik-la-a-ti ša ^dmarduk
. . . ^dnu-dim-mud
^dmarduk šar ilâni u-za³-iz | ^da-nun-na-ki e-liš u šap-liš
- 30 *u-ad-di a-na ^da-num te- . . na-ša-ru lib-bi . . . ma-šar-tu*
uš-taš-ni-ma al-ka-kat iršitim(tim) [šamê](e) u iršitim
(tim)
ul-tu te-ri-e-tim ^d[marduk] u-ma-[ṛ-a]-ru
^da-nun-na-ki ša šamê(e)
^da-nun-na-ki [ša iršitim(ti)m]. nu(?) . i-še
- 35 *a-na ^dmarduk be-la-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-[ru]*
i ^dnannaru(ŠEŠ-KI) be-lî ša šu-bar-ra-ni iš-ku-nu-ma
mi-nu-u du-muḫ-ḫa-ni ina maḥ-ri-ka

¹ K. 12,000, b, uš-bal.

- He opened his mouth, gave the gods their orders: as king to the Anunnaki he addressed the word:
- 15 "The former (word) which I spoke to you, surely it shall abide; trustworthy are the words I utter; 'tis a 'word' from me.
Who was it who created warfare,
who let loose Tiamat, who 'joined' battle?
Let him be offered up who created warfare.
- 20 I will let him bear his penalty (sin), 'oblivion' I will cause him to inhabit."
Then answered him the Igigi, the great gods:
"Son of a king, god of heaven and earth, counselor of the gods, our lord:
Kingu it was who created warfare,
who let loose Tiamat, who 'joined' battle."
- 25 They bound him, before Ea they brought him, punishment they laid upon him, they pierced him to the blood.
From his blood he¹ made mankind, from the service of the gods² he released the gods.
After he had created man, Ea organized the service of the gods, they laid it on him (man).
This work was not done (very) carefully, through the cunning of Marduk Nudimmud (Ea) [made it acceptable].
Marduk, the king, made a division among the gods, the Anunnaki [he assigned to places] above and below.
- 30 To Anu he assigned the station . . . to guard in the midst (of heaven) a watch.
He changed the "ways" of earth of heaven and and earth(?)
After Marduk had issued his commands,
the Anunnaki of heaven
the Anunnaki [of earth]
- 35 To Marduk their lord they spoke:
"O Nannar, lord, who hast established our freedom,
what grace have we before thee (how can we find grace before thee)?

¹ Note that Ea creates mankind, Marduk makes the proposal.

² Ebeling takes this phrase with what goes before.

- i ni-pu-uš pa-rak-ki ša na-bu-u zi-kir-šu*
ku-um-mu lu [n]u-bat-ta-ni i nu-šap-ši-iḫ ki-rib-šu
 40 *i nit-ti-pa-[aš] ni-me-da a-a[d-man]*
ina ūme(me) ša ni-kaš-ša-da nu-šap-šiḫ kir-bu-uš
^dmarduk a-ni-tu ina še-me-e-šu
[ki-m]a ūmu(mu) im-me-ru zi-mu-šu ma²-diš
ipšā(DIM-ša) [^{al}]u Bāb-ilē^{pl} ^{ki}ša te-ri-ša ši-pir-šu
 45 *lib-ba-na alu lip-pa-ti-iḫ-ma pa-[r]ak-ka ip-ra*
^d[a]-nun-na-[ki] it-ru-ki al-lu šat-tu iš-ta-at li-bit-ta-šu [il-bi-nu]
ša-ni-tu šattu (MU-AN-NA) ina ka-ša-di | ša e-sag-ila mi-iḫ-
rit apsī ul-lu-u r[i-e-ša-šu]
ib-nu-u-ma zig-gur-rat apsī e-li-te | a-na ^dmarduk ^den-lil ^de-a
u-ta-a-šu u-kin-nu lib-ba
ina tar-ba-a-ti ma-ḥar-šu-nu u-[šat]-ba-am-ma | šur-šeš u-[š]ab
i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu ḫar-na-a-šu
 50 *ul-tu e-[sag]-ila i-pu-šu ši-pir-šu | ^da-nun-na-ki kal-šu-nu pa-rak-*
ki-šu-nu ib-taš-mu
a-na e-sag-ila ša¹ pāt apsī kal-šu-nu paḫ-ru | i-na BAR-MAH
ša ib-nu-u šu-bat-su
ilāni abē^{pl}-šu ṣu[r]²-ta-šu uš-te-šib | an-nam Ba-ab-i-lī šu-bat
na-ar-me-ku-un
nu-ḫa-a aš-ru-uš-š[u ṣ]u[r-t]a-šu . . . | u-ši-bu-ma ilāni rabūte^{pl}
zar-ba-bu iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti-[šu-nu] | ul-tu³ karana(na) iš-
ku-nu ki-rib-šu
 55 *ina e-sag-ila kas- [ta(?)]-kal-tu]*
kun-na te-ri-e-ti . . . mur(?) u-šu-ra-a-te
man-za-az šamē(e) u iršitim(tim) SAG-[DU] i-na(?)ilani gim-
ra-su-un

¹ So, apparently, Ebeling.

² Here and in the next line Ebeling seems to restore *ḫir-ti*. But, if the text is at all as copied, this restoration does not seem possible.

³ K. 3,449, a, *iš-tu*.

- Come, let us make a shrine, whose name shall be proclaimed
 (afar),
 an abode in which we may have our rest at night.
- 40 Come, let us make for ourselves a room, a
 On the day that we accomplish this, let us rest therein.”
 When Marduk heard this,
 like the day, his face became exceedingly bright.
 “Build Babylon, whose construction you have desired;
 45 let a city be built, let there be fashioned a covered(?) shrine.”
 The Anunnaki carried the basket,¹ the first year [they made]
 its bricks.
- On the approach of the second year they raised aloft the head
 of Esagila, over against the Apsu,
 they built the *zigurrat* (temple-tower) of the upper Apsu,
 for Marduk, Enlil (and) Ea established his heart’s
 desire therein.
- In majesty before them he² let it rise up: he² sat on the
 ground, they looked up at his two horns.
- 50 After they had completed the construction of Esagila, the
 Anunnaki, all of them, built themselves shrines.
 To Esagila which is on the border (edge) of the Apsu, all of
 them gathered: in the great shrine which they had built
 for his abode,
 he caused the gods, his fathers, to sit down at his board (with
 the words): “This Babylon, let it be the abode of your
 dwelling.”
 “We will wait in his place, at his board [we will sit down].”³
 The great gods sat down,
 the bowl they set down at their(?) banquet. After they had
 put the wine therein,
- 55 in Esagila [they feasted—and got drunk].
 Laws were laid down, canons [fixed].
 The station of heaven and earth, ... among(?) the
 gods, all of them.

¹ A free rendering of a well-known but obscure phrase.

² Marduk?

³ *Šurtu* is mentioned together with daggers, knives, etc. Cf. *KB*, VI¹, 62, and *Sargon*, “Annals,” l. 136. But this can hardly be the same word as that in our text.

- ilāni rabāti ḥa-ar-[ra-an . . .] u-ši-bu-ma*
ilāni šimāti⁷¹ 7 šu-nu a-na [u]k-tin-nu
 60 *na-ši-ma² ^den-lil¹⁸ [kakka ina pa]ni-šu-nu id-di*
sa-par³ ša i-te-ep-pu-šu i-mu-ru ilāni⁷¹ abē⁷¹-šu
i-mu-ru-ma¹⁹ kašta ki-i nu-uk-ku-lat bi-nu-s[a]⁴
ip-šit i-te-ep-pu-šu i-na-a-du abē⁷¹-šu
iš-ši-ma⁴ a-num ina puḥur ilāni i-ḫab-bi
 65 *¹⁹kašta it-te-šik šī-i im-bi-ma ša¹⁹ kašti ki-a-am šumê-ša*
i-šu a-rik il-ti-nu-um-ma⁶ ša-nu
šal-šu šum-ša^{kakka} kašta ina šamê(e)
u-kin-ma gis-gal-la-ša⁷
ul-tu šī-ma-a-ti ša
 70 *[id]-di-ma¹⁹ kussa*
[dan]-nu-um ina šamê
[ip]-ḥu-ru-ma
. ^dmarduk
. ki ru
(Lines 75-77, text completely gone.)
. ma
 79 *u-ša-tir*
 80 *a-na zik-ri-šu-nu*
ip-šu pî-šu li-din(?)
. . bi-ku . . ku tu u an-ni . . .
lu-u šu-uš-ku-ma ma-ru li-iš
e-nu-su lu-u šu-tu-rat . ni ru
 85 *li-pu-uš-ma ri-e-ut-ni . . . du na*
aḥ-ra-taš ūme(me) la ma-še-e še
li-kin-šu ana abē⁷¹-šu nin-[da-bi]-e
za-nin-us-su-un li-te-puš(?) su
li-še-ši-in kut-[rin-n]a a-
 90 *tam-šil ina šamê(e) i-te-ep[-pu-uš]*
li-ad-di-ma ina(?) sag(?) šu(?)
la-a u- ta-su kit

¹ NAM-MEŠ.² K. 3,449, a, im-ḥur-ma.³ Ibid., sa-pa-ra.⁴ The text seems to call for *su*.⁵ K. 3,449, a, ta.⁶ Ibid., lu iš-te-nu-um-ma.⁷ gi-is-gal-la-ša.

The great gods sat down [on their ways (paths)].

The gods of fate, seven are they, for were stationed.

- 60 Enlil lifted up his weapon, before them he laid it down;
the net which he had made, the gods, his fathers beheld it,
they beheld the bow, how cunning was its workmanship;
the work which he had done, his fathers praised it.
Anu took (it) up, in the assembly of the gods he spoke,
65 the bow he kissed (saying): it is and he called off
the names of the bow thus:
“Longwood is its first (name), its second
Its third name is Bow-star, in heaven(?) it”
He fixed its station
After the fates of (heaven and earth had been decreed)
70 and he set up a throne
Mighty in heaven
They gathered together
(*Lines 73 to 78 are almost totally gone.*)
79 He made greater
80 to their word
He opened his mouth
.
“Let him be exalted, the son, let him
His rule, truly it is resplendent
85 Let him exercise sovereignty over us
In days to come, let not be forgotten.
Let him establish the regular offerings for his fathers,
for their maintenance let him provide.
Let him cause (the gods, his fathers,) to smell the incense.
90 An image in heaven he has made
let him appoint(?) and
Let him (them?) not”

- ip-šu pī-šu li-šik-ku*
nin-da-b[i]-e li-in-na-ša-a ilu-ši-na¹ dīštar-ši-na
 95 *a-a im-ša-a ilu-ši-na li-ki-l-la*
ma- -ši-na liš-te-pa-a pa-rak-ki-ši-na li-tip-ša
lu-mes-sa-ma šal-mat kakkadi i-la-ni
[na]-a-ši ma-la šu-ma ni-im-bu-u šu-u lu-u el-ni
[i] | nim-bi-e-ma ha-ša-a šu-me-e-šu
 100 *si(?) -ka-tuš lu-u šu-pa-a ip-še-tuš lu-u maš-la*
^dmarduk ša ul-tu ši-ti-šu im-bu-u-šu a-bu-šu ^da-num
ša-ki-in me-ḥu-tu šuš-ku-tu² mu-daḥ-ḥi-du u-ri-šin
ša ina ⁱkakki-šu a-bu-bu ik-mu-u ša pu-ḥur(?)
ilāni abē^{pl}-šu i-di-ru ina šap-ša-ki
 105 *lu-u ma-ru-ti-šu ša ilāni ni-bu-u-šu-ma*
ina nu-ri-šu nam-ru lit-tal-la-ku šu-nu ka-a-a-na
nišē^{pl} ša ib-nu-u ši-kit-ti nab-(?)
dul-li ilāni i-mid-ma šu-nu ip-pa-aš-ḥu
. ti kakkab e-ni-nu
 110 *lu-u [na]p-lu-su šu-nu ša-a-šu*
ilu ma-ru-tuš lu-u ilu šu(ma)
mu-ṭib lib-bi ^da-nun-na-ki mu-šap-ši[h] a
^dma-ru-du-uk-ku lu-u tu-kul-tu māt-su [u nišē]^{pl}-šu
ša-a-šu-ma lit-ta-²i-da i-šu nišē^{pl}
 115 *^dBARA muštālum (ŠĀ-KŪŠ-Ū) iz-zi-iz u šir-ri-sa*
ra-pa-aš lib-ba-šu la-a-²id ka-ras-[su]
^dšarru dim-me-ir šamē iršitim ša šum-šu i-nim-bu-u pu-ḥur-
zik-ri pi-i-šu nu-ša-aš-šum | eli ilāni abe^{pl}-šu

¹ The feminine suffix refers to mankind, *amēlātu*.

² Or *me-iḫ-tim tuš-šu?*

- He opened his mouth . . . " let them kiss.
 Let offerings be brought for their god, their goddess.
- 95 Let them not forget, their god let them uphold (maintain).
 Let them adorn their ———, their shrine let them build.
 Let them, the gods cleanse(?) the blackheads (the people).
 We, by whatever name we call (him), he is our god.
 We will surely mention his fifty names.
- 100 His ———, truly it (they) are splendid, his works, truly they
 are ever the same.
 Marduk, who, on his going forth, was proclaimed by his
 father, Anu,
 he establishes ———, he enriches their stalls(?).
 He it was who bound the flood with his weapon, who saved
 the totality of
 the gods, his fathers, in (their) distress.
- 105 His sonship of the gods, they proclaimed it for him.
 In his bright light let them walk, they, continuously.
 (On) the people whom he created, creatures of life(?),
 the service of the gods he imposed, and these were pacified.
 the star
- 110 May they look upon with favor(?), they, upon him.
 The god, truly his sonship
 He it is who gladdens the heart of the Anunnaki, who pacifies
 the Igigi(?)
 Merodach,¹ truly the mainstay of his land and his people
 (is he).
 Him let them praise, let his people have(?) ———.
- 115 (As) the god Bara, the umpire (decider) he stood(?), the
 scepter(?)
 wide was his heart, warm his bowels.²
 Sharru (king), god of heaven and earth, whose name was
 proclaimed by our assembly,
 the word of his mouth let us cause to be borne to the gods,
 his fathers.

¹ Note that Maruduk rather than Marduk is the correct pronunciation of the name of the chief god of Babylon.

² I take it he was possessed of bowels of compassion.

- lu-u mu-lid ilâni ša šamê(e) u iršitim ka-li-šu-nu
 120 šarru tak-pir-ti-šu ilâni lu-u uš-šap-šu
^dna-ri šar gim-me-ir šamê iršitim šum-šu ša ni-iz-kur a-šar
 ilâni ka-la-ma
 ša ina šamê(e) u iršitim(tim) it-ta-ad-du-u šu-bat-ni ina pu-
 uš-ki
 ana ^digigi u ^da-nun-na-ki u-za-²-i-zu man-za-zu
 ana šu-me-šu ilâni liš-tar-i-bu li-nu-šu aš-ru-ti
 125 ^dasar-lu-šar šum-šu ša im-bu-u a-bu-šu ^da-num
 šu-u lu-u nu-ru ša ilâni GIS-TU-U (kuddu) dan-nu
 ša ki-ma ma-la par-si ili u ma-a-ti
 ina ša-aš-me dan-ni e-ti-ru šu-bat-ni ina puški
^dasar-lu-šar il(u) balâti (DINGIR NAM-TI-LA-ŠÛ) ša-niš
 im-bu-u^d širu(muš)-man-na(?)
 130 ša ki-ma bi-nu-ti-šu-ma ig-še-ru-ni ilâni ab-tu-ti
 be-lum ša ina šip-ti-šu ellitim(tim) u-bal-li-tu ilâni mâtûti^{pl}
 mu-ab-bit ik-ru-ti za-²-i-ru
 . . ilu nam-ru ša in-na-bu ^{pl}-šu
 ilu el-lu mu-ul-lil a-lak-ti-ni
 135 [i]m-bu-u an-šar ^dlaḥ-mu u ^dla-ḥa-mu
 a-na(?) -šu-nu iz-zak-ru
 ni ni-it-ta-bi šumê^{pl}-šu
 ki¹ na -zuk-ra
 iḥ-du-u . . [i]š-mu-u zi-kir-šu-un
 140 ina up-šu-ukin-na-ku uš-ta-ad [-di(?)]-šu-nu iš-kat-su-un
 ša ma-ru kar-ra-du mu-tir gi-mil-li-ni
 ni-i-nu ša za-ni-ni² nu-ul-li šum-šu
 u-ši-bu-ma ina ukkin-na³-šu-nu i-nam-bu-u ši-ma-a-šu
 ina mi-e-si⁴ na[k]-meš-tu⁵-šu-nu u-zak-ka-ru-ni šum-šu

- 145 ^dasar-ri ša-rik mi-riš-ti iz-ra-a-te u-kin-nu
 6^{kam} E-nu-ma e-liš
 giš-tu-u

¹ 92,629, rev., ki-i na.

⁴ Ibid., su.

² Ibid., seems to have omitted one ni.

³ Ibid., omits, reading puḥri ?

⁵ Ibid., na-gab.

- Truly he is the begetter of the gods of heaven and earth, all of them.
- 120 The king, whose purification they have caused to be made.
(He is) the river-god, king of all of heaven and earth, whose name we have mentioned: a place for all of the gods who are in heaven and earth, he established as our abode in our need.
To the Igigi and the Anunnaki he assigned (their) stations. At his name let the gods tremble, let the holy places shake.
- 125 (He is) Asar-lu-shar, whose name his father Anu gave him; he, surely he is the light of the gods, powerful torch(?), who like ——— every ——— of god and land, who, in the mighty conflict, saved our abode in our distress. Asar-lu-shar, god of life, secondly they named (him), ———,
- 130 who through his creative power, strengthened the perishing gods;
the lord, who with his holy incantation restored to life the dying gods.
Destroyer of ———, hater of
. . shining god, who
Bright god, brightener of our path,
- 135 Anshar, Lahmu, Lahamu,
. their . . . they called
. we spoke his names.”
.
They rejoiced, with gladness they heard their names.
- 140 In Upshukkinnaku he caused them to throw aside their fetters.
“Of the heroic son, our avenger,
we, of our patron, will exalt the name.”
They sat down, in their assembly they proclaimed his worth, in the ——— of all of them, they mentioned his name.

APPENDIX: A SUMERIAN STORY OF BEGINNINGS

OBVERSE

- gar-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ge*
ud an-ni dingir-dingir a-nun-na im-tu-de-eš a-ba
mu ^dezinu nu-ub-da-mud-da nu-ub-da-an-sig-ga
uku-e-bi ^dtak-ku nu-ub-da-an-dim-ma-aš
 5 *^dtak-ku-ra temen nu-mu-na-si-ga-aš*
u nu-gù-a sila nu-ub-ra
uz nu-me-a maš nu-ub-ra
u-e sil(a)-a-bi nu-ub-tu-ud
uz-e maš-a-bi nu-ub-tu-ud
 10 *mu-^dezinu kug-sud šurim-bi-da-ge*
^da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám
še-šeš ud-ušu-ám nu-gál-la-ám
še-šeš ud-ninnu-ám nu-gál-la-ám
še-tur-tur še-kur-ra še á-dam kug-ga nu-gál-la-ám
 15 *ku-gar ku-ku-bi nu-gál-la-ám*
^dtak-ku nu-ub-tu-ud men nu-il
en dingir mer(aga)-si en-kal-kal nu-ub-tu-ud
^dug bar-tum-ma la-ba-ra-e(d)
nam-lù-gál-lu ud-ri-a-ge-e-ne
 20 *nig-kù-ù-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám*
tug-ga tug-tug-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám
uku giš-gi-a-na su-ga(?) mu-un-tum
udu-dim KA-ba ú-mu-ni-ib-kù
a-sar-sar-ra (or, mú-sar-ra) im-nag-nag-ne
 25 *ud-ba ki-sig e-ne*
e-bi

TRANSLATION

OBVERSE

- In the mountain of heaven and earth,
 when, above (?), the gods, the Anunna, were born,
 green and the grain-god had not (yet) sprouted, had not
 (yet) become green;
 his people, with Takku, had not (yet) been formed,
 5 for Takku they (his people) had not (yet) heaped up a temple
 platform.
 A ewe had not (yet) bleated, a lamb had not yet been dropped,
 a she-goat had not (yet) baaed, a kid had not (yet) been
 dropped.
 The ewe had not (yet) borne her lamb,
 the she-goat had not (yet) borne her kid.
 10 The grain of the grain-god and the fold (flocks)
 the Anunna—the great gods are they—knew not (yet);
shesh-grain of thirty days there was none,
shesh-grain of sixty days there was none,
turtur-grain, *kurra*-grain, shining *adam*-grain, there was none.
 15 There was no living in dwellings.
 Takku had not (yet) been born, had not (yet) worn the
 crown,
 the lord, the god of the horned tiara, the all-powerful lord,
 had not (yet) been born,
 the sun-god, brightness bringing, had not (yet) gone forth.
 Mankind, when they were created (on the day of their beget-
 ting),
 20 food and sleep they knew not of,
 garments for their covering they knew not of.
 The people brought all kinds (?) of reeds from the marshes (?),
 like sheep they ate grass with their mouths(?),
 water of the gardens [from the ditches] they drank.
 (*Rest of obverse too broken to allow of any translation.*)

REVERSE

-

 (nam-)lù-gál-lu . . .
 . . . ba ^dEn-ki-ge(?) . . .
 5 a-a ^dEn-lil
 iti-kug-ga dub ma-da-an
 iti-kug-e(?) laġ-ga-ám ma-da-ra-ab
^dEn-ki ^dEn-lil-bi inim-kug gab-ku gù
 šurim ^dezin(u)-bi iti-kug-ta im-ma-da-ra
 10 šurim-e amaš-a im-ma-ab
 u-edin nig-dagar(?) -ra mu-un-na-ba-e-ne
^dezin(u) . . . e mu-un-na-gá-gá-ne
 sib(?) kap-par-bi mu-un-na-ba-e-ne
 šurim amaš-a-na gub-ba-ni
 15 sib amaš-a ġe-li dù-dù-a
^dezin(u) ab-sin-na gub-ba-ni
 ki-el sig-ga ġe-li gur-ru-ám
 gan-ni-ta sag-zi il-la-ni
 ġe-gál an-na-ta du-du(laġ?) -a-ne
 20 šurim ^dezin(u)-bi ġad-e mu-un-ag-eš
 ukkin-na ġe-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
 kalam-ma zi-šà-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
 me-dingir-dingir-ri-e-ne si-im-di-di-e-ne
 erim-ma kalam-ma-ka ninda mu-ni-ib-lu-lu-un-aš
 25 ama-kalam-ma-ka dugud mu-un-ne-gál-aš
 ama(?) uku-ra saġar ki-uš-sa-a-ba
 u-mu-un-mu-ne-eš ġe-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
 man-na-ne-ne sag-ki- . -ne-ne ba-an-gub-bu-uš-a
 dugud-bi e-a ni-tag-me-eš

REVERSE

The opening lines, of which there may have been one or two more than the numbering shows, are too fragmentary to permit of any attempts at restoration. Mankind (l. 3) and the gods Enki and "Father" Enlil (ll. 4 and 5), representing the "great gods, the Anunna," are the *dramatis personae*.

In a favorable month a tablet was

(in) a favorable month—it was a joyous one—the
for

Enki and Enlil uttered an incantation

flocks and grain (the grain-god) in the favorable month they
. . . . for

10 The flocks the fold.

Grass of the plain in abundance they gave them,
grain they put before them,
shepherds (?) and under-shepherds they gave them.
The flocks stood in their fold,

15 the shepherd brought abundance to the fold.

The grain stood in the ear,
the "green maiden" brought abundance.
In the fields the head was lifted on high,
abundance (of rain) came from heaven,

20 flocks and grain "blossomed forth."

The gatherings (of people) were blessed with abundance,
the (whole) land was blessed with renewal of life.
The law of their gods they promulgated,
the storehouses of the land they filled with food,

25 the mercy (favours) shown the land was abundant (heavy).

The prostrate ———, trampled in the dust,
lords they became (?), rich abundance was theirs.
Both of them in ——— stood.



Shût-Abni, "Those of Stone"

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SHÛT-ABNI, "THOSE OF STONE"

BY D. D. LUCKENBILL
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Gilgamesh, seeking the "mouth of the rivers," had crossed the lion-infested desert, had reached the mountain Mashu guarded by scorpion men, one of whom told him of the tunnel twenty-four hours long which led through this mountain toward the sea of the setting sun, had made this dark journey, and was now in the pleasant garden by the seaside, over which presided the goddess Sidurisabîtu.

The way to Ut-napishtim? There is no path across the sea, no one but Shamash [the sun] is able to cross it. Deep are the waters of death. . . . What could you do when you reached the waters of death? But, Gilgamesh, there is Ur-shanabi, the boatman of Ut-napishtim, with whom are "those of stone," . . . cross over with him, if possible [*Gilgamesh Epic*, X, Col. II, 15 f.].

Gilgamesh sets out to find this boatman and comes upon his vessel before meeting him. For some reason, unknown to us (the text is badly broken), he smashes "those of stone." Ur-shanabi now appears and is willing to take Gilgamesh along with him to Ut-napishtim, but the broken "those of stone" raise difficulties. Gilgamesh is sent into the forest to cut down some poles (*parisi*), each sixty cubits in length. Ur-shanabi and Gilgamesh now board the vessel and set sail. A journey of a month and fifteen days brings them toward the end of the trip, and Ur-shanabi is on the lookout. Three more days and they are in the dangerous waters of death (so I interpret X, Col. III, end). Gilgamesh is ordered to take one of the poles he had cut, but to be careful that none of the waters of death touched his hands. Pole after pole is seized by Gilgamesh until a hundred and twenty are used up. The mast (better, perhaps, "yard," see below) is lowered as they near the shore. Ut-napishtim sees the ship drawing up, and says "Why are 'those of stone' broken, and why does one who does not belong there, ride in the ship?"

We pass over the meeting of Un-napishtim and Gilgamesh, as well as the former's account of the deluge and the reasons for his being among the immortals.

Gilgamesh fails in the test of warding off sleep, which is death, and must return to Uruk. At the request of his wife, Ut-napishtim gives Gilgamesh, among other things, a garment which will constantly renew itself until he has ended his journey home. Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi now board the boat once more and set out. Again at the request of Ut-napishtim's wife, they are called back. "Gilgamesh lifted up the pole [*parisa*], and brought the ship to shore" (XI, 277 f.). He is told where to find the plant which will give perpetual youth, dives down to the *apsû* for it, and the return journey is resumed and brought to an end.

What are "those of stone"? Jensen, in *KB*, VI, 1, 473, thought of chests or other containers of stones, perhaps intended for ballast. Gressmann, in *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, objects to this, since the broken *šût-abni* were replaced by the poles Gilgamesh was ordered to cut in the forest. So far, so good. But I find difficulty in following Gressmann any farther. The stone chests (*Steinkiste*), so he translates *šût-abni*, served as a bridge.

There was no landing stage, and there must be none, since no one was to cross to the other side [of the waters of death]. Swimming is impossible, for contact with the water brings death. Even the ship cannot pass through, since the raging stream "is swifter than lightning and faster." Ur-shanabi is in the habit of sinking wooden chests loaded with heavy stones, just as Alexander, at a later date, crossed the "Sandstream," which flows with water three days, and then three days with sand. This bridge has the advantage that after its use it would be removed by the stream itself and intruders would be kept out. Now that the stone chests had been smashed by Gilgamesh, there was nothing to do but build a suspension-bridge [*Hängebrücke*]: the hundred and twenty poles [*Stangen*], each sixty cubits in length, were bound together and were to serve as a landing bridge. Suddenly it is realized that the poles—together some 3,600 meters long—will not reach; the waters are wider than the boatman had estimated. Is all their effort to be of no avail, must Gilgamesh turn back? A moment of greatest tension! When their first fright is overcome, Gilgamesh and the boatman pull off their garments and take down the mast. Now the bridge is long enough, and the two cross the dangerous waters of death over the narrow suspension-

bridge, and reach their destination, the confluence of the streams, where dwells Ut-napishtim, the far-away.¹

Now, I believe in allowing poets all the poetic license they want. I admit that a hero like Gilgamesh, who was "two-thirds god and one-third man," must have performed many wonderful deeds. But a suspension-bridge, made by tying together a hundred and twenty tree-trunks, each sixty cubits long (total some 3,600 meters) and the ship's mast (say another sixty cubits long), and pushing them out from the side of a ship to the shore—well, my imagination is not equal to the task. Honestly, isn't Gressmann "spoofing" us?

But let us be serious. That there is absolutely nothing to this suspension-bridge explanation seems to me to follow from the account of the departure of Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi after their stay with Ut-napishtim.

Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi boarded the ship, the ship they cast [upon the raging flood], and sailed away;

"Gilgamesh has gone, he has worn himself out and plagued himself (?),

What will you give him that he may return to his land?"

And he lifted up the pole(?), namely Gilgamesh

(and) brought the ship near the shore [XI, 272-78. I have purposely quoted the Ungnad-Gressmann translation].

The first two lines of this passage are identical with the lines describing the *start* of Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi from Siduri-sabîtu's garden for the confluence of the streams where Ut-napishtim dwells (X, 148-49). Not only had the ship gone right up to Ut-napishtim's shore, but it starts out from there and returns again.²

It seems to me that the problem must be attacked in another way: that the one way to attack it is by asking the question "what was there about an ancient ship that was made of stone?" And the answer is, the anchors.

No doubt my argument would be more convincing to some if I now quoted extensively from the Greek and Latin. But I shall content myself with a few quotations from modern works. First

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 f.

² Certainly within hailing distance, for Ut-napishtim tells Gilgamesh how and where to find the plant which brings perpetual youth.

from the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Art., "Anchor."

The most ancient anchors consisted of large stones, baskets full of stones, sacks filled with sand, or logs of wood loaded with lead. Of this kind were the anchors of the ancient Greeks, which, according to Apollonius Rhodius and Stephen of Byzantium, were formed of stone; and Athenaeus states that they were sometimes made of wood. Such anchors held the vessel merely by their weight and by the friction along the bottom. . . . Every ship had several anchors; the largest, corresponding to our sheet anchor, was only used in extreme danger, and was hence peculiarly termed *ἱερά* or *sacra*, whence the proverb *sacram anchoram solvere*, as flying to the last refuge.

And such anchors have survived to our own day and in the very region about which the ancient legends of Ut-napishtim and "paradise" clustered, namely the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf.

The sea between Manameh and Moharek is alive with strange craft: the *baghalow* of the Persian Gulf, with long prow decorated with shells, and huge grip, which makes it a boat easily turned in a squall; . . . many of them have curious shaped stone anchors, and water-casks of uniform and doubtless old-world shape. (J. Theodore Bent, "The Bahrein Islands, in the Persian Gulf [*Proc. Royal Geographical Society*, XII (1890), 4]).¹

It is not my wish to create the impression that my translation of *šūt-abni* by "anchors" will at once clear up all the obscurities in the

¹ My attention was called to this article by Rev. John Van Ess, American missionary at Basra, the other winter. While this article is before us, I may perhaps be permitted to refer to another episode in the Gilgamesh epic which may receive some light from a natural phenomenon described in the same article. I mean the episode in X, 287 f., where Gilgamesh ties heavy stones to his feet and is enabled thereby to dive down through the water (salt water) to the *apsû* below where he finds the plant named "the old man shall become young again." Scholars have been translating *apsû* by "fresh-water ocean" (*Süßwasserozean*) of late and, I believe, justifiably. I do not care to go into the pros and cons here. However, if the *apsû* did represent an "Okeanos" of fresh water, lying around, under and above the earth, one of the natural phenomena which might have lead to the belief that fresh water underlies the salt water of the sea, may have been the sub-marine springs which Bent described (p. 7). "The town of Moharek gets its water supply from a curious source, springing up from under the sea. At high tide there is about a fathom of salt water over the spring, and water is brought up either by divers who go down with skins, or by pushing a hollow bamboo down into it. At low tide there is very little water over it, and women with large amphorae and goat skins, which look very real and lifelike though headless, wade out and fetch whatever water they require. The source is called Bir Mahab, and there are several of a similar nature on the coast around, the Kaseifah spring and others." Bent then tells of the legend connected with these springs, and goes on: "It is a curious fact that Arados, the Phoenician town on the Mediterranean, was supplied by a similar submarine source."

description of the voyage of Gilgamesh to the mouth of the rivers and back again. To say that my knowledge of things nautical is rudimentary would be putting it mildly. But there are things one can see without being a sailor.

It seems to be certain that we must assume, with Gressmann, that the poles cut by Gilgamesh were used as substitutes for the broken *šût-abni*. But it seems equally certain that a (not "the") hundred and twenty poles were used one after the other to keep the ship in its course through some Babylonian Scylla and Charybdis, or from running upon the rocks or sandbars. Gressmann assumed that one hundred and twenty was the total number of poles taken on board the vessel. But note that there is at least *one* pole left when Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi start back, and with this pole Gilgamesh brings the departing ship back to shore once more (XI, 277 f.). Thus "the moment of tension" caused by the realization that the hundred and twenty poles will not make a suspension bridge long enough to reach from the ship to the shore, turns out to be nothing but another figment of the imagination. And the mast (I should prefer the translation "yard," for *karâ*¹) was taken down, not to piece out a landing bridge, but because they were almost up to the shore.

But how poles, used to keep a vessel in its course, could be a substitute for stone anchors remains to be considered. As said above, my nautical knowledge is embryonic, and I must confess that I have no answer to the question. One thinks of the use of the anchor in the process of "warping" a vessel. It seems possible that dragging stone anchors might have been used to keep a vessel in control. Herodotus, II, 96, speaking of the "vessels used in Egypt for the transport of merchandise," says:

These boats cannot make way against the current unless there is a brisk breeze; they are, therefore, towed up stream from the shore: down stream they are managed as follows. There is a raft belonging to each, made of the

¹ The translation "mast" for *karâ* in X, Col. IV, 11, is conjectural. So is the restoration of the verb in this sentence to *u-šak-[ki-ma]*, "he lifted up." And Gressmann's objection that the sails but not the mast would be taken down, furled, is well taken. But if we translate "yard" the objection has no force, and "putting up" the yard would make perfectly good sense.

wood of the tamarisk, fastened together with a wattling of reeds; and also a stone bored through the middle about two talents in weight. The raft is fastened to the vessel by a rope, and allowed to float down the stream in front, while the stone is attached by another rope astern [Rawlinson's footnote reads: A similar practice prevails to this day on the Euphrates]. The result is, that the raft, hurried forward by the current, goes rapidly down the river, and drags the "baris" (for so they call this sort of boat) after it; while the stone, which is pulled along in the wake of the vessel, and lies deep in the water, keeps the boat straight.¹

¹ I asked William F. Edgerton, Fellow in the department, who is studying ancient Egyptian boats, whether these had stone anchors, and he referred me to Ernst Assmann's discussion of this point in Borchardt's *Das Grabdenkmal Šaḥu-re*, II, 153 f. Assmann feels sure that certain round objects which are part of the boats depicted on the walls of the Sahure temple are anchors. Borchardt's explanation of these objects does not seem at all convincing. If Assmann is right, and I believe he is, stone anchors on Egyptian vessels go back at least as far as about 2750 B.C. I have not been able to find anchors of any sort on the boats pictured in the Assyrian sculptures, neither do I recall having seen anything on the Euphrates or Tigris to substantiate the statement of Rawlinson in the above-mentioned footnote. I have no doubt that he is right. Ezekiel, chapter 27, gives a detailed description of the ships of Tyre, but mentions no anchors. This does not prove that they had none, any more than does their absence in the Assyrian sculptures.



Assyriological Notes

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Critical Notes

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES

I

daurdu-taurtu, "minor, orphan (fatherless)"

Paragraph 28 of the new Assyrian Law Code (KAV, No. I, Col. IV, 1 f.), reads as follows: 1) [šum]-ma zinništu [al]-ma-at-tu a-na bīt amēli 2) te-ta-ra-ab ù m̄ra-ša 3) [da^L-ur-da il-te-ša na-ša-a-at 4) i-na bīt a-ḫi-za-ni-ša ir-ti-bi 5) ù dup-pu ša-a m̄ru-ut-ti-šu la-a šaṭ-rat 6) zitta i-na bīt mu-ra-bi-a-ni-šu 7) la-a i-lak-ki 8) ḫu-bu-ul-li la-a i-na-aš-ši 9) i-na bīt a-li-da-ni-šu 10) zitta ki-i ḫa-ti-su i-lak-ki

"If a woman, who is a widow, enters into the house of a man, bringing her minor (orphaned) son with her, and he grows up in the house of her (new) husband: and (if) no document of adoption (sonship) has been written, he shall not receive a portion from the estate (house) of the one who brought him up. He bears no 'debt'; he shall receive a portion from the estate of his father (begetter), according to his share."

The word *daurdu-taurtu* has hitherto escaped recognition, probably because of its strange form. It occurs in two other passages, long since known. In V R, 23, 36 (= CT, xi, 36, Rev. 36) we find *TUR-DA* translated by *šer-ru*, *ši-iḫ-ru*, *la'-u*, *la-ku-u*, *ik-du*, *uk-ku-du*, *rid-di* (cf. *rīdu*), *ta-úr-tu*, *tak-ši-ru*, *ba-an-du-u*. Now *ta-úr-tu* has been misread *ti-šim-tu* in the past (Brünnow, 4137, and Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, under *III banda*). But both the CT and the V R copies of the Syllabary have *úr* and not *šim* for the second sign of the word. The other passage in which the word occurs is CT, xvi, 15, Col. V, 8 and 9. But here Thompson, undoubtedly misled by the mistake in Brünnow, copied the words as *ta-šim-tu*. *dam nu-tuk-meš du(TUR) nu-tu-ud-da-meš banda (TUR-DA) nu-un-zu-meš=aš-ša-tu ul aḫ-zu ma-ru ul al-du šu-nu ta-úr-tu ul i-du-u*. The demons were a bad lot, "who did not take a wife, did not beget a son, did not regard (know) an orphan (minor)."

That *daurdu-taurtu* means something like "young child, minor" is clear from its context in the Code passage quoted above. This meaning of *šihru*, one of its synonyms (above), in the legal literature is too well known to call for further comment. Does it mean "orphaned, fatherless," like the Hebrew יתום? Is it a loanword from the Sumerian, a Semitic rendering of *TUR-DA*? Or is it related to *te-ir-du-u*, or *te-ir-di-en-nu* (II R, 30, 39 and 46)? I have no answer to these questions.

II

Ašmanu, "bachelor or widower (?)"

Speaking of widows and orphans: In an enumeration of certain Arba-iluan families, KAV, No. 39, similar to the "census lists" published by Johns in *An Assyrian Doomsday Book*, the term *ašmanu* occurs a number of times. In lines 1-8 we find the names of the heads of families, together with an enumeration of those dependent upon them—wife, sons, daughters. Lines 9-11 contain the names of five men who are evidently without family. In each case the term *aš-ma-nu* follows the name. Are these men bachelors? From the legal documents we know that in ancient Babylonia, as in the modern Near East, the unmarried son, no matter what his age, remained in the father-house, or a brother's house, until a wife was provided for him. Or are these men whose wives are dead and whose sons and daughters have been married off? Finally, closing my eyes tight to § 64 of Delitzsch's *Assyrische Grammatik*, I raise the question: Is *ašmanu* a variant form of **almanu* (cf. late Hebrew אֶלְמָנִי), the masculine of *almattu*, "widow"?

III

ubtaeru, *uktainu*, presents, not preterites, of II 2

It is uttering a commonplace to say that the syntax of the Code of Hammurabi is very simple. *šumma awilum awilam ubbirma neirtam elišu iddim la uktinšu mubbiršu iddak*, "if a man prosecutes a man, and charges him with murder, but does not convict him, his prosecutor shall be put to death." More precisely: "If a man has prosecuted a man, has charged him with murder, but has not convicted him, his prosecutor shall be put to death." That is, *šumma* with the preterite of the verb states the case, or crime committed, and the conclusion, the penalty to be inflicted, is rendered by the verb in the present-future. That the new Assyrian Code exhibits the same syntactical structure as the Hammurabi Code is not surprising.

Now a number of the Assyrian laws begin "if a man (or a woman) does so-and-so (*šumma* with the preterite of the verb)" and continue "they shall prosecute him (or her), they shall convict him (or her),"—the Assyrian of the latter being *ubtaeruš*, *uktainuš*, or *ubtaeruši*, *uktainuši*. These forms should be present-futures. Scheil, *Recueil de Lois Assyriennes*, translates them as such, without any comment. On the other hand Lewy, *Das Verbum in den "Altassyrischen Gesetzen"*, classifies them as preterites of II 2 (p. 89); also, so far as I can see, without comment. Whether or not these scholars saw the difficulty involved I cannot say. But there is a difficulty. A form which one would unhesitatingly construe as a preterite because of its vocalization, is used where there is a syntactical demand for a present-future. In explanation let me call attention to the note on p. 283 of Delitzsch's *Assyrische Grammatik*, which in turn calls attention to V R, 45, where *present-futures*

only, of the 2nd pers. mas. sing. are listed. In Col. I, *tuhtabal*, which begins the II 2 series, is followed by such forms as *tuhtannib*, *tuhtarrib*, etc. Delitzsch could not explain the presence of these forms, since he knew of no certain present-future forms, with *i* in the last syllable, in any connected text. The Assyrian Code has supplied this.

IV

naṭû and baḳânu

Paragraph 44 of the Assyrian Code (KA V, 1, Col. VI, 40 f. reads: *šum-ma amēlu aš-šu-ra-a-ia-u ù šum-ma zinništu aš-šu-ra-i-tu ša ki-i ša-par-te am-mar šim-šu i-na bīt amēli us-bu-u-ni a-na šimi ga-me-ir la-ḳi-u-ni i-na-aṭ-tu i-ba-aḳ-ḳa-an uz-ni-šu u-ḥap-pa u-pal-la-aš*, "if an Assyrian man or if an Assyrian woman, who as a pledge, whatever its (?) value, is dwelling in the house of a man, (and) who is taken for the full price, he (the master of the house) shall come to an agreement (with him or her), his ears he shall bruise, shall pierce."

Lewy (*op. cit.*, 43) translates: "Wenn ein assyrischer Mann und wenn eine assyrische Frau (jemanden), der als Pfand, wieviel immer sein Preis, in dem Hause des Mannes[!] wohnt, zu vollem Preise übernommen ist, (ein)zeichnen, mit Marke (durch Scheeren) versehen will, so soll er seine Ohren zerstören, durchlochen." In a footnote he quotes a few of a great number of passages gathered by his teacher Ebeling, which show a meaning "einkratzen, (ein)zeichnen, tätowieren" for the root *naṭû*. It is unfortunate that he did not quote more extensively, for in only one of the four passages mentioned, namely, *BE*, VII, 1, 106, 9, is a meaning of this kind likely, and here, as in the other passages, the verb may be *nadû*, not *naṭû*. As to *baḳânu*: why did Lewy not give us some passages which show that it means "mark (by cutting the hair)"? Scheil (*op. cit.*, 60) translates these words: "(le) rase, coupe." Now I know of only one other passage, outside the Assyrian Code, where the two verbs are used together. This is a text in *BE*, XIV (No. 42), which I have discussed a number of times before (see *AJSL*, XXXI, 80). Let me give it in full: *dup-pi ri-ki-iš-ti ša mîn-na-an-nu a-na amēl-rikkēpl ù KA-ZID-DA ir-ku-su kurunnu (KAŠ-SAG) ul ta-am-ma akālu (GAR) ul ba-ni-ma i-na-ba-lu mṛabā-ša-^dnergal akālu šikaru(KAŠ) ù me-ri-iš-tum i-nam-di-in-ma i-na-du-u i-ba-ḳa-nu nap-ḥa-ar ši-ka-ri ša iš-tu araḥšamna ša šatti I^{kam} a-na ka-ab-ri i-ka-na-ak*. (Date, Airu of year two, and seals of the *rikke* and *KAZIDDA*). This text, I now believe, should be translated: "the contract (tablet) which Inannu drew up with the brewers and miller. 'If the wine is not good, and the bread (food) is not clean, they shall destroy (them). Rabā-ša-Nergal shall (thereupon) give food (bread), wine and *merištum*, and they (the brewers and the miller) shall come to an agreement (with him about it). All of the wine which (comes) from the month Arahšamna of the year one, he shall seal for the cup (that is, pass as good).'" Now, whatever objections may be raised to my translation, no one, I am sure, will venture to suggest meanings such as are given by Scheil and Lewy for

i-na-du-u and *i-ba-ka-nu*. The subject is plural (the *rikke* and *KAZIDDA*), and the object, if there is any, should surely be the wine and bread. But one does not shave, shear, nor tattoo these commodities. That there is some connection between the verb *baḫānu* and the *buḫānu*-ceremony of the real-estate and slave sales of the early Babylonian documents, is, I believe, certain. (I had twice published this guess, before reading Jastrow's marvelous philological discussion of this and other points in *JAOS*, XLI, 41, and elsewhere.)

Lewy's whole translation is forced. Why should there be any mention of the fact that one of the parties concerned was an *Assyrian* man, or an *Assyrian* woman, if this party was not the one who was to be reduced to servitude through the piercing of the ears? The obvious parallelism of this paragraph of the Code and Exod. 21:2 f., was seen by Jastrow.

Now *naṭū*, as its Sumerian equivalent *ag* clearly indicates, means "to make, to do." Its secondary meaning, "to be possible, to be proper," is easily derived from the primary meaning. Things that are "done" are even yet "proper." The simple translation "to make" will fit all of the passages Lewy quotes for a meaning "einkratzen," etc. As to a meaning "to cut the hair, to shear," for *baḫānu*: there is but one passage known to me where such a translation would fit. In *BE*, XIV, 128, 8 f., we read: *šipātu bu-ku-nu ša i-na šatti SAG-NAM-LUGAL-LA i-na altukulti-ē-kurki i-na araḫsimanu šatti I^{kam} ḫi-i-da*. "Wool, *buḫunu*, which in the year of accession (was gathered, bought?), in Tukulti-Ekur, in Simanu of the year one, was (is) given over (to the men whose names follow in the document). Perhaps *buḫunu* has the same meaning here as *buḫumu*, but it is not certain. In any case, *baḫānu* is not the word used for cutting the hair of persons. That term is always, so far as my observation goes, *galābu*.

naṭū and *baḫānu*, I believe, mean "to do," or "be agreeable about, a thing," and "to close the deal." Perhaps "to come to a satisfactory agreement" would be a sufficient rendering of the two. This meaning fits the other passage in the Code, § 58 (*KAV*, 1, Col. VIII, 60 f., where the two words were probably used together. The paragraph, with my restorations follows: *uš-šir ḫi-ta-a-ni ša [aššat(at) amēli] ša i-na dup-pi [šaṭ-ru-u-ni] amēlu aššat-su [i-na-aṭ-ṭu] i-ba-ka-an 'uz-ni-ša u-ḫap-pa u-'pal-la-aš a-ra-an-šu la-aš-[šu]*. Let me give the two preceding paragraphs in connection with my translation of § 58. (§ 56) "Whether there is striking or [(unlawful) seizure] 'of the wife' of a man, 'that which is written' in the 'tablet' (is to be enforced). (§ 57) "In (the case) of every crime [for which there is the penalty] of cutting off [of the ears, or nose], or ruining of the 'condition (reputation)?' as it is [written]" (it shall be carried out). (§ 58) "Except (in case) of the crime [(involving) the wife of a man], which is [written] in the tablet: the man may come to an understanding with his wife, he shall bruise and 'pierce' her ears.¹ There is no penalty for his so doing."

In a number of paragraphs in the Code where a wife's unfaithfulness is under discussion, the penalty of death may be commuted by the husband to

cutting off her nose (§ 15) or her ears (§§ 4 f., for theft, and probably § 24). I take it this *piercing* of the ears is a further commutation.

V

Was there a god Zababa?

The reading *Zababa* for ^dZA-MAL-MAL, supposedly rendered certain, or at least extremely probable, by line 220 of the Chicago Syllabary, is being generally accepted by Assyriologists in spite of vigorous protests from the writer (*AJSL*, XXXV, 55 f.). To my knowledge only two scholars have attempted to adduce evidence other than that of the Chicago Syllabary in support of such a reading; Professor Clay in a brief note in *JAOS*, XXXVII, 328 f., and more recently, Professor Ungnad (*OLZ*, 1922, 202 f). I wish these scholars would explain two passages in the "Götterliste" published by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, verschiedenen Inhalts*. I refer to No. 46, Obv. 6-9 and No. 63, Col. I, 40-43. The first runs:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 6) | [za-mal ^l -mal/gal] | ^d ZA-MAL-MAL | | "za-a-u pi-sa-an min-na-bi | | [^d]. | |
| 7) | il-ba | ^a | MAL | | "pi-sa-an-nu | | [^d]. |
| 8) | al-ba | ^a | MAL | | "pi-sa-an-nu | | [^a ša-'maš ^l |
| 9) | il-ba-ba | ^a | ZA-MAL-MAL | | "za-a-u pi-sa-an min-na-bi | | [^a nin-'sīg ^l |

and the second:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 40) | [^d ZA-MAL-MAL | | [^d nergal(?) ¹ | |
| 41) | [^d il | MAL | | [^d il]-ba |
| 42) | [^d al | MAL | | [^d al]-ba |
| 43) | [^d ZA-MAL-MAL | | [^d nin]-sīg | |

Now, if *ilba*, *alba*, and *ilbaba* really give the pronunciation of the ideograms which follow, and this would probably be denied by no one (in view of such passages as *CT*, XXV, 27, 16, and *KAV*, 64, Col. III, 14, and others), then it would seem difficult to regard the beginning of line 6 of the first passage quoted, as giving anything other than a pronunciation of ^dZA-MAL-MAL. Of course my restoration is not absolutely certain, but I see no other possibility. But as to the meaning of the *gal* there can be no doubt. It can only be the dialectical (Sumerian) variant of the preceding *mal*. Schroeder, *Orientalistische Studien*, Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet, I, 179 f., saw this. The Assyrian scribe may not have known as much Sumerian as we do today (or think we do), but he certainly knew of a pronunciation *Zamalmal*, with a variant *Zagalgal* for the name he wrote ^dZA-MAL-MAL. Unfortunately, there must remain doubt as to the Semitic (if I may put it that way) god with whom he wished to identify this Sumerian deity. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, 180, thinks it was ^dMAŠ, or *Ninib*, in view of *CT*, XXV, 12, 25, but the traces in line 40 of the second passage quoted above seem to point to the ideogram usually used to designate the name of the god Nergal. Another possibility is ^dIM(=Adad).

I do not mean to say that we are to pronounce ^dZA-MAL-MAL as *Zamalmal* or *Zagalgal* every time we run across this ideogram (for such it had become). Indeed I fail to see how anyone who has ever spent an hour with the lists in *CT*, XXIV and XXV can speak of the pronunciation of such ideograms as ^dZA-MAL-MAL, ^dNIN-IB or ^dMAŠ. Line 6 of the first passage quoted above gives a pronunciation *Zamalmal* (var. *Zagalgal*), while line 9 gives another, *Ibaba*. But there is no evidence for *Zababa*. Nor can I follow Weidner when he speaks of the prominent part the god *Zababa* (he too accepts this pronunciation) plays in the documents from Boghaz-keui (*Boghazköi-Studien*, 6, 97), for the chances are that the writing ^dZA-MAL-MAL was used ideographically to render some "Hittite" god's name. So we find the name of the god Teshub written ^dIM or ^dU, to both of which writings the phonetic complement *ub* is often added. The Egyptian scribes used the name *Sutekh* for this and other Asiatic gods.

VI

Urta, one of the many gods identified with Ninib

In *Old Testament Studies in Memory of William R. Harper*, I, 287 f., Professor Clay published the Aramaic version of certain Babylonian names found on some Nippur documents. Here ^dMAŠ was rendered in the Aramaic by אֲנִישָׁת. Professor Clay and others at once concluded that the long-sought-for pronunciation of the name ^dNIN-IB had been discovered. A fair-sized literature had sprung up on the subject when another discovery was made. The Yale Syllabary, No. 53 of Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (1915), gave a new equivalent of ^dNIN-IB (l. 228). On the basis of this text it was proposed to read the name ^dNin-urta. In a note in *AJSL*, XXXV (1918), 55 f., I entered a protest against this interpretation, and suggested that, since the beginning of the line under consideration was slightly damaged, it was possible that instead of *ur-ta* the text had *kab-ta*. I argued that, whatever the reading, neither this Syllabary nor the Nippur "endorsements" gave us any pronunciation of the ideogram (if it be one) ^dNIN-IB, but that the Yale text added another name to the long list of gods identified with ^dNIN-IB, while the Aramaic characters gave us the name of a god which appeared in cuneiform as ^dMAŠ.¹ My protest fell on deaf ears, for I find that scholars generally have adopted the rendering *Ninurta* for ^dNIN-IB.

Now at the risk of appearing to belong to the stiff-necked, "Missourian" faction of humanity, I venture to reopen the discussion. I do so in view of

¹ In *OLZ*, XX (1917), 1 f., which I had, of course, not seen when my note was written, Ungnad used practically the same passages from the different syllabaries which I had used, but came to the conclusion that they proved that *Ninurta* (*Nimurta*) was the reading of ^dNIN-IB. That the ideogram ^dMAŠ represented a name, in Assyrian, ending in *t(u)* follows from the hypocoristic ^dMAŠ-ti-i, cf. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, under *NINIB*.

the fact that a parallel text to the Yale Syllabary has appeared, namely, *CT*, XXXV, plates 1-8. Let me set down the relevant sections of these two syllabaries and in addition some lines from another, published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (1914), No. 104, iv. 6 f.

Yale, 286:	<i>ib</i>	<i>IB</i>	<i>u-ra-šu</i>	<i>tu-bu-uk-tu</i>
" 287:	<i>da-ra</i>	<i>IB</i>	"	<i>is-hu, ni-bit-tu</i>
" 288:	<i>ur-ta</i>	<i>IB</i>	"	<i>ša ^aNIN-IB šu-ma</i>
" 289:	<i>u-ra-aš</i>	<i>IB</i>	"	<i>pi-riš-ti</i>
<i>CT</i> , XXXV, 8, 38:	<i>i-ib</i>	<i>IB</i>		<i>tu-bu-uk-tu</i>
" 39:	<i>da-ra</i>	<i>IB</i>		<i>is-hu, ni-bit-tu</i>
" 40:	<i>ur-ta</i>	<i>IB</i>		<i>ša ur-ta ^aNIN-IB</i>
" 41:	<i>u-ra-aš</i>	<i>IB</i>		<i>pi-riš-tu</i>
Poebel, 6:	[<i>ib</i>	<i>IB</i>		[<i>u-bu-uk-tum</i>
" 7:	[<i>da-ra</i>	<i>IB</i>]		<i>is-ri</i> (error)
" 8:	[<i>ur-ta</i>	<i>IB</i>]		<i>ša ^aNIN-IB šu</i> (did <i>ma</i> follow?)
" 9:	[<i>u-ra-aš</i>	<i>IB</i>]		<i>^aNIN-IB</i>
" 10:	[<i>u-ra-aš</i>	<i>IB</i>]		<i>pi-ri-iš-tum</i>

The restorations in the Poebel texts are reasonably certain as will appear from what follows.

The new *CT* text makes *ur-ta* certain, and my suggested *kab-ta* goes by the board. But it also makes the reading *Ninurta* less probable if not impossible. I am sure that if we had this text only, it would not occur to anyone to make *ur-ta* the rendering of the second syllable of ^a*NIN-IB*, but that the line would be interpreted as "*ur-ta*, (the reading of) *IB*, (which is) *Urta*, (to be identified with) ^a*NIN-IB*."¹

For the identification of ^a*IB* with ^a*NIN-IB*, cf. *CT*, XXIV, 40, 61, ^a*IB* ditto (= ^a*NIN-IB*) *ša al-li* and *CT*, XXV, 11, 25,

^a*IB* (glossed *u-ra-aš*) ditto (= ^a*NIN-IB*) *ša ud da-ni-e*

From these examples we see that ^a*IB* was equated with ^a*NIN-IB*, and from the second of them, that *one* pronunciation of ^a*IB* was *uraš*.² Now it is fairly certain that the Poebel text had *uraš*=*IB*=^a*NIN-IB* in line 9. And one may reasonably conclude that line 8 had *ur-ta*. The *ur-ta* here as well as in the Yale Syllabary and *CT* text is merely another pronunciation of *IB* when used to write a god's name. *Urta* is, therefore, only another name to be added to the sixty-odd gods identified by the late Babylonian scribes with the god whose name was written ^a*NIN-IB*.

[While this note was being set up, Part III of *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* reached me. No. 74 of this volume is a fragment of a letter from Dudhalia, one of the Hittite kings, to another king whom we recognize at once as the well-known Assyrian king Tukulti-NINIB, who reigned about 1250 B.C. The fragment begins

[*um-ma*] *ašamši* (*ši*) *m^hu-ut-ḫa-li-ia* [*šarru rabā*, etc.]

[*a-na*] *m^hdu-ku-ul-tu* ^a*IB* *šarru* (remainder broken away)

¹ See preceding critical note, p. 60.

For other identifications made by the Babylonian scribes see Deimel, *Pantheon*, 143.

Now the writing of the name of the Assyrian king seems to me to settle the problem under discussion. We must read Tukulti-urta, or Tukulti-urash, but not Tukulti-enurta, or the like. Since the name of this king is written both Tukulti-^dNIN-IB and Tukulti-^dMAŠ, the reading Tukulti-urta is to be preferred. For we have already called attention to the hypocoristic ^dMAŠ-ti-i (note 1, p. 61). And with *urta* established as the reading of NIN-IB=IB (and probably = MAŠ) in *Assyrian* names, it is not improbable that we should add to the NINIB-hypocoristics such names as Urdâ, Urdî, and perhaps Urdu and Urđi (of Tallqvist, *op. cit.*)

That Professor Clay should connect *Ninurta*, or *Enurta*, with *Amurru*, was to be expected. But I was somewhat surprised to find Schroeder reading ^dMAŠ-*apal-Ê-kur* as ^d*Ninurta-apal-Ê-kur* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, verschiedenen Inhalts*, Index, xxii), when a parallel text (10, a 7) had *SAK-KAL-apal-Ê-kur*. It seems to me that this variant suggests that the name of the Assyrian god which was usually written ^dMAŠ or ^dNIN-IB might also have been pronounced *Sakkal* or *Šaggal*. Cf. ^dSAK-KAL, *CT*, XXIV, 47, 18; ^dSAG-GAL, *CT*, XXV, 22, 40 and 23, 7a; also the personal names *Bâr-^dSa-gal-e* (in whose eponym occurred the eclipse of the sun which fixed the chronology of the late Assyrian period for us) and *Ṭab-sa-gal*, in Tallqvist, *op. cit.* But this point is not to be pressed.

I may add that I was somewhat puzzled by the absence of ^dMAŠ and ^dNIN-IB compounds in the personal names found in the recently published Cappadocian texts of the British Museum and the Louvre, especially since the names are in all respects similar to those found in the early Assyrian inscriptions. And then I remembered that I had failed to find a ^dMAŠ or ^dNIN-IB compound in any Assyrian text before the time of Tukulti-NINIB. What is the explanation?

VII

On some "Hittite" Proper Names

In preparing the translations of the texts found in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, I, for my "Hittite Treaties and Letters," *AJSL*, XXXVII, 161 f., I made a large number of identifications of proper names found in these documents with names found in other cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts. Many of these identifications were so obvious that I did not think it worth while to call attention to them in the foot-notes. Others were classed as less obvious or even doubtful. A few of the less obvious ones were noted, so for example, *Alše* and *Tegarama* (or *Tagarama*), which appear in the later Assyrian texts as *Alsi* and *Tilgarimmu*. I hoped to make a more thorough study of these names in a separate article, and therefore refrained from suggesting any identifications which I regarded as doubtful. The steady progress which is being made in the publication of the Boghaz-keui documents now makes the postponement of such a study advisable. But since I find so keen a student as Weidner

failing to make an identification which I regarded as too obvious for comment, it would seem not amiss to put down a few random notes on these names.

Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien*, 6, 77, n.) equates *bar-saqlaplani* (*KBo.* I, No. 4, IV, 28) with *bar-saḡniplani*, which occurs many times in these texts. Now Mount Niblani (as I prefer to transliterate) may well be the modern Nimrūd Dagħ, as Weidner suggests, but Mount Lablani is clearly Mount Lebanon (usually written *Labnana* in the cuneiform): the name which follows, namely Mount Shariana, that is Sirion, the Sidonian name for Hermon (Deut. 3:9), makes this identification certain.

A comparison of the passages in the Boghaz-keui texts in which are mentioned the gods who are called upon as witnesses of the treaties (*KBo.* I, No. 1, Rev. 35 f., No. 2, Rev. 18 f., No. 3, Rev. 1 f., 23 f., and No. 4, Rev. Col. IV, 1 f.) with a similar section of the hieroglyphic version of the treaty between Ramses II and Hattushili of Hatti, makes possible many obvious, and some less obvious, identifications (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 386).

"The Sun-god[dess] of the city of Ernen (ʔ-r-n-nʔ)" is clearly the same as "Shamash (goddess) of Arinna." (For Arinna, cf. *AJSL*, XXVIII, 162.) "Sutekh of the city of Aleppo (Ḫy-rʔ-pʔ)" is "Teshub of Ḫalab (or Ḫalpa)," and "Sutekh of the city of Reḫsen (Rʔ-ḫʔ-sy-nʔ)," whose name follows that of Sutekh of Aleppo, is clearly the same as "Teshub of Liḫzina" whose name likewise follows that of Teshub of Ḫalab. Three other names which follow one another in the cuneiform *KBo.* I, No. 1, Rev. 44, Ziṭḫariaš, Karziš, Ḫapanta—(name not complete. Perhaps to be restored, on the basis of the Egyptian, Ḫa-pa-an-ta-[ar]-[ra]ʔ-a-ʔašʔ) seem to be given in the same order in the hieroglyphic as Zeyethekrer (Dʔ-y-yʔ-t-ḫy-r-ry), Kerzet—(Kʔ-r-dʔ-y-tʔ)—and Kherpenteres (Ḫ-r-pʔ-n-ty-ry-sʔ). So "Sutekh of the city of Khesesep (Ḫy-sʔ-sʔ-pʔ)" seems to me to be identical with "Teshub of Hiššašḫapa."

Less obvious, or even doubtful, is the identification of "Teshub of Betiarik" with "Sutekh of the city of Perek (Pʔ-y-rʔ-ḫʔ)," or of "Išḫara, lady of the oath," with "the mistress of swearing, Teskher (Tʔ-sʔ-ḫʔ-rʔ)," or of Ištar with "Antheret (ʔ-n-t-rʔ-ty)," perhaps to be corrected to "Astarte (ʔ-s-ty-rʔ-tʔ)," cf. *BAR*, IV, § 105.

Kezweden is, of course, Kissuadni. (Wherever I transcribed Kissulani, which was done after a long struggle, I should now without hesitation read Kissuadni.)

Ḳode, the name of a land, frequently mentioned in the Egyptian documents, I have long been looking for in the cuneiform. I believe I have now located it in the oft-occurring name Uda (Uta) of the Boghaz-keui texts. Ḳode is mentioned between Carchemish and Kadesh in a Ramses II text (*BAR*, III, § 306. Cf. also *BAR*, III, § 309, where we find it in the series, Kezweden, Carchemish, Ekereth, Ḳode, Nuges, Mesheneth and Kadesh). In *KBo.* I, No. 1, Rev. 46, Uda is mentioned between Aleppo and Kissuadni—a south-north series, as over against the north-south series of the Egyptian texts. As to the spelling: For Egyptian *k* used to transcribe

Semitic ד , ג or ג , cf. Erman, *ÄG*, 3d ed., § 116. Cf. also the modern Arabic pronunciation of the name of Jerusalem, Udes (Udes) for Kudes , and the Aramaic ܐܪܫܠܡ , ܐܪܫܡ .

In like manner Egyptian g frequently represents Semitic ג or ג . This has given me the clue to another identification (not proposed here for the first time, see *BAR*, II, p. 187, note 1.), namely Nuges with Nuḥašše (the h of the cuneiform transcribing an ג , ג). It has already been suggested that Nuḥašše is the same as the נִיחַשְׁשֵׁ of the ZKR-Inscription. Cf. Weidner, *op. cit.*, 77, n., and Dhorme, *Rev. bibl.*, 1908, 503. For the location of Nuḥašše see *BAR*, III, § 309.

Duddul, *KBo.* I, No. 10, Obv. 42 (which appears as Duldul in my translation, *AJSL*, XXXVII, 201, through a typographical error), is obviously the Tutul of the Hammurabi Code, Col. IV, 30. Here the people of Mera (=Mari) and Tutul are mentioned.

Finally, in *KBo.* I, No. 1, Rev. 43, I should like to restore "Teshub of [Bam]biki." Bambyke is mentioned in a text in Johns, *ADD*, No. 773 (=K 180), l. 5.

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A MESSENGER FROM IBLA

Our interest in the western Semites who wandered into the plain of Shinar, singly or collectively, has steadily increased since the time that Ranke called our attention to them in his *Personal Names*. With the publication of Poebel's *Historical Texts* a number of geographical terms gained new significance. The elder Sargon, according to his own inscriptions, extended his conquests westward over Mari, Yarmuti, and Ibla to the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountain. We know that Naram-Sin called himself conqueror of "Armanu and Ibla" (*RA*, Vol. X, p. 101, No. 1). My immediate interest is in certain citizens of Ibla. In the time of the Ur dynasty we begin to meet with individuals from this western city (country). Sometimes we have their names, sometimes not; so we hear of Ili-Dagan, the man of Ibla (Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 120), or again simply of a man of Ibla (Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, No. 27). While in Diwaniyah the other winter, I was able to make a few hasty notes of some cuneiform documents in the possession of the political officer of that district, Major (I hope he is at least a colonel by this time) C. K. Daly. One of these was a tablet dated in the forty-fourth year of Dungi (*mu ki-maš^{ki} u ũu-mur-ti^{ki} ba-ŕul*). It had to do with offerings of "firstlings" of the flocks to different deities: 1 *silá* ^d*Nin-lil*, 1 *silá* ^d*Nin-lil*, *mu-du En-dNinni*, 1 *silá* ^d*En-lil*, etc., 1 *maš* (?) *nitaš*, 5 *udu nitaš*, *Su-ri-im*, ^l*kin-gé-a* ^l*Ib-la^{ki}*, "One lamb for Enlil, one lamb for Ninlil, En-Ninni brought. One lamb for Enlil, etc., one fat kid (and) five fat sheep (were brought) by Surim, the



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AKKADIAN ORIGINS

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Already in the early stages of cuneiform research the presence of large numbers of bilingual texts among the documents then being patiently if not always successfully deciphered, led scholars to conclude that the civilization of the Euphrates Valley was not exclusively the product of the Semitic peoples who occupied this region during most of its history. Back in 1875 George Smith could say:

It is the opinion of the majority of Assyrian scholars that the civilization, literature, mythology, and science of Babylonia and Assyria were not the work of a Semitic race, but of a totally different people from that of all the Semitic tribes. There is, however, a more remarkable point than this; it is supposed that at a very early period the Akkad or Turanian population, with its high cultivation and remarkable civilization, was conquered by the Semitic race, and that the conquerors imposed only their language on the conquered, adopting from the subjugated people its mythology, laws, literature, and almost every art of civilization.¹

We need not tarry over Smith's difficulties in accepting this opinion, but we may pause to note that the designation "Akkadian" which the earlier scholars applied to the non-Semitic "Turanian" element of the population of Babylonia, has since been found to be the very name by which the Semitic Babylonians designated their own language and themselves. It is, of course, not surprising to find that the opinions of Assyrian scholars have undergone many changes since George Smith's day. And the problem itself has changed. From

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 449.

being a question as to whether Babylonian civilization was Semitic or non-Semitic in origin, it soon became one of determining the relative contributions made by the non-Semitic Sumerians and the Semitic Akkadians. Note the new terms used to designate Semites and non-Semites. And now we want to know whence came the Sumerians and the Akkadians and the other groups which made up the ever-changing population of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. It is with the family connections of the earliest historical Semites of Babylonia, namely, the Akkadians, that this paper will concern itself in the main.

One of the pitfalls into which scholars as well as the unthinking seem to insist on stumbling is that of drawing general conclusions from insufficient or selected data. Assyriologists are no exception to this rule. We have already noticed one such generalization. The early Assyriologists concluded that the civilization of Babylonia was almost wholly non-Semitic in origin. Winckler went a step farther and boldly asserted that the Sumerians, the authors of that civilization, had disappeared from the scene long before our history opens, and that even the earliest Semites of Babylonia had already been displaced at the opening of the historical period by a new group of Semitic people which he called Canaanites.¹ As we shall see presently, Winckler was one of the first to see clearly what is now a commonplace of the history of the early Near East, namely the fact that the Tigris-Euphrates Valley was invaded by a succession of conquering peoples, some Semitic, as the West-Semitic Amorites (he called them Canaanites), others non-Semitic, such as the Kassites. But the conclusion that the Sumerians were altogether prehistoric was rash to say the least. Eduard Meyer, in his monograph *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, gathered together the evidence which Winckler had ignored, and proved beyond a peradventure, not only that the Sumerians were lively rivals of the Semites in Babylonia for upwards of a thousand years of history, but also that we possess ample means of knowing what manner of men they were. In the same work Meyer went on to discuss the question of priority as between the Sumerians and the Semites, and reached the conclusion, based upon insufficient evidence, some thought at the time, that the Semites were in the valley before the Sumerians arrived there from their earlier home.

¹ *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed., pp. 9 f.

Since the publication of this monograph of Meyer's, the discovery at Assur (Kalat-Shergat) of archaic sculpture strongly resembling that of the earliest strata of the Sumerian cities of the south, has raised the presumption that the Sumerian occupation of Babylonia was of much longer duration and extended over a wider area than we had come to believe. However, the point that Meyer set out to prove remains unshaken, to wit, that for a thousand years of history, roughly from 3000 to 2000 B.C., the Sumerians occupied the southern part of Babylonia (Sumer) and engaged in an almost continuous and losing struggle with their Semitic neighbors immediately to the north. The earlier rivals of the Sumerians were the Akkadians, but they finally went down before another group of Semites, namely the West-Semitic Amorites.

The detection of the Western Semites in Babylonia has been an interesting episode in the annals of Assyriology. As noted above, Winckler held that the Western Semites had displaced the earliest Semitic people of Babylonia at the dawn of history. This was going beyond the evidence, for the name of Ishme-Dagan, king of Isin, whom he dated *ca.* 2400, 2300 B.C., was the earliest "Kanaanismus" to which he could refer. But the solid work in this field was done by Ranke. The beginning was made under Hommel, and appeared in his doctor's dissertation, *Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabi Dynastie*, 1902. The finished product was his *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, 1905. This is one of the finest pieces of research in the literature of Assyriology and is a constant reminder of the loss which that science sustained when its author joined the ranks of the Egyptologists. When all of the personal names in the documents from the First Dynasty period had been collected and studied it was no longer possible to "assume (with Professor Jensen) that these men [those bearing foreign names] were only a small number of foreigners who here and there had settled in Babylonia," but there were sufficient reasons to "raise the supposed invasion of West-Semitic tribes into Babylonia from a mere probability to a historical fact."¹

We now know not only that the First Dynasty of Babylon was West-Semitic, but also that even before these "sons of Amurru

¹ *Personal Names*, 34.

(*mârê Amurrum*)” established themselves in Akkad (which strictly speaking should be called Babylonia only from this time on), Ishbi-Irra had come from Mari—up the Euphrates—and had founded a dynasty in the Sumerian city of Isin. Indeed, it is now evident that the last Ur Dynasty, the one whose central figure is Dungi (Shulgi), was also foreign and of western origin. Amorite workmen were employed in Sumer and Akkad as early as the Agade period.

Now, our historical and ethnological studies have revealed such extensive wandering over the face of the earth on the part of the tribes and races of men that it has become next to impossible for us to imagine a people who might be described by the adjective autochthonous. Apparently Stone Age man was as much a gadder-about as his successors of history. And so it is hard for us to believe that Egyptian civilization was the product of the Nile Valley and we would fain derive it from some other source, say Babylonia. That the archaeological evidence is all against us seems to make little difference. And when we turn to the study of the Babylonian civilization our minds are immediately seized by the same “Wanderlust.” If we hold that this civilization was Sumerian in origin, our next problem seems to be to locate the spot where the Sumerians developed their culture before they entered their later home. On the other hand, if our theory calls for a Babylonian culture of Semitic origin our problem is to find its original home. Here again it makes little difference that the archaeological evidence points to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley itself as the place where Babylonian civilization grew up. It is true that the evidence in this case has not yet been so abundant as that brought to light in the Nile Valley, but nevertheless the direction in which it points has, I believe, long been clear. We shall come back to this later.

Having brought the Amorites into Babylonia from the West, it was to be expected that scholars would soon begin to cast about outside of Babylonia for the “original home” of the Akkadians. Ungnad argued that the name Akkadian, applied to the Semitic language of Babylonia by the Babylonians themselves, points to Akkad (Agade) as the center of the *first* Semitic state in Babylonia. Now Akkad comes into our history about 2900 B.C. Before this time the Akkadians, under another name, may have been organized into a state elsewhere. So Ungnad, who also suggested that this

elsewhere was Amurru. This was in 1908.¹ Since that time Professor Clay, in a series of works beginning with *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites* (1909), has advanced and championed the hypothesis "as regards the Semitic elements that entered into the composition of the culture known to us as the Babylonian or Akkadian, that they were largely an importation from the region lying west of that country; that the ultimate origin of the Semites may have been in Arabia, Kurdistan, or Abyssinia, as has been asserted, but that the indications are that they had a long development in Amurru or Aram before they migrated into Babylonia."² Clay's original volume was a protest against the wild claims of the Pan-Babylonists; but his substitution of Pan-Amurrism for Pan-Babylonism has not furthered the cause of historical science. Others have rejected and refuted in detail the claims put forth by Winckler and his school, but they have done so without raising up other theories upon bases as insecure as that upon which Pan-Babylonism was reared.

I confess that I am often at a loss to discover just what the discussion is about. This is due, I am sure, to my obdurate obtuseness, rather than to any lack of lucidity on the part of the champion of the Amorite hypothesis. But just what is meant by the statement that the Semitic elements which entered into the composition of the Babylonian culture were largely an importation from the region lying to the west of Babylonia? Does it mean that the Semites who came down the river (and we knew that different bodies of Semites did come down the river into Babylonia long before Professor Clay told us of it) already possessed the rudiments of civilization in their old home? Or, that the cultural development of these Semites was practically an accomplished fact on their entrance into the lower valley? If the latter, our history shows that it was not so: if the former, then the whole discussion is meaningless, for no one has ever suggested that naked they came into Babylonia. Civilization rests upon a physical foundation. The rich black soil of the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates constituted the broad substructure upon which two great civilizations were reared in antiquity. Whatever prosperity Syria may have possessed from time to time in the course of her history, it rested, not upon broad acres of arable land, but upon her strategic position commercially. For details one may consult Ezekiel, chapter

¹ *OLZ*, 1908, pp. 62 f.

² *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, V.

27. The Amarna Letters and the Hittite treaties furnish all the information we have concerning the kingdom of Amurru. It was a small state whose capital was probably Damascus, and whose kings were the vassals now of the Pharaoh, now of the Hittite king.¹ To speak of this little kingdom as an "empire" would show lack of discrimination in the choice of terms. Professor Clay has come to see that in the 5,000-years of history there is no room for any real "Empire of the Amorites," so, presto, it is made prehistoric! I still hold that King's chapter on the Western Semites, in his *History of Sumer and Akkad*, is not only the best presentation of the facts—archaeological, linguistic, and historical—bearing upon this problem, but that it is also an adequate answer to the main contention of the author of the Amurru hypothesis.

In the *Schweich Lectures*, delivered in 1916, King discussed the bearing of some new literary evidence from Nippur upon the problem of Babylonian beginnings. He said:

Thus the earliest picture we have hitherto obtained of the Sumerians has been that of a race employing an advanced system of writing and possessed of a knowledge of metal. We have found, in short, abundant remains of a bronze-age culture, but no traces of preceding ages of development such as meet us on early Egyptian sites. It was a natural inference that the advent of the Sumerians in the Euphrates Valley was sudden, and that they had brought their highly developed culture with them from some region of Central or Southern Asia. The newly published Nippur documents will cause us to modify that view. The lists of early kings were themselves drawn up under the Dynasty of Nisin in the twenty-second century B.C., and they give us traces of possibly ten and at least eight other "kingdoms" before the earliest dynasty of the known lists. . . . It is clear that in native tradition, current among the Sumerians themselves before the close of the third millennium, their race was regarded as in possession of Babylonia since the dawn of History. This at any rate proves that their advent was not sudden nor comparatively recent, and it further suggests that Babylonia itself was the cradle of their civilization [pp. 28 f.].

It took years to get rid of the notion of a civilization brought into the Nile Valley from without. The pyramids and Menes appeared to be so near the beginning of Egyptian history. The excavation of the early cemeteries on the one hand and the discovery of the meaning of the Palermo Stone on the other, seem to have convinced even the most skeptical that there is little room for doubt-

¹ From a Hittite text (§ BoTU, 3) we learn of an Amorite king, Agvâruvash by name, contemporary of Naram-Sin. Were the Amorites Semites?

ing that the Nile Valley is the cradle of the Egyptian civilization. We must not be too hard on the Assyriologists who have persisted so long in their search for the region outside the Tigris-Euphrates Valley where the Sumerians developed their culture. In the first place, the early excavators were hardly aware of our problem at all. They were after Museum pieces, and to uncover the Nineveh of Sennacherib or the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar was as high as their ambition mounted. And in the second place, even after excavations in Babylonia began to be what we like to call scientific, the evidence of the strata was almost totally ignored by those who took up the task of writing the history of Babylonia. Even King, in his *History of Sumer and Akkad*, looked, as we have seen, toward Turkestan for the beginnings of the Sumerian culture. And yet at the time this history was written the archaeological evidence from Nippur was at hand. Let me quote again from his *Schweich Lectures*, delivered six years after the appearance of the history:

No less than twenty-one different strata, representing separate occupation, have been noted by the American excavators at various levels within the Nippur mounds, the earliest descending to virgin soil some twenty feet below the present level of the surrounding plain. The remote date of Nippur's foundation as a city and cult-center is attested by the fact that the pavement laid by Naram-Sin in the south-eastern temple-court lies thirty feet above virgin soil, while only thirty-six feet of superimposed *débris* represent the succeeding millennia of occupation down to Sassanian and early Arab times [p. 20].

The archaeological evidence has been slowly coming in, not only from Nippur, but from Babylon, Fâra, Surghul, Abu-Schahrain, Kalat-Shergat (Assur), and other sites. But it will take years of the same patient work that was done in Egypt to trace the development from the Old Stone life down to the Bronze Age culture of the early historical period.

But when we assert our belief that the future will show that the Babylonian civilization was the product of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley just as Egyptian culture has been shown to be the product of the Nile Valley, we do not deny the possibility, but we even assert the probability that there will be forthcoming evidence that the Sumerians and the Akkadians came into the Valley from the outside. That there was an invasion of the Nile Valley by a body of Semites in prehistoric times is an assumption called for by the grammar of the

Egyptian language, and archaeological evidence pointing in the same direction has already come to light. This in itself would prove that the Amorite invasions of Babylonia were not the first instances of Semitic migration.

Who were the Akkadians? Was their home in Amurru before they came into Babylonia, as Ungnad suggested? My answer to the latter question is negative, for I shall try to show that there is a great linguistic gulf fixed between the Akkadians and the Amorites. In endeavoring to answer the former, I shall show that there is a strong linguistic bond of affinity between the Akkadians and the Semitic element of the early Nile population.

Anyone acquainted with the Assyrian and Babylonian tongues knows that there is a distinct line of cleavage between these Eastern Semitic dialects and those of the West. The pronominal elements *šu*, *ši* and *šunu*, *šina*, stand over against the Western *hu*, *hi* and *hum*, *hina*. The Eastern causative stem is a *shaphel*, as over against a Western *hiphil* or *ʾaphel*. And when we come to the tenses of the verb we find an Eastern preterite, *ikšud*, to be set opposite a Western imperfect-future *iaktul*, that is, two forms which are identical in vocalization have a diametrically opposite tense significance. In the West the normal position of the verb is before the subject, in the East after it. Now, these are commonplaces. Nevertheless their historical significance has been steadily overlooked. From the writing of certain Semitic (Amorite) words in the Gudea inscriptions the conclusion was drawn by Ungnad that the people of Amurru spoke the same language in Gudea's day as the Semites of Babylonia.¹ But did they? We also found Ungnad arguing in favor of Amurru as the home of the Akkadians prior to their settlement in Akkad. The language of the Akkad Dynasty texts shows no western affinities. Was the language of Amurru Akkadian in those days? Ungnad certainly does not prove this.

Are we justified in setting the East-Semitic dialects over against the West-Semitic? The Hebrew grammar, the grammar of a language whose literature does not go back of roughly 1000 B.C., over against the Akkadian grammar, the grammar of dialects whose literature reaches back to almost 3000 B.C.? At first sight this

¹ OLZ, 1908, p. 64, n. 3.

might seem unfair. But our West-Semitic grammar does not begin with 1000 B.C. The Amarna Letters take us back a half millennium and here we find abundant evidence that the language of the Canaan of those days had a "Western" grammar.¹ And we jump back another half millennium and more, and we are still as far as ever from finding the East-Semitic grammar at home in the West. Our evidence is the personal names of the First Dynasty of Babylon. We come back to Ranke's book.

The above-given list—into which a number of names have not been incorporated which probably belong to the same group—contains over a hundred names, occurring more or less frequently in our texts, which concerning their form have to be designated as Semitic but not Babylonian. It is true, we find compound and abbreviated names and hypocoristica (cf. especially *Jadiḫ-ilu*, *Jadiḫum*, *Jadiḫatum*), exactly as in genuine Babylonian names, but we find in this list only a few names with the most common of all Babylonian affixes *-ja*. On the contrary, we find nominal and verbal forms which differ essentially from those which we meet in the Babylonian names and roots which are not familiar to us from the Babylonian lexicon. The names of Babylonian deities are very rarely found in this group of names. In their place we find only Dagan and, once, Ishtara. Besides, where the other names have the name of a god or a good Babylonian equivalent, we find the following elements in use: *ammî*, (*ishḫî*), *iṣi*, *izi* (= *iṣî*, *izî* ?), *ḥammu*, *samu*, *sumu*, *samsu*, *zimrî*.

Verbal forms occurring in them are *jabnik*(*q*, *g*), *jadiḫ*, *jaḥbar*, *jaḥzar*, *jaḥzir*, *jakub*, *jamlîk*, *jaqar*(?), *jarbi*, *jarḥam*, *jasad*(?), *jashbi*(?), *jashub*, *jap*(*w*) *i*, *eshub*, *zaduga*.

Nominal forms are (*ḥ*)*abdi*, (*ḥ*)*abdu*, *d*(*t*)*itana*, *zabti*, *ila*, *iluna*, *ḥad*(*t*, *t*)*nu* [pp. 26 f.].

Now these names were laboriously gathered by Ranke from among the many names occurring in the business and legal documents of the First Dynasty of Babylon. But the Babylonian scribes had anticipated him. Dr. Chiera, working over the school-texts from Nippur, found that the scribes of the latter part of the Isin Dynasty, and the early part of the First Babylonian Dynasty, had drawn up long lists of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Amorite personal names. A study of the Amorite list shows, as we should expect, the same

¹ Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, §§ 27, 28, 29 (etymology of pronoun and verb), 36 (syntax), 37 f. (glosses). Among the "Hyksos" names there are many that are West-Semitic. One would not miss guessing the nationality of Abshai, pictured on a wall of the Beni-Hasan tombs.

distinctively "Western" nouns and verbal-forms which occur in the names gathered together by Ranke.¹

The personal names show us, therefore, that at a time a few centuries after 2500 B.C. the languages of Amurru and Akkad were already as far apart as they were in their later history. Akkadian was "Eastern" in its grammar from *ca.* 2900 B.C., on. Did the Akkadians come from Amurru? Was the language of Amurru in Gudea's day Akkadian?

If the Akkadians came from Amurru and brought with them the language they spoke there, and this was the same as the Akkadian, then we must assume that they migrated *en masse* and that an entirely new population with a new language took their place in the old homeland, for it is hard to see how the two regions, Akkad and Amurru, could have diverged from each other so far, linguistically, in a few centuries. On the other hand, if they did not speak Akkadian in Amurru, but took this over after they came into the Valley, then we should have the same evidence of a mixed population, part Amorite-Akkadian, part pre-Akkadian-Babylonian, which confronts us in the personal names of the period from 2300-2000 B.C. But we have no such evidence in the Agade-Dynasty literature.

Furthermore, Professor Clay has been trying to show that the Babylonian gods, Marduk, Ninib, Zamama, and the rest are Amorite. It will not be long until the whole Babylonian pantheon, Sumerian and Semitic, is declared Amorite. But before this is done we ought

¹ *List of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur*, pp. 111 f., 118 f. Dr. Chiera's discussion of the Amorite names is very unsatisfactory. Following the method of Professor Clay, he labels all names which are not obviously Sumerian or Akkadian, as Amorite. So he finds Amorite names among the rulers of the First, Second, and Fourth Dynasties of Kish. Even the kings of Gutium have Amorite names! Might it not have been well to suggest a meaning for some of these names so as to show their relation to the Amorite tongue? What Amorite forms might one find in *ti-ri-ga-a-él*, *ī-ar-la-ga-él*, *la-si-ra-ab* and the like? We know that foreign names soon disappear after their introduction into a new linguistic environment. We see this going on about us every day. In the same manner we can study the gradual disappearance of West-Semitic names about 2000 B.C., and again in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. While we admit that Western Semites established themselves on the thrones of different city-kingdoms of Babylonia before the advent of the First Dynasty Amorites, it is noticeable that it is only when we come to this latter invasion that we find Amorite personal names in sufficient numbers to warrant our assuming a general influx of foreigners from the West. Dr. Chiera has also overlooked the fact that in all cases where we have personal names containing as elements the names of the "gods of the Amorite pantheon," *Dagan*, *Ishtar*, and *Ninib*, the other elements of these names are not characteristically Amorite. *tiskar*, *ibik*, *īšme*, *idīn*, *naplasti*, and the like, are *in form* East Semitic. In other words we have here transitional forms such as we should expect to find.

to account for a fact about the Amorite personal names of the Ranke lists and those of the Nippur School Texts that is as outstanding as is that of the linguistic difference between the elements of the Amorite, and those of the native Babylonian, names, I mean, the absence of the names of these very same Babylonian deities in the personal names which on other grounds we can show to be West-Semitic. If Marduk, Ninib, Zamama, *et al.*, came from Amurru, why the disinclination on the part of the Amorites to use the names of these deities as elements of their personal names? Is it a case of a god being not without honor, save in his own country, and among his own kin? The evidence for making Akkadians Amorites is non-existent. On the other hand, all the way down through the history of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley we find Western-Semites pushing into this more favored region. While we cannot prove that this sort of thing was going on before history begins, we are justified in assuming that it did. But this is an entirely different matter from that of making the Babylonian civilization a product of Amurru, or Amurru the original home of all the Babylonian Semites. We must look elsewhere for the family connections of the Akkadians, or as I should prefer to say, the earliest Semites of Babylonia, the ones who brought there the language which we call Akkadian, and who there developed the characteristically Semitic elements of Babylonian civilization. Nor do we deny the composite character of this civilization. The Sumerian contribution must not be minimized, nor the Amorite, nor the Aramaean.

The second part of my task, like the first, consists in laying emphasis on what has already been known and said about these problems rather than in making new contributions to their solution. The similarities between the Akkadian dialects and those of Southern Arabia have been pointed out more than once, but they have usually been ignored or explained away. In an article on "The Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt,"¹ Professor Langdon says:

It seems clear that the Semites who migrated into Mesopotamia, and became the Akkadians of the northern kingdom, came from south Arabia; they were closely related to the so-called Himyaritic-Sabaeen civilization of the Red Sea coast. This is evident both from the similarity of the verbal conjugation and from the vocabularies. Only Akkadian and Sabaeen

¹ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII, 133 f.

possess the Semitic verbs *danānu*, "be strong," *na'ādu*, "revere," and *šaḫū*, "be high." Ethiopic, a direct descendant of this South Arabic group, usually agrees with Akkadian in grammar and vocabulary over against all the other Semitic languages. The Semite arrived in Babylonia at a very early period, certainly before 5000 B.C., and he conceivably invaded Egypt, probably by the Wādy Ḥammāmāt, somewhat later. But although he succeeded in completely transforming Egyptian into a semi-Semitic language, he had no such success in Sumer.

Now, while I would not be as certain as Langdon is on many points in his article, I think he is right in stressing the South Arabian connection of the Akkadian. On the other hand I should be decidedly more positive than he is about the Semites who invaded Egypt in prehistoric times and left their impress upon the grammar of the Egyptian tongue. The similarity between the old Egyptian pronouns and those of the Akkadian has often been noted. But I should like to call attention to a detail which may be of greater importance than would appear at first sight. The third person, singular and plural, pronouns in Akkadian are *šu*, *ši*, and *šunu*, in Egyptian *šw*, *śi*, and *śn*. Now the texts from the Agade Dynasty show that the Akkadian pronoun was *su*, *si*, *sunu*, and *sin*, rather than *šu*, *ši*, *šunu*, and *šina*, and that the change from the *s* to the *š* was taking place at that time.¹ In other words, these forms are even closer to those of the early Egyptian than we had thought.

In like manner the old Egyptian causative is formed by prefixing *ś* to the root.² Here also the old Akkadian has forms like *ušūzi* for *ušezi*, *usazakuni* for *ušazakuni*, and many others.³ Again the case endings, of the masculine and feminine, singular and plural, wherever we can control them in the unvocalized Egyptian, seem to be the same as those of the Akkadian, with the exception that there is no mimmatation. But it is in the case of the striking similarity of the Akkadian Permansive and the Egyptian Pseudoparticiples that we have our surest proof of the close relationship of these two languages. Without exception, all the forms of the Permansive and the Pseudo-

¹ Original *s* went over into *š* in the East-Semitic dialects, and into *h* in the West-Semitic dialects. The Indo-European languages show the same phonetic development.

² That this *ś* does not reproduce a Semitic *š* is shown by the *Coptic*.

³ Cf. Ungnad, "Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache," *MDVG*, 1915, p. 2, who has studied the old language (to the end of the Ur Dynasty), but has failed to see the historical importance of his results. Preconceived opinions as to what the "Ursemitisch" looked like kept him from drawing the obvious conclusion as to the significance of the *s*-pronouns and *s*-causative.

participle seem to have been identical. So in meaning and syntax these forms of the verb are one.

I do not believe that we yet have sufficient material to generalize as to the connections between the Akkadian and the early South Arabic tongues. But I admit that Langdon is right in declaring that the evidence that is at hand points to such connections. It will be noted, too, that the Arabic *istafal* corresponds to the *old* Akkadian *ustakšid*, III 2, form. In other respects the Arabic is not East Semitic.¹

I have confined myself to linguistic arguments; in the first place, because the evidence of the archaeological remains has been amply stressed, if not overstressed, by Langdon and others, and secondly, because by so doing the decisive evidence of the language would not be obscured by evidence of a more doubtful character. The people who brought the language which came to be called Akkadian into Babylonia were clearly members of the family whose sons invaded the Nile Valley in prehistoric times. In view of the fact that the early Egyptian language contains Semitic forms which seem to be older than those of the earliest Akkadian texts now available, it would appear as if the invasion of Egypt would have to be placed earlier than that of Babylonia. Here the archaeological evidence from Assur, when properly evaluated, may be decisive. However, I do not believe for a moment that Ungnad's suggestion that the people who made Agade their capital, about 2900 B.C., were the *first* Semites to enter the Euphrates Valley. Certainly 2900 B.C. cannot mark the first entrance of Semites into Babylonia. Nor do I think that the Cappadocian Tablets will compel us to bring the earliest Semites into Babylonia by a northern route, for, in spite of the fact that the language of these tablets, like that of the early Assyrian texts, differs in several respects from the Akkadian of the south, nevertheless it is in all its main features and forms Akkadian.

¹Throughout history the trend of migration in Arabia has been from the south northward. Every northern Arab traces his ancestry to Yemen. Speaking of one of his hosts, Muhammad-ibn Fahhad, Philby says: "Twelve generations before him his ancestors, a branch of the *Ashraf* of Yaman, had come forth from their homelands in the neighborhood of Najran in obedience to the impulse, which from ancient times has driven the surplus population of southwestern Arabia in a steady stream northeastward across the desert peninsula.—Yaman is the womb or cradle of the Arabs, as the proverb has it, and Iraq is their grave (*Al Yaman rihm w'al Iraq qabr al 'Arab*): Sometimes the word '*Mahd*'=cradle displaces '*Rihm*'=womb."—*The Heart of Arabia*, II, 97.



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"AN EARLY VERSION OF THE ATRA-ḪASIS EPIC"

BY D. D. LUCKENBILL
University of Chicago

In a much advertised volume Professor Clay has given us a new edition of a well-known text, from a thoroughly cleaned original. For this we are thankful. He has also given us excellent photographs of the tablet. For which we are grateful. He has furnished a translation and commentary. This we deplore. Over the translation, page 58, stands the title "An Early Version of the Atra-ḫasis Epic," which adequately describes the text. On the title-page this becomes *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, which is a misnomer.

We are to believe that this is a copy of an older version, dating from perhaps 4000 B.C. This is an excellent date for the "Empire of the Amorites." If Amurru were to be located on the moon, it would be even more difficult for the doubting Thomases to pick flaws.

Is it a Hebrew story translated into Babylonian, or a Hebrew text in cuneiform characters? This point is not made quite clear. The scribe seems to have had a good Babylonian name, which does not necessarily prove that he was no "Amorite." The language he uses seems to the writer to differ little from that of the contemporaneous Babylonian literature. It is Babylonian. And we know from the personal names brought into Babylonia in First Dynasty times that the language of Syria had already in those days developed the characteristic "western" forms which it displays in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. That the Hebrew lexicon has been and is useful

in the decipherment of the cuneiform and in the reclaiming of the Babylonian tongue, everybody admits. So have those of the Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac tongues. But from this we can draw hardly any conclusions of a historical nature. The grammatical structure of a language does permit one to draw some few historical inferences. Professor Clay tells us that this or that word "is not current in Akkadian." Well, what of it? The Babylonian syllabaries are full of words which are not current in the language. How many times must a word be used to be rated as "current in Akkadian"? Do ἀπαξ λεγόμενα always indicate that the piece of literature containing them is a translation from a foreign tongue? Was the Book of Job translated from the Amorite? If *iqtabta* "seems to be from the root עקב" (p. 58), and *iṣabata* from "the well known Hebrew root עצב" (p. 65), why does not Professor Clay construe these forms for us? On page 24 we are informed that "*sussullu*, 'basket' (E, 68) was not used in Akkadian but it is found in Hebrew, see Jer. 6:9." We need not stop to decide whether כַּסְסָּוֹת of Jer. 6:9, a ἀπαξ

COLUMN I

1. [u]-ul(?) il-[li]-ik zêri^{col}(?)¹
2. ma-tum ir-ta-pi-iš ni-šū im]-ti-¹da¹
3. ¹ma¹-tum ki-ma li-i i-ša-ab-bu
4. ¹i-na¹ ḥu-bu-ri²-ši-na i-lu ¹it-ta-¹da-an³
5. [i-lu(?)¹ iš-te-me ri-gi-im-ši-in
6. [iz]-za-kar a-na ¹i-li ra-bu-tim
7. ik-ta-ab-ta⁴ ri-gi-im a-wi-lu-ti
8. i-na ḥu-bu-ri-ši-¹na aš¹-za-kar ma-ši-it-¹ta¹⁵

NOTES

1. My restoration of the beginning of the line is, of course, doubtful. Some such meaning seems to be called for by what follows.

2. The meaning of *ḥuburu* is not certain. The II₁ of *ḥabāru* is used, probably as a synonym, along with *uzakḫir*, from *zakāru*, "to be high" (Del., *HWB*, p. 268). The word is not paraphrased by *puḥru* as Professor Clay claims, page 58.

3. We need not search our Hebrew and Aramaic lexicons for this good IV₂ of *adāru*, the same form as the later, but differently vocalized *at-ta-a-dir* (cf. *ittahiz*).

λεγόμενον, means "baskets" or "shoots," or whether it is the same word as *sussulu*, but if Professor Clay had consulted Muss-Arnolt's *Dictionary*, page 774b, or Delitzsch's *Sumerisches Glossar*, page 70, he would have found this word decidedly more current in Akkadian than in Hebrew. In a footnote to page 78 we are told that "all translators" translate *û-ma* (var. *ta-ma-ta*) of E, 133, by "day." Ungnad, *Texte und Bilder*, page 54, translates it "Wetter"; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, page 96, "sea." Examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely; but those we have given will suffice to show the philological methods applied to good Babylonian texts to make them "Amorite."

I here offer a translation of the text, assuming that it is good Babylonian. (The publication of an Amorite grammar and lexicon may cause me to change my opinion.) I have used the photographs in several doubtful passages, well aware that this is hazardous. Restorations are offered as such. From them I do not attempt to prove anything. There are many *lacunae* in the text, which fact makes the interpretation of what is left doubtful at many points.

COLUMN I

1. There came no [destroyer] of seed(?).
2. The land prospered, the people multiplied,
3. — the land becoming sated (waxing fat) like cattle.
4. The god became disturbed by their (the people's) numbers (size),
5. the god heard their clamor,
6. (and) said to the great gods:
7. "Great has become the clamor of men:
8. because of their numbers, I(?) will proclaim a dispersion(?).

NOTES—Continued

4. Professor Clay wants to derive this perfectly good I₂ of *kabātu* from the root קָבַב. From the translation we assume that he construes it as an Amorite plural masculine of the participle. It would be interesting to know which Amorite stem has *ta* infixed after the *second* radical. None of the known Semitic dialects have developed such a form. This is a typical example of the philological acumen displayed in this work.

5. My translation of *mašitta* is conjectural. However, both it and *nišitu* which replaces it in the later versions, might be derived from **nišû* for later *nišû*. The change from early *s* to *š* in both the Babylonian and the Assyrian is too well known to need further comment.

COLUMN I—*Continued*

9. [lip-par]-sa a-na ni-ši te-i-ta⁶
10. [i-na kir-ba-a]-ti⁷-ši-na li-ši(?) -šu⁸ ša-am-mu
11. [e]-[li¹]-[iš zu]-[ni¹]-šu ^dadad li-ša-ak-ki-ra⁹
12. [šap-li-iš]¹⁰ a [i-ni] il-li-ka
13. 'a' [iš-ša-a me-li] 'i-na' [na]-ak-bi
14. [li¹-il-li-ik . . . ša-ru
15. [na]-ak-bi-ra¹¹ li-[e or' (?)¹-ir-ri
16. [er]-bi-e-tum¹² li-'im-ta¹³-an-ni-ma
17. -e ia it-tu-uk¹⁴
18. [li-šu¹-ur eklu iš-bi-ki-šu
19. [li-ni-']¹ 'ir-ta ša' ^dnisaba

COLUMN II

1. li-
2. li-ba-aš
3. li-ša-ak ga-az
4. i-na še-ri-im dib-ba-ra li-ša-az-[ni-in]
5. li-iš-ta-ar-ri-ik i-na mu-ši
6. li-ša-az-ni-in na-aš
7. eklu ki-ma ša-ar-ra-ki tu(?) -šu a¹⁵ li

NOTES

6. The Amorite *te-i-na* disappears when we look at the excellent photograph which accompanies the autographed text.

7. I have conjecturally restored *kirbāti*, which the later scribe might have mistaken for a plural of *kirbu*, "middle." He gives *karšu*, "belly." However, I am not sure that we do not have the remnants of *ši* rather than *tī* before the *-šina*.

8. The plural (indefinite) active, used for the passive. My chief objection to this reading is the ending of *šammu*. This should be the subject, as it would be of a form derived from *emēšu*. Do we have a badly written *meš* used for *meš*?

9. My reading of the end of the line is based upon the photograph. The last sign seems to have been written over an erasure; above it appear the remnants of another sign. At any rate a reading *lišaqtīl* is doubtful. I am at a loss to see what there is to be noted about forms like *lišaznin*. Did the Amorite have a *shaphel*?

COLUMN I—*Continued*

9. Let the fig-tree be cut off for the people;
10. from their fields let them carry off the plants (let vegetation be cut off).
11. Above let Adad withhold his rains.
12. Below, let not the waters (springs) flow;
13. let not the floods rise from the depth(s).
14. Let the wind come,
15. let it burst through the underworld.
16. Let the ——— and
17. ——— not gush forth.
18. Let the field diminish its products;
19. let Nisaba (——— vegetation) be restrained.

COLUMN II

1-3.

4. In the morning let him rain down pestilence,
5. at night let him make gifts of
6. Let him rain
7. The field, like a thief

NOTES—*Continued*

10. Whatever may be said about my restoration of the rest of the line, the later versions make it evident that the *ḫibiš* of Professor Clay and others is a misreading of the remnants of *šapliš*. And so another argument for making this text a copy of one two thousand years old fades away into thin air.

11. Professor Clay makes *[na]-ak-bi-ra* an Amorite adverb. Does Barth's law also hold for the Amorite? It does not for the rest of the "Amorite" dialects.

12. If we restore *[er]-bi-e-tum* we get a form of *erpitu* with a long vowel before the feminine ending. If we make it a plural it is out of agreement with its verb.

13. Neither the *im* or the *ta* are certain.

14. *naḏku* is used for the pouring out of blood, venom, etc.

15. The photograph does not help us with the end of this line. But it seems clear that we cannot read either *li* or *ba*. Professor Clay's copy gives neither of these.

COLUMN II—*Continued*

8. *ša* ^d*adad* ⁱ*-na* ^a*-li* ^{ib}¹*-nu-u* *bi* . . .
9. [*k*-*bu-ma*¹⁶.*is-su-u*] *na-gi*
10. ⁱ*ri-ig-ma* *u-še-lu* .].
11. ⁱ*u-ul* *ip-la-ḫu* .]

COLUMN III

1. *i*
2. ^d*en-ki*
3. ^d*en-ki* *bi-a-šu*
4. *iz-za-kar a-na* [^d*en-li*]
5. *a-na mi-nim tu-ta-am-ma*
6. *u-ub-ba-al ga-ti a-na ni-*
7. *a-bu-bu ša ta-ga-ab-ⁱbi*
8. *ma-an-nu šu-u* ¹⁷*a-na-ku*
9. *a-na-ku-ma u-ul-la-da*¹⁸
10. *ši-bi-ir-šu i-ma(ba)-aš-ši(-)id* . . .
11. *li-ib-te-ru šu-u*
12. ^d*šu-ul-la-at* ^u ^d¹⁹
13. *li-il-li-ku i-na*
14. *ta-ar-ku-ul-li pi-ir*
15. *li-il-li-[ku]*
16. *li-ir*
17. *mu-*

COLUMN IV

1. [*na* ^u .]
2. [*ga-me-ir*]
3. *ra a-na ni-ši i-ⁱpu-uš*]
4. ^m*at-ra-am-ḫa-si-is bi-a-šu i-pu-ⁱša-ma*]
5. *iz-za-kar a-na* [^{be}¹*li-šu*

NOTES

16. Professor Clay makes this a *waw consecutive*. What is a *waw consecutive*? Does it join two preterites? Or is this an Amorite idiom? It certainly is not Hebrew.

17. *abubu* is masculine, and *šu-u* may refer to this word.

18. In the Gilgamesh Epic account of the Deluge it is Ishtar who repents, and rebukes Enlil for having destroyed her children. Here it would seem that Ea intends to renew the race of humans.

COLUMN II—*Continued*

8. Of Adad, in the city they made [his
9. They spoke and cried out (?)
10. They sent up a cry
11. They feared not

COLUMN III

1.
2. Ea
3. Ea (opened) his mouth
4. (and) spoke to Enlil:
5. “Why hast thou commanded ?
6. I will stretch forth my hand to
7. The flood which thou art ordering
8. Whoever (whatever) it is, I will
9. yea, I will bring forth (beget) [a new race of men(?)]
10. His work he (it)
11. Let them see(?)
12. Shullat and
13. Let them go, in
14. the masts(?)
15. Let them go
16. let them

COLUMN IV

- 1-2.
3. for the people he made.
4. Atrahasis opened his mouth
5. and spoke to his lord.

NOTES—*Continued*

19. In *CT*, I, V, 9a (88-5-12, 53) we find a reference to Shullat and Marduk (time of Hammurabi), and from *CT*, VI, 36a (91-5-9, 704) we learn of a temple built for Sharru (^d*LUGAL*) and Shullat (time of Sumu-el). In our collections in Haskell Museum we have a votive tablet of Dungi to Shullat and Hanish (in the Yale Syllabary, 266, 267, these deities are identified with Nabû and Sharru).

COLOPHON

duppu 2^{kam-ma} i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum

naphar-šu 439

[kât] KU-^da-a dupšarri šiḥri

arahšabatu ûm 28^{kam}

mu am-mi-za-du-ga lugal-e

bad Am-mi-za-du-ga^{ki}

ka ^{id}UD-KIB-NUN^{ki}-ra-ta

in-ga-an-dim-ma-a



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Critical Notes

ON THE WRITING OF A FEW GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

That the Assyrian scribes had as much difficulty in rendering foreign names in their tongue as we have today is a fact that constantly confronts those who work on the cuneiform inscriptions. The writer has just come across an interesting example of this kind. In the new texts of the annals of Shalmaneser III (*KAH*, II, No. 113, Rev. 22 f.), we have a reference to certain cities on the Persian frontier:

Šu-mur(?) - za Bit-d'Adad' Ni-ku ša Tuk-li-ia-aš.

Now the Niķu of Tukliash¹ is clearly the same city as that mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. In Layard (*Inscriptions*, 17, 17), we meet:

Šu-mur(?) - zu . . . Bit-ma-at-ti Ni-ku ša Tup-li-aš.

The same list occurs twice in the II R, 67, text of Tiglath-pileser—in lines 29 and 34 f. In the latter line *Ni-ku* occurs as a variant of *Ni-ku*.

Shalmaneser's scribe thought the land was called "Tukliash." But even more interesting is his name *Bit-d'Adad*, or rather *Bitam-d'Addi*. When so pronounced, one sees at once that it renders the *Bit(a)-ma-at-ti* of the later, Tiglath-pileser, texts.

Examples such as these make it clear that little progress can be made in the study of Assyrian-Babylonian geography by a mere cataloguing of names. These need to be studied, not only in connection with other names with which they are grouped, but the groups of names found in the inscriptions of one king must be carefully compared with the corresponding groups found in the texts from earlier and later reigns. In the case of well-known proper names, the scribes followed rather slavishly the spellings of their "lists," but even here we occasionally catch them writing "by ear." When it is a matter of enumerating the names of obscure hamlets victoriously besieged and conquered by his majesty the king, there is no telling in what guise such names will appear.

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THE EGYPTIAN EARTH-GOD IN CUNEIFORM²

Among the treasures found by the German excavators at Kalat Shergat, the ancient capital of Assyria, were a large number of fragments of tablets containing lists of deities similar to the "explanatory lists of gods" from

¹ The passes, *niribe*, of Tukliash are mentioned in l. 29.

² Read by title at the meeting of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society, Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 29.

Kuyunjik (Nineveh), which appear in *CT*, XXIV, XXV. The Assur lists were published by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, verschiedenen Inhalts* (*KAV*). These new lists contain many unfamiliar names, among them one which I believe is that of the Egyptian earth-god Keb (*gb*, Coptic $K\eta\beta$). In cuneiform the name appears as $^dKi\text{-}ib$, *KAV*, 54:¹

Rev.	3. $^d[KUR]$	$^dA\text{-}la\text{-}la$	^dA
	4. $^d[KUR]$	$^dKi\text{-}ib$	$^dA\text{-}ku$
	5.		^dBe
	6. $^dGU(D)\text{-}UD$	$^dLa\text{-}ma$	^{d}
	7. $^dGU\text{-}AN\text{-}NA$	$^dKi\text{-}ib$	^{d}
	8. $^dGUD^1$	$^dLa\text{-}ma$	^{d}
	9. $^dGUD^1$	$^dLa\text{-}ha\text{-}ma$	^{d}
	1. $^d[KUR]$		
	2. $^d[KUR]$		
	3.		
	4. $^dGU(D)\text{-}UD$	$^dLa\text{-}ma$	^{d}
	5. $^dGU\text{-}AN\text{-}NA$	$^dKi\text{-}ib$	^{d}
	6. $^dGUD^1$	$^dLa\text{-}ma$	$^dA\text{-}nu$
	7. ^dGUD	$^dLa\text{-}ha\text{-}ma]$	^{d}

Here we have a god, *Kib*, keeping company with *Alala*, *Laḥma*, and *Laḥama*, three gods whose personality was more or less hazy to the Babylonians and Assyrians. In the "*An: iluA-nu-um*" series (*CT*, XXIV, 1, col. I, 1 f.) these three names stand among the twenty-one which head the list of deities known and classified by the late theologians, and which were all regarded as manifestations of Anu and Antum. This seems to indicate that they were regarded as manifestations of "deity" in general rather than as manifestations of well-defined, historical gods like Marduk, Sin, Shamash, and the rest. These twenty-one names at the head of the list also include such names as *An-šár* ("the totality of heaven"), *Ki-šár* ("the totality of earth"), *En-šár* ("lord of the totality"), *Nin-šár* ("lady of the totality")—all of them theological abstractions, and certainly not known historically as gods of this or that land or city.

Laḥma and *Laḥama* are what the folk-psychologist would call "demons" of the totemistic era of human development carried over into the age of heroes and gods. In real life these two were protecting deities, or rather demon-monsters, colossi, such as were placed right and left of the entrances to temples and palaces. In an Esarhaddon inscription, recording the rebuilding of the temple of Assur, we have them associated with the *Kuribi* (cherubim of the Old Testament): $^dLaḥ\text{-}me$ $^dKu\text{-}ri\text{-}bi$ *ša ṣa-ri-ri ru-uš-šu-u i-di ana*

¹ The name is also to be supplied in *KAV*, 52, 2, 5, and 71, 4, which texts make the restorations in the left-hand column of No. 54 certain.

i-di ul-ziz, "*Laḥme* [plural] and *Kuribi* [also plural] of brilliant, ruddy electrum, I placed on either side [of the entrances to the temple]" (KAH, I, 75, obv. 24).

In the oft-repeated description of the motley army which Tiamat gathered together to hurl against the gods, the *Laḥme* (plural) take their places alongside of all sorts of monsters:¹

She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the (monster) *Laḥame*,
And hurricanes and raging hounds, and scorpion-men,
And mighty tempests, and fish-men and rams, ...

And in the opening lines of this creation story² we see the further use the theologian and poet made of these creatures of the olden times:

When above the heaven was not named,
below the earth was not called by name,
but Apsu, the primeval, their progenitor,
Mummu and Tiamat, who bore all of them,
their waters as one they mingled:
(when) reeds were not yet matted together, marshes had not yet appeared,
when the gods had not yet been fashioned, not one,
none was called by name, destinies were not fixed:
then the gods were created in their midst.
Lahmu and Lahamu were fashioned, were called by name:
as they grew they became mighty.
Anshar and Kishar were created—they were now more than they.
Long were the days; years were added thereto:
Anu, their son, rival of his fathers—
Anshar made Anu, his first-born, (their) equal.
Then Anu begat Nudimmud (in) his (own) image.

Here *Laḥmu* and *Laḥamu* appear as the first of the gods which arose out of the primeval chaos. That this exalted rank in the Babylonian cosmogony was grudgingly assigned to *Laḥmu* and his spouse we may gather from lines 60 f. ("Ashur Version"), where we find the different texts wavering between *Ea* and *Laḥmu* as the begetter of Anshar and the first of the gods. The stages in the evolution are a watery chaos, demons (the Greeks called them Titans), and, finally, the gods. In like manner in Egypt—so I gather from Erman's *Handbook of Egyptian Religion* and Breasted's *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, Keb, the earth-god, seems to have been more or less of a theological abstraction, a sort of a makeshift dragged in to stop up a gap.³ I quote from the latter book (pp. 57 f.):

In the beginning only this ocean [the Okeanos] existed, upon which there had then appeared an egg, or as some said a flower, out of which issued the sun-god. From himself he begat four children, Shu and Tefnut, Keb and Nut. All these,

¹ King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, I, 25 f.

² Cf. my "Ashur Version of the Seven Tablets of Creation," *AJSL*, XXXVIII (1921), 12 f.

³ He is quite prominent in the Pyramid Texts, so I learn from Dr. Allen.

with their father, lay upon the primeval ocean, when Shu and Tefnut, who represent the atmosphere, thrust themselves between Keb and Nut. They planted their feet upon Keb and raised Nut on high, so that Keb became the earth and Nut the heavens. Keb and Nut were the father and mother of the four divinities, Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys; together they formed with their primeval father the sun-god, Re or Atum, a circle of nine deities, the "ennead" of which each temple later possessed a local form.

Returning to our Assyrian text, we note that ^d*Kib* is equated with a Sumerian god (real or supposed) ^d*KUR* (l. 4). Now *KUR* stands for *mātu*, "land," and *iršitu*, "earth." The god ^d*KUR* may therefore have been regarded by the Assyrian scribe as the "earth-god." The god ^d*KUR*, glossed Rammân (*Ra-ma-an*), is equated with the god ^d*MAR-TU* (*Amurrā*) in *KAV*, 64, col. V, 5. Not being a Pan-Amurrite, I note that there are nine other names (including ^d*MAR-TU*) identified by the scribe with ^d*MAR-TU*, and so continue my search for a god, ^d*KUR*, who might belong to the *Laḫma-Laḫama* family, and, sure enough, we find him in the company of *Lamasse* (so I interpret ^d*KAL-KAL*) or (bull?) colossi, *Urmahḫe*, lion-colossi, *Nimrē* (^d*GIR-MEŠ*), panthers, and others, as guardian deities of the temple Ešarra (*KAV*, 43, col. I, 26 f.). In line 7, ^d*Kib* is equated with a god ^d*GŪ-AN-NA*. This ideogram, which is not common, may be rendered in Semitic by *kišād šamē*, "shore, bank of heaven," the horizon (?), which may have suggested a picture similar to the Egyptian one of the sky, Nut, arched over and resting with toes and finger-tips upon the earth, Keb.

Unfortunately, in all of the texts in which the name of the god ^d*Kib* was mentioned, the third column is almost completely gone, so that we are unable to tell what Assyrian name the scribe gave to this god. In line 4 we have the beginning of a name ^d*A-ku-*. Other Assur tablets have an Akusite Ishtar, or Ishtar of (the land of) Akus (^d*Ištar A-ku-ši-tu*, ^d*Ištar A-ku-uš-ki*, *KAV*, 73, 8; 145, b7). But this does not help us.¹

For the god ^d*GU(D)-UD*, with which *Laḫma* is equated (l. 6, b4), see the *Chicago Syllabary* (ll. 131 f.), and Deimel, *Pantheon* (p. 91). The character of ^d*GUD*, another Sumerian name for *Laḫma* (and *Laḫama*), may be inferred from *KAV*, 74, 5 f., a text referring to the rebuilding of the temple of Assur (by Sennacherib?), where ^d*GUD*, son of Shamash (*mār* ^d*Šamaš*) is mentioned along with "scorpion-men" and "fish-men" (*akrab-amēli*, *nān-amēli*). From the Assyrian law code we learn that evidence under oath, or, as the Assyrians had it, "before god," was given before ^d*GUD*, son of Shamash (*a-na pa-ni* ^d*GUD mār* ^d*Šamaš i-ka-bi*, *KAV*, 1, col. VII, 16), that is, before one of the colossi at the gate of the temple.²

¹ Unless the land Akus is Egypt.

² In *CT*, XVII, 42 f. (cf. *KB*, VI, 2 f.), we find detailed descriptions of the images of various demons which were probably used in certain incantation rituals. Among the monsters described are "*laḫme* (plural) of the god Ea"; "*laḫme* of heaven and earth, of the *apsū*, of the god Ea"; and a "*laḫmu* of the goddess Gula." Some of these had the head of a serpent, the body of a *suḫur*-fish, covered with stars, and feet with the claws of a

Of course, I realize that *Laḥma* was not an earth-god like the Egyptian Keb. According to the Babylonian-Assyrian creation story, earth and sky are the result of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat, the watery chaos. After a terrible struggle the god smashed the monster's skull, split her in two like a fish, raising one half aloft for a heavenly firmament, while the other was made to serve as the earth below. My conjecture is that the Assyrian compiler of the lists under discussion had a general idea of Keb's place in the Egyptian cosmogony as one of the deities (perhaps monsters) intermediate between the primeval ocean (chaos) and the gods, and therefore aligned him with *Alala*, *Laḥma*, and *Laḥama*, who held just such a position in the Babylonian-Assyrian theory of the beginning of things. In short, I believe that I have raised a strong presumption in favor of the identification of the strange god, Kib, mentioned in the Assur lists, with the Egyptian earth-god, Keb.

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BUTTER AND HONEY¹

The secondary character of Isa. 7:15 has been suspected ever since the days of Hitzig who first eliminated the verse from Isaiah's oracle.² The purpose of the gloss in recent years has been found in the desire to make Immanuel a wonder-child. Hence he was to be fed upon "butter and honey," the food of the gods.

In support of the glossal character of the verse, attention is called to Gen. 16:11. The content and wording of the announcement to Hagar regarding Ishmael are practically the same as the pronouncement regarding Immanuel, after verse 15 is stricken out:

הֵנֶךָ הָרָה וְיִלְדֶת בֶּן
וְקִרְאָת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל
כִּי שָׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל עֲנִיד

[Gen. 16:11].

הִנֵּה הָעֲלֻמָּה הָרָה וְיִלְדֶת בֶּן
וְקִרְאָת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ אֵל
כִּי בִטְרִם יָדַע הַנַּעֲרָה
מֵאַחַס בָּרַע וּבַחֹרֶר בָּטוּב וְגו'

[Isa. 7:14, 16].

bird of prey. Others were a cross between a lion and a bird of prey. Still others were part human, part dog, part bird. From such texts we may conclude that the name *laḥmu*, even if it had originally been the designation of some specific demon, had in the course of time become a general term for "monster."

¹ Read by title at the meeting of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society in Ann Arbor, on March 29, 1924.

² Hitzig has been followed in this judgment by Stade, Duhm, Hackmann, Cheyne, Marti, Peake, Wade, Popper, and many others.



Azariah of Judah

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AZARIAH OF JUDAH

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De mortuis nil nisi bonum is a venerable saying and one whose sportsman-like advice we should not lightly disregard. But we are also told by a keen observer of life that

The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones.

Having said which, I hope I have prepared my readers for some plain speaking. Plain speaking, I believe, is urgently needed today in the realm of Old Testament study, for nowhere else do bad logic and pseudoscience receive such respectful attention. And I shall make haste to add that the loose thinking which receives this attention is, for the most part, that of scholars in my own field of Assyriology.

If there ever lived a man who could take a fragment of the fabric of history, a simple fragment, whose every strand was clearly traceable, and muss it beyond recognition, tangling and snarling every last strand, that man was the late Professor Hugo Winckler, of Berlin. This is a hard statement, but I believe that it is a true one. To be sure, most of the children of Winckler's fertile brain were still born, but others came through safely and made quite a stir in the scholastic world. *Musri*, the lusty rival of Cheyne's *Jerachmeel*, was finally strangled and buried by Eduard Meyer. The *Altorientalische Weltanschauung* evidently was possessed of as many lives as the favorite

household pet, but the final heroic efforts of Weidner and a few other of Winckler's disciples to revive it seem to be unavailing. However, there remain a number of smaller children which should be consigned to oblivion at the earliest possible moment, and among these is Azariah of the North Syrian "Judah" (*Jaudi* or *Ya'di*).

In the early days of Assyriology, there came to light a badly damaged fragment of the *Annals* of Tiglath-pileser III (K. 6205), containing references to an Azariah of Yaudi, or Azariah, the Yaudean (*Iaudai*). And naturally enough, scholars assumed that they had found in an Assyrian document the record of some of the activities of Azariah of Judah not dwelt upon in the Old Testament. So George Smith, Eberhard Schrader, Rogers, and others. And then there appeared Winckler's *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Vol. I), with a first study entitled "Das Syrische Land Jaudi und der angebliche Azarja von Juda." As was to be expected, when Winckler was through with his *Vermutungen* (he called them *Forschungen*), Azariah of Judah had disappeared and his place was taken by Azariah of Yaudi, supposedly a small state in Northern Syria, known from references in the Aramaic documents from that region. Although an occasional doubt was voiced, the conclusion was gradually accepted by the majority of scholars dealing with the history of the lands concerned. For example, Rogers, in explaining his change of opinion, said:

The name Azariah corresponds exactly with the name of Azariah, King of Judah (II Kings 15:1, 2) and the name "Ja'udi," "Yaudi," corresponds well with Judah. It was therefore quite natural, that, as they were contemporaneous, the King Azariah of these inscriptions should be accepted as the Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah; so Schrader argued, and so scholars agreed, as I also did myself in former editions of this work (II 119 ff.). It is now clear that this was incorrect. The land here referred to is a district of Sam'al (Zenjirli) of which Panammu was king, whose inscription, found at Zenjirli, repeatedly invokes the gods of Ja'udi. The credit of perceiving these facts belongs in the first instance to Winckler.¹

Eduard Meyer, who punctured so many of Winckler's bubbles, also succumbed,² and Olmstead, in his new *History of Assyria*, suggests that this Azariah of Ya'di was the unnamed murderer of Bar-sur, grandfather of Bar-rekub.³

¹ *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, 280 n.

² *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, pp. 247 f.

³ P. 186.

Now I have never felt easy about a Syrian Azariah, contemporaneous with Azariah of Judah. Two Azariahs, two Judahs. If correct, truly a most remarkable coincidence. Recently I was compelled to face this matter squarely, when going over the Tiglath-pileser texts in the British Museum preparatory to their appearance in my forthcoming *Ancient Records of Assyria*, and I reached the conclusion that there is absolutely nothing to Winckler's theory. This conclusion is based: (1) upon a study of the Assyrian text of Tiglath-pileser's *Annals*, (2) the name *Iaudi* and the gentilic *Iaudai*, and (3) the history of the period as it may be reconstructed from the Old Testament, Aramaic, and Assyrian records.

1. *The "Annals" of Tiglath-pileser III.*—The damaged tablet, referred to above, is our only source for the section of Tiglath-pileser's *Annals* beginning with line 103 (following Rost's numbering). It reads:

- 103) *ina me-ti-iḫ girri-ia ma-an-da-at-tu ša šarrâni^{pl}*
 104) [*^mA-zu-ri-ia-a-u ^lIa-u-da-ai kîma*]
 105) [*^mA-zu¹-ri-ia-u ^lIa-u-di*]
 106) [*ana*] *la ni-bi ana šamê(e) ša-ḫu-u šur-[ba-ta ina iršitim]*
 107) [*ina(?)¹ ênâ^{du} ki-i ša ul-tu šamê(e)*]
 108) [*i-na¹ mît-ḫu-uš zu-ki šêpâ^{du} pil-[ši]*]
 109) [*ummanâti^{col} Aššur gab-ša-te iš-mu-ma ip-laḥ lib-[ba-šu-nu]*
]
 110) *ab-bul ak-kur [ina girri ašrup]*
 111) [*a-na ^mA-zu-ri-ia¹-a-u e-ki-mu ú-dan-ni-nu-šu-^lma¹*]
 112) [*sa^l(rak?)¹ kîma ^ugup-ni*]
 113) *šum-ru-ša-at*
 114) *id-lit-ma ša-ḫa-at*
 115) *tî šit-ku-nu-ma mu-ša-^lšu¹*
 116) [*u*]-*ša-bil-ma ka-*
 117) *tuklâte^{pl}-šu ú-ra-kis a-na*
 118) *ú-ša-az-bil-šu-nu-ti-^lma¹*
 119) [*ri¹-šu rabâti^{pl} kîma kar-[pat]*]
 120) *rak-be*

- 103) in the course of my campaign, the tribute of the kings . . .
 104) 'Azuriau¹, the Judean, like
 105) 'Azuriau,¹ the land of Judah
 106) without number, reaching aloft to heaven, 'exceedingly great on earth].

¹ The traces point to a reading *zu*, or possibly, *iz*. In l. 131 the name is written *Az-ri-ia-a-ú*.

- 107) with eyes, as from heaven
 108) by attack(s) of charging infantry, by mines
 109) the onset of Assur's dense masses of troops they heard and
 their heart was afraid
 110) I destroyed, I devastated, [with fire I burned]
 111) who had gone over¹ to Azuriau and had supported [lit.,
 strengthened] him
 112) like stumps
 113) was exceedingly difficult
 114) was barred and was high
 115) were placed, and his egress
 116) I had [them] bring(?)
 117) . . . [with earthworks] I surrounded his garrisoned towns (and)
 against
 118) I caused them to carry and
 119) his mighty [I smashed] like pots
 120) messengers

At this point the text of our fragment comes to an end. The *Annals* are continued, with probably only a few lines missing, by another fragment, also badly broken. There is mention of tribute imposed upon the conquered cities, possibly also of tribute from Azariah,² whose name is mentioned. Then are listed the "19 districts of Hamath, together with the cities of their environs, on the shore of the sea of the setting sun, who had gone over to Azariah,³ in revolt and contempt [of Assyria]." These were made a province of the empire under an Assyrian governor. This takes us through line 133 of the *Annals*. The following lines, to 150, give the details of Tiglath-pileser's organization of the new province, particularly as to the distribution of the colonists brought in to take the place of the deported population. Finally, there come the names of those whose tribute the Assyrian took back with him to his capital—Kutashpi, of Kummuhi; Rezin, of Damascus; Menahem, of Samaria; Hiram, of Tyre; Sibitti-bi'li, of Byblos; Urikki, of Cilicia (Kue); Pisiris, of Carchemish; Eni-ilu, of Hamath; Panammu, of Sam'al; Tarhulara, of Gamgum; Sulumal, of Milid; and Dadi-ilu, of [Kaska].

¹ See below, n. 3.

² Which, however, I regard as unlikely.

³ Or, "Which had been seized for Azariah." There are two verbs: *akāmu(ekēmu)*, the one known best in the expression *akām girria*, "the advance of my march"; the other, which is more common, means "to seize."

The Assyrian scribes, like the Hebrew and Arab writers, made the freest use of what their predecessors had put into writing. Professor Olmstead has called particular attention to the boldness with which Assurbanipal's scribes manufactured campaigns for the annals of their lord by "lifting" and embellishing the words of Esarhaddon's narratives. Indeed, it looks as if most of Assurbanipal's campaigning had been done with scissors and paste-pot. But he was by no means the first Oriental monarch who was surrounded by obsequious scribes who knew how to write history which would please their vainglorious lord. This sort of thing can be traced right back to the beginnings of written history. And no scribe thought it improper to lighten his labors or to make them acceptable by using the successful "writeups" of former scribes. I have called attention elsewhere to the fact that lists of conquered countries and cities are apt to appear almost unchanged in the records of successive rulers.¹

Let us look at Tiglath-pileser's narrative a little more closely, beginning with line 108, where we have a description of operations "by attacks of charging infantry, by mines . . ." (. . . *ina mithuṣ zuki šêpâ^{du} pilši* . . .). These phrases occur in one other and better-known passage of Assyrian history, namely, the third campaign of Sennacherib. Here we read: "By mounting ramps [or bridges] and bringing up siege engines, by attacks of charging infantry, by mines, tunnels and breaches, I besieged, I took [those cities]." In Assyrian this reads: *ina šukbus aramme u kitrub šupî mithuṣ zuk šêpâ^{du} pilši niksi u kalbannâte alme akšud*. Sennacherib is telling of his attacks upon the strongholds of Judah, the "46 strong walled cities of Hezekiah the Judean and the small cities of their environs."

Are we to regard this as the third coincidence? Two Judahs, two Azariahs, and Sennacherib describing his attack upon the Palestinian Judah in the same words Tiglath-pileser used to describe an attack upon the Syrian Judah? Surely, this is too much to believe! But this is not all. Note that Tiglath-pileser is attacking defenses "without number, rising to heaven" (l. 106), and that from these defenses the defenders looked down "with eyes as from heaven" (l. 107). This description fits Judah of Palestine perfectly. It does not fit the Zenjirli-

¹ *AJS*, XL, 288.

Sam'al region.¹ Sennacherib's scribes, when looking around for fitting words to clothe the account of their lord's campaign against the Judean cities, found and used the record of Tiglath-pileser's attack upon the same region some thirty years before. We learn from the Chronicler that

Uzziah [Azariah] built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them. And he built towers in the wilderness, and hewed out many cisterns, for he had much cattle.²

2. *The name "Iaudi" and the gentile "Iudai."*—When we turn to the name of the supposed Syrian Judah, as written in the cuneiform and the Aramaic, Winckler's position becomes still more precarious.

In the Aramaic inscriptions from Zenjirli, there are a number of references to a land "Ya'dî." Of course, the actual pronunciation of the name cannot be determined from the Aramaic writing אַדִּי. Winckler's theory made it *Jaudi*, this pronunciation being based on the supposed identity of אַדִּי and *Iaudi* of the cuneiform. Later Winckler, Rogers, and others wrote it *Ja'udi* or *Ya'udi*, probably in view of the א in the Aramaic name. Is this identification justified? I believe that it is not.

Iaudi, written syllabically, *Ia-u-di*, is the cuneiform rendering of the Hebrew יְהוּדָה, Judah, while *Iudai* (*Ia-u-da-ai*) is the regular Assyrian gentile corresponding to the Hebrew יְהוּדִי. Tiglath-pileser received the tribute of (Jeho)ahaz of Judah.³ Sargon warred against Philistia, Judah, Edom, etc. The name is written *Ia-u-di*. And in Sennacherib's inscriptions both the noun and the gentile occur a number of times. There is no doubt, therefore, as to the form which "Judah" and "Judean" took in the cuneiform. "Certainly," say the defenders of Winckler's hypothesis, "*Iaudi* is the cuneiform rendering of the name Judah, whether the Judah is in Palestine or Syria." But they have overlooked a very important fact, namely, the Aramaic writing of the name of the supposed Syrian Judah. Is it not passing strange that the Aramean scribes of Tiglath-pileser's day could not spell the name of their own country correctly? אַדִּי is not the Aramaic rendering of Hebrew יְהוּדָה, and there is nothing in the form אַדִּי

¹ I shall rest my case on the pictures published in Olmstead's *History of Assyria*. Figs. 72, 85-87.

² II Cron. 26:9 f.

³ *Ia-u-ḥa-zi* *Ia-u-da-ai*, Nimrud Inscription, IIR, 67, 61.

which would warrant our believing that it renders a name at all similar to יְהוֹדָה, The substitution of נ for ה would not be inconceivable, though extremely unlikely, but if the נ had a long û after it, this should appear in the writing. Certainly the Aramean scribes of the fifth century wrote this long û regularly, and also wrote יְהוֹדָה with a ה (יהור, יהורי, יהוריא).¹ Note that the Zenjirli inscriptions regularly write Assyria, *Aššur*, אשור, and Panammu, פנמור.

But even if the Aramean scribes of Sam'al were rendering a corrupt pronunciation of the name Judah, יְהוֹדָה, or to put it another way, assuming that the Syrian pronunciation of the name was *Ya'udi* (and the final î should be long)² instead of *Yehudah*, the Winckler hypothesis would still have rough sailing, for the Western נ, weak ע, and weak ה are almost invariably rendered in the cuneiform by the so-called breathing-sign ('). On the other hand, the ה of Western words is not so rendered. Taking examples from the Assyrian period, we find Moab (מוֹאָב) *Ma'ba*; Hazael (חֲזַזְאֵל), *Haza'ilu*; Pharaoh (פִּרְעוֹ), *Pir'u*; Sabeian (סַבְאִי), *Saba'ai*; Israelite (יִשְׂרָאֵלִי) *Sir'ilai*; Baal (בַּעַל), *Ba'li* (-*rasi*); but Jehu (יְהוּ), *Ia-u-a*; Jeho (יְהוֹ) of proper compound names, by *ia-u*, as in *Ha-za-ki-a-u*, *Ia-u-bi-di*, *Ia-u-ḥa-zi*. In Hosea we have both ה and ע, which are rendered the usual way, *A-u-si-'a*. And finally, Panammu of Sam'al (שַׁמְאֵל), of these same Zenjirli inscriptions, is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser, *Annals*, line 152, where the name and the gentilic adjective appear as *Pa-na-am-mu-u 'Sa-am-'la-ai*. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that, if the Assyrian scribe had had before him the Aramaic form יְאֹדִי, he would have rendered it *Ia'-di-(i)*, not *Ia-u-di*. In a word, יְאֹדִי is not a good Aramaic writing of יְהוֹדָה and *Ia-u-di* is not a probable rendering of יְאֹדִי. But יְהוֹדָה is regularly rendered in the cuneiform by *Ia-u-di*.³

¹ Cf. Index to Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*

² The final י, clearly indicating a long vowel or diphthong, is also ignored by the defenders of a Syrian Judah. I do not, however, press this point, since the Assyrian rendering of final vowels is notoriously irregular.

³ The third, Arabian, Judah, which Olmstead (*History of Assyria*, p. 378) has discovered in the inscription of Esarhaddon, A, Col. III, 40, is a city, *Ia-di'*, whose Western name would be יִדְאֵ, יִדְעֵ, or יִדְדֵ.

Much has been made by scholars of the name of Yaubidi (variant, Ilubidi) mentioned by Sargon. It has been assumed that this name is clear evidence of Yahweh (Yahu) worship in Northern Syria. But here again the context has been overlooked, for Sargon makes it clear that this man, a "camp-follower" and a "Hittite," was a usurper on the throne in Hamath. "Hittite" probably has the significance of "Syrian" here, as so often in the Assyrian historical inscriptions. Is it not altogether possible that this man, like Uriah the Hittite, belonged to Judah?

3. *The reign of Azariah of Judah.*—Before examining in detail the events of the reign of Azariah of Judah as recorded in the writings of the Old Testament, it may be well to summarize and examine the contents of the contemporaneous Aramaic and Assyrian documents which have been drawn into the discussion.

The Aramaic documents are three in number.¹ The first is an inscription upon a colossal statue of Hadad "found in 1890 at Gerjin, half an hour NE. of Zenjirli." The statue was set up by Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'dî ("𐤒𐤌"), in gratitude for favors bestowed by Hadad and the other gods, and in the hope of eternal felicity. The second is an inscription on the statue which Bar-rekub set up as a memorial for his father, Panammu, son of Bar-sur. This statue was found at Zenjirli. From the inscription we learn of a conspiracy in which Bar-sur and seventy of his kinsmen were slain. Panammu, thereupon, appealed to the king of Assyria, "and he made him king over his father's house." Panammu ran "at the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria," in his campaigns, and died "in the camp" at Damascus. From here his body was returned by the Assyrian king after he had been bewailed by his kinsfolk as well as by the whole camp of his lord, Tiglath-pileser. The last, a building inscription, also found at Zenjirli, is from the palace built by Bar-rekub, "son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, servant of Tiglath-pileser, lord of the four parts of the earth." He also ran at the wheel of his lord, the king of Assyria.²

The first problem presented by these three inscriptions is that of the relationship of the two Panammus. From the fact that Panammu, son of QRL, is mentioned in the second inscription, it is clear that he was a predecessor of Panammu, son of Bar-sur. Possibly he was the father of Bar-sur, possibly he belonged to a collateral line. We have no means of deciding.

What is the connection between Ya'dî and Sam'al? Panammu, son of QRL, was king of Ya'dî. It is usually assumed that we should restore "king of Ya'dî" after the name of Panammu, son of Bar-sur, in the second of our inscriptions. But this is not demanded by anything in the inscription. As we have seen, Bar-rekub, in the second of

¹ The Kalamu Inscription (see Torrey, *JAOS*, XXXV, 364 f.), from Zenjirli, in which Ya'dî is also mentioned, is older than these.

² See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Nos. 61 f.

his inscriptions (our third) calls himself "son of Panammu, king of Sam'al." And later in the inscription he speaks of his fathers, "the kings of Sam'al." It has been suggested that we are dealing with neighboring countries, but it seems to me that the simplest solution of the problem is the assumption that Ya'di is the name of the country, and Sam'al the name of the city. And we are not without evidence, for the second inscription in one, and possibly two, places speaks of the *אֶרֶץ יָאֲדִי*, the "land of Ya'di." Sam'al, on the other hand, is written with the determinative for city in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions. The change from "king of Ya'di [the land]" to "king of Sam'al [the city]" may have been the result of Assyrian influence, or dictated by Assyrian policy. Tiglath-pileser received tribute from "Panammu of Sam'al," not from Panammu of Ya'di.¹

Another point should be noted before we leave these texts, namely, the datable events mentioned in them. I refer to the death of Panammu in the camp at Damascus. Tiglath-pileser was before Damascus in 733 B.C. In 732 the city fell. Panammu of Sam'al paid tribute to Assyria as early as 739, according to Tiglath-pileser. According to Bar-rekub, his son, Panammu, "ran at the wheel" of his lord, Tiglath-pileser.

With the aid of the annotated "Eponym List" we are able to arrange Tiglath-pileser's activities in chronological order.

745, Tiglath-pileser on the throne. Against "Mesopotamia," *bîrit nâri*.

744, against Namri.

743-741, against Arpad.²

740, against Arpad.

739, against Ulluba.

738, against Gullani [probably Calno, of Isa. 10:9, Calneh, of Amos 6:2].

737-735, against Media and Armenia.

¹ It so happens that in the earliest Assyrian reference to Sam'al the name is written with the land, not the city, determinative. But this is certainly one of the hundreds of cases where the Assyrian scribe has been careless. In the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III, Col. I, 42, we hear of the Assyrian king's advance against the city of Lutibu, a stronghold of Haianu, the Sam'alean (written *maSa-am-'la-ai*, that is, with the determinative for "land"). In Col. II, 24, Shalmaneser tells of receiving tribute from Haianu, "son" of Gabbari. From the Kalamu Inscription mentioned above (p. 224, n. 1), we know that Gabbar ruled over Ya'di; also that he was not the father, but merely the ancestor of Haianu (Hayyâ, in the Aramaic). Haianu, "son" of Gabbari, is parallel to Jehu, "son" of Omri, in the Obelisk of Shalmaneser. Here again, I believe, we have evidence that Ya'di and Sam'al cannot be regarded as neighboring states, but are variant names of the same state.

² Cf. II Kings 19:13, etc.

734, against Pilista [Philistia].

733, against Damascus.

732, against Damascus.

731, against Sapia.

730, in the country.

729-728, the king took the hand of Bêl.

727, Shalmaneser on the throne.

Bearing in mind that the identification of the Ya'dî (יאד) of the Zenjirli inscriptions with the *Iaudi* of the cuneiform records is to be rejected on philological grounds, it remains to be seen whether the historical events recorded in these Aramaic and Assyrian documents, when studied in connection with the Old Testament writings, really call for a North Syrian Judah, having a king, Azariah, contemporaneous with Azariah of the Palestinian Judah. We have already shown that the internal evidence of Tiglath-pileser's *Annals* is against this hypothesis. Since Azariah (*Azriau*) of Judah (*Iaudai*) is mentioned only in the Hebrew and Assyrian records, and not in the Aramaic, our problem resolves itself into the task of discovering whether the events recounted in Tiglath-pileser's *Annals*, where *Azriau* the "*Iaudian*" plays the part of leader in an anti-Assyrian coalition, can be fitted into the events of the reign of Azariah of Judah, recorded in the books of Kings and Chronicles, without resorting to Winckler's hypothesis.

The events of the reign of Azariah of Judah, like all historical events, had their roots in the past. And that past may be described briefly, but I believe accurately, as an age-long rivalry between petty neighboring states which had little in common but jealousy of one another. So we have Israel forced to unite with Judah, under strong leadership, against a common foe—the Philistines, but soon raising the cry "to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David." Or Ahab of Israel, fighting side by side with Hadad-ezer of Damascus, and the kings of other Syrian states, against Shalmaneser, at Karkar, 854 B.C. But soon thereafter Jehoshaphat of Judah is aiding Ahab against Damascus at Ramoth-gilead. The strange bed-fellows are continually changing. In the period we are discussing the local rivalry was often three cornered—between Israel, Judah, and Syria (Damascus)—with the two weaker states fighting the strongest. Between the bouts, the allies kept in trim by fighting one another. And so we find Amaziah of Judah sending messengers to Jehoash,

grandson of Jehu, of Israel, saying: "Come, let us look one another in the face."¹ The challenger "was put to the worse," the wall of Jerusalem was broken down "from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits," and much treasure and hostages went to Samaria.² Soon after these events, Jeroboam (II) came to the throne in Samaria—in the fifteenth year of Amaziah of Judah, thus reigning during the latter half of Amaziah's reign of twenty-nine years.

The reign of Jeroboam (II) receives short notice in the Old Testament writings. But two episodes are recorded from a reign of "forty and one years." "He restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath³ unto the sea of the Arabah,"⁴ and, among "the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, and all that he did," there is mention, in the common rendering, of "how he recovered Damascus and Hamath, *which had belonged to Judah, for Israel.*"⁵ This latter passage has caused much trouble to translators and commentators. According to Benzinger in the "Commentary on Kings" in the *Kurzer Handkommentar* (p. 166), the phrase **וְאֲשֶׁר הָשִׁיב אֶת־דָּמָשֶׁק וְאֶת־חֲמַת לְיְהוּדָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל** is "*sinnlos and der Text völlig verderbt, auch LXX giebt kein Anleitung zur Verbesserung.*" The translation "*wie er den [einstigen] jüdischen Anteil an H. und D. an Israel zurückbrachte (Kamphausen bei Kautzsch)*" is rejected because it conflicts with the statement in verse 25: "*wo ausdrücklich von Zurückgewinnung des israelitischen Gebiets die Rede ist. Auch ist ein judäischer Besitz im Gebiet von Hamath sehr fraglich*" (Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, I, 1 ff.). We have come back to Winckler. We cannot have Judah mixed up in the affairs of Hamath and Damascus, and when we find Tiglath-pileser telling of the Syrian states going over to, and evidently fighting under the leadership of, Azariah of Judah, we must assume that he is talking about a Syrian Judah and another Azariah. And so we have gone round the circle.

I wonder whether this difficult passage in Kings might not be translated quite literally as follows: "And how he let Hamath and Damascus return to Judah *against* [to the disadvantage of] Israel." I admit there is some difficulty as to my translation of the **בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל**. The preposition **בְּ** has this meaning in other combinations. At any

¹ II Kings 14:8.

² II Kings 14:12 f.

³ No matter what the meaning of I Kings 8:65 may be, it seems to me that the "entrance of Hamath" must have been close to Hamath.

⁴ II Kings 14:25.

⁵ II Kings 14:28.

rate, it does no more violence to Hebrew grammar than do the other translations proposed, and, I believe, it gets us somewhere. For, I take it, the passage means that Jeroboam, who had once been successful in extending his sway over the surrounding states, lost whatever hold he had upon Syria, and lost it to the advantage of Judah. The whole difficulty has been caused by the assumption that the passage is in part a repetition of verse 25, where we are told of the restoration of the "border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath to the sea of the Arabah." But forty-one years is a long reign, and many an advantage gained in the flush of youth has been lost in later years. But have we any evidence that the proposed translation is probable? I believe that we have it in the *Annals* of Tiglath-pileser—if we forget all about Winckler's hypothesis. And the Old Testament also bears us out.

In the twenty and seventh year of Jeroboam king of Israel began Azariah son of Amaziah king of Judah to reign. Sixteen years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned two and fifty years in Jerusalem.¹

A long reign for such troublous times. Azariah came to the throne some thirteen years before the death of Jeroboam. On the death of Jeroboam, Zechariah, son of Jeroboam, reigned six months. Shallum, who conspired against Zechariah, reigned one month, when Menahem, son of Gadi, came into power. It looks as if things had not been going well in the last years of Jeroboam. In the days of Menahem, whose reign is given as lasting ten years, "there came against the land Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand."² Menahem is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser among those paying tribute in 738 B.C. "In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria."³ The Assyrian account of these events is not preserved in our fragmentary *Annals* of Tiglath-pileser, but is found in an inscription published in IIIR, 10, Number 2. This inscription was evidently a record of the events of the year 734, "against Pilista [Philistia]." It was written after Pekah (*Paḳaḥa*) had been succeeded by Hoshea (*Ausi'a*), as we know from

¹ II Kings 15:1 f.

² II Kings 15:17 f.

³ II Kings 15:29.

lines 17 f. In spite of II Kings 17:1, the date of Hoshea's revolt must be placed in 734 or 733 B.C.

In 732, after Tiglath-pileser had taken Damascus, Ahaz of Judah, who had sent tribute previous to the fall of that city, presented himself before his lord in Damascus.¹ From the Assyrian side we hear of this in the Nimrud Tablet of Tiglath-pileser (IIR, 67), which summarizes the Assyrian king's achievements from the beginning of his reign to the seventeenth year of the same (l. 5 of the Obverse). The name Ahaz appears in its fuller form *Iauhāzi*, that is, Jehoahaz.² The passage where the Western tribute-paying vassals are enumerated is badly damaged, which probably accounts for our missing the name of Hoshea, or whoever was king of Israel at the time.

I shall make no attempt here to harmonize the chronology of the Old Testament with that of the Assyrian records, but shall content myself by pointing out that most of the difficulties disappear if we assume that practically all of Jotham's reign of sixteen years fell within the lifetime of Azariah, his father. "And Jehovah smote the king Azariah, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a separate house. And Jotham the king's son was over the household, judging the people of the land."³ Azariah came to the throne when he was sixteen years of age and reigned fifty-two years. Jotham was twenty-five years old when he began to reign and reigned sixteen years. A little arithmetic will show that these figures fit in well with the suggestion that Jotham's reign was a coregency. And if, finally, we assume that Menahem's payment of tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. falls well toward the end of his reign, when he needed the hand of the Assyrian "to confirm the kingdom in his hand," and also in the closing years of Azariah's reign, our chronological difficulties become almost negligible.

We are now in a position to resume our discussion of Azariah's reign. I have already called attention to the Chronicler's account of the fortification of Jerusalem by Azariah (Uzziah). Let us take up his story once more.

Moreover Uzziah had an army of fighting men, that went out to war by bands. . . . The whole number of the heads of fathers' houses, even the

¹ II Kings 16:7 f.

² Cf. Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, II Kings 13:1.

³ II Kings 15:5.

mighty men of valor, was two thousand and six hundred. And under their hand was an army, three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy. And Uzziah prepared for them, even for all the host, shields, and spears, and helmets, and coats of mail, and bows, and stones for slinging. And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by skilful men, to be on the towers and upon the battlements, wherewith to shoot arrows and great stones.¹

Making due allowance for the patriotic exaggeration of the Chronicler with regard to the numbers of Azariah's fighting men, we have here the record of the one thing that could have brought Azariah recognition as leader against Assyria, namely, a well-organized standing army, with a strongly fortified base. The objection will be raised that the Chronicler does not mention any overlordship over Syria, that according to him, Azariah (Uzziah)'s campaigns were against the Philistines—Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod; against the Arabians and Ammonites.² To which I should reply that the accounts in Kings and Chronicles are quite obviously and admittedly selective. We have no Old Testament information, for example, of the presence of Ahab at the battle of Karkar in 854 B.C. And yet it would seem, in view of the fact that Shalmaneser made little progress against the Syrian allies, as if there had been room for a little boasting on the part of Ahab's historian. It is possible, also, that the Chronicler had the story and that it has dropped out of our text.

But have we any evidence that the Chronicler's statements with reference to Uzziah's army and its achievements are trustworthy? Critical scholars are accustomed to doubt many of his statements. I believe that we have very good evidence, but that it is evidence of the indirect kind. Much of our historical evidence is indirect. Isaiah's visions fall "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." Let us hear what he has to say.

Moreover, Jehovah said, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with outstretched necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and Jehovah will lay bare their secret parts. In that day the Lord will take away the beauty of their anklets, and the cauls, and the crescents; the pendants, and the brace-

¹ II Chron. 26:11 f.

² II Chron. 26:6 f.

lets, and the mufflers; the headtires, and the ankle chains, and the sashes, and the perfume boxes, and the amulets; the rings and the nose jewels, the festival robes, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the satchels, the hand-mirrors, and the fine linen, and the turbans, and the veils.¹

Could the daughters of Zion have disported themselves in the manner described in the days of Ahaz and Hezekiah, when the wealth of Judah was going to Assyria as tribute? Does not this picture fit better into a long and prosperous reign such as we are attributing to Azariah? The same prosperity is reflected in Isa. 2:7: "And their land is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots."²

"Nothing succeeds like success." The very long reign of Azariah and the fairly long reign of Ahaz, in Judah, stand in striking contrast to the succession of rebellions and usurpations in Israel. The explanation, in part at least, is to be found in Judah's ability to hold the Assyrian conqueror in check. Israel, on the other hand, was overrun and plundered, and few dynasties have ever survived such disasters.

What happened between Tiglath-pileser and Azariah? Can we make any plausible conjectures? I believe that the Tiglath-pileser *Annals*, fragmentary as they are, allow us to do so. The course of events may have run somewhat as follows:

Tiglath-pileser, as soon as Arpad, the first obstacle to his westward march had been overcome—or, possibly even before that city had fallen (740 B.C.), made a swift advance through Syria and Palestine and attacked the leader of the Western allies in his fortified base, Jerusalem. The missing portions of the account may have told of shutting up Azariah in Jerusalem, "like a caged bird" (see Sennacherib). In line 119 we read that "his [Azariah's] great . . . [were smashed] like pots."³ Perhaps, like Sennacherib a generation later, Tiglath-pileser was compelled to content himself with destroying the Judean villages (the strong-walled cities!). Perhaps, like Hezekiah, Azariah in the end bought off the Assyrian. This, however, I think

¹ Isa. 3:16 f.

² Possibly the last year of Uzziah's reign saw the beginning of Isaiah's prophecy. Cf. chap. 6.

³ Did the text contain a variant of the well-known phrase, *kīma ḥaṣḥatti udakkīk?*

unlikely. One thing is clear, that so far as Northern Syria was concerned, Azariah was eliminated. The rush on the part of the allies to come to terms with the invader proves this. Damascus and the other Syrian states had merely been foul-weather friends of Azariah, as the events of the reign of Ahaz show.

As for Azariah of Ya'udi in Northern Syria: *requiescat in pace*.



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THE BLACK STONE OF ESARHADDON

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The black basalt memorial stone of Esarhaddon, presented to the British Museum by the Earl of Aberdeen in 1860 and published the following year in the first of Rawlinson's folios, has frequently been translated and discussed. Only recently it was again used as a prime source for a study of the opening of Esarhaddon's reign.¹ But in spite of Delitzsch's collation of the text for his *Handwörterbuch* and Meissner's for the "Bauinschriften Asarhaddons" in *BA*, III, 218 f., a new study of the stone proved very profitable indeed. Since this text is to appear in full in my forthcoming edition of Esarhaddon's historical and building inscriptions (to form a companion volume to the *Annals of Sennacherib*), I shall give only the most important new readings at this time and proceed to (1) a discussion of the section referring to the period of Babylon's desolation, and (2) an interpretation of the symbols engraved on the top of the stone.

In Col. I, 13, read *i-dib-[bu]-ba [sur]-ra-¹a-ti¹*; 16, *ú-bi-lu-ma huráša 'kaspá*; Col. II, 1 f., [*nâr*] *hegalli mîlu (A-DAN) 'kaš-šú¹ [tam-] šîl a-bu-bi 'ib¹-[bab-la-ma] a-lum šú-bat-su eš-ri-e-ti-šú [mê^{pl}] 'uš¹-bi-²-ma*, etc.; 23, '*ki-niš¹ tu-ut-tan-ni-ma*; Col. III, 15 f., [*a-na*] '*e¹-piš šip-ri šú-a-tú [aš-hu]-ut(?) ak-kud šá^d Šamaš^d Adad^d Marduk daiānu rabû ilani^{pl} bēlê^{pl} -ia ak-ta-mis ma-ḥar-šú-un*. "I was fearful(?) and hesitant about carrying out that commission. Before Shamash, Adad, Marduk, the great judges, the gods, my lords, I bowed down." The *ikbi* of the beginning of line 19 of the autographed text, whose presence here has given so much trouble to scholars, belongs to the end of line 18 of Col. I, where, according to previous interpreters, the scribe omitted *akbi* by mistake. However, a glance at the stone itself reveals the fact that the engraver, for it was the engraver rather than the scribe, followed in the footsteps of others of his tribe in running a refractory word or clause across the dividing line between the columns or around the corner of his monument.

¹ Schmidke, in Meissner, *Allorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen*, I, 2.

I. THE PERIOD OF BABYLON'S DESOLATION

In Col. II, 12 f., we have the reference to the restoration of Babylon in the eleventh year, after lying waste for a certain number of years. This latter number had been in doubt until Meissner-Rost¹ gave it as "10"—"*10 Jahre, nicht 11 zu lesen, wie Priv. zeigt.*" Now, in spite of this positive assertion, I was certain, as soon as the Black Stone was in my hands, that the numeral was not "10." The oblique wedge (for so the "10"-numeral was written here and in l. 17) was not in alignment with the beginnings of the other lines. There seemed to be clear traces of the lower part of a vertical wedge in front of the oblique one, and this would bring the numeral into alignment. Would "70" fit the context?

The ten years of desolation followed by the restoration in the eleventh year apparently satisfied all the requirements. But what about the lines which stood between? "The merciful Marduk—in a moment he was appeased—turned [something] upside down." What was turned upside down? The explanations have all been, admittedly, lame. Nor does it seem to have occurred to anyone that the epithet "merciful" applied to Marduk is meaningless if he had placed the number of Babylon's years of desolation at ten and then allowed the restoration to take place in the eleventh year. Obviously there was something wrong with the arithmetic. But with the period of desolation placed at seventy years, Marduk might be called merciful if he allowed the rebuilding to begin in the eleventh year after the destruction of the city. What was turned upside down? The tablet of fate on which the number "70" was written. The Babylonian numeral "70" turned upside down or reversed becomes "11." (As our printed "9" turned upside down becomes "6").²

There remained, however, the privately owned prism (*Priv.*) quoted by Meissner-Rost. Fortunately, I found this document a few days after my collation of the Black Stone. It is now joined to Bu. 88-5-12, 77 and 78 (published by Meissner-Rost), with which it forms the fragmentary prism of Esarhaddon numbered "78223."³

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 220 and 271.

² Mr. Sidney Smith regards this as further evidence of his belief that the cuneiform was written and read from top to bottom. I shall leave to him the task of convincing others, as he has convinced me, of the probability of his belief.

³ Through the courtesy of the keeper, Dr. Hall, the autographed text will appear in my edition of Esarhaddon.

The numeral in question in this text is "70," without the shadow of a doubt. How it could have been read as "10" by anyone is beyond my comprehension. The passage now reads:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 12) [70] <i>šanâte^{pl} mi-nu-ut</i> | 12) Seventy years as the period |
| 13) <i>ni-du-ti-šú iš-ṭur-ma</i> | 13) of its desolation he (Marduk) wrote down (in the book of fate). |
| 14) <i>ri-mi-nu-ú ^dMarduk</i> | 14) But the merciful Marduk— |
| 15) <i>šur-riš lib-ba-šú i-nu-uḥ-ma</i> | 15) in a moment his heart was at rest (appeased)— |
| 16) <i>e-liš a-na šap-liš</i> | 16) turned it (the book) upside down |
| 17) <i>uš-bal-kit-ma a-na 11</i> | 17) and for the eleventh year |
| 18) <i>šanâte^{pl} a-šab-šú iḫ-bi</i> | 18) ordered its restoration. |

It is possible that the restored numeral should be read "*nêru*," that is "600"—a possibility suggested by both Smith and Gadd, of the British Museum. But at the risk of having the epithet "Pan-Babylonist" hurled at me, I shall quote a few passages from the Old Testament which would seem to indicate that seventy years was a perfectly proper period for an ancient oriental city to lie desolate:

And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith Jehovah, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans; and I will make it desolate forever [Jer. 25:12].

For thus saith Jehovah, After seventy years are accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place [Jer. 29:10].

. . . . To fulfil the word of Jehovah by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed its sabbaths: for as long as it lay desolate it kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years [II Chron. 36:21 f.].

. . . . In the first year of his [Darius'] reign I, Daniel, understood by the books the number of the years whereby the word of Jehovah came to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem, even seventy years [Dan. 9:2].

The seventy years of the Exile have given Old Testament scholars a great deal of difficulty. They are hard to fit into any chronological scheme, and do not go well with a forty-year period suggested by Ezek. 4:6. Perhaps our Esarhaddon text suggests a way out.

But the Assyriologist has chronological difficulties of his own. Sennacherib destroyed Babylon in 689 B.C. The Black Stone inscription is dated in the accession year of Esarhaddon, that is, 680 B.C. It is usually assumed that Esarhaddon began the rebuilding of Babylon

immediately after his accession. Schmidke¹ even suggests that Babylon never was blotted out as completely as Sennacherib would have us believe—which is quite probable—and that the destroyer of Babylon himself may have issued the order for the restoration of the city. And this is not impossible. Whatever the actual steps in the rehabilitation of the old capital of the south may have been, it is clear that the eleven years of the Black Stone and kindred texts cannot be used for chronological purposes. We know from other sources, including the Babylonian Chronicle, that however favorable Esarhaddon's attitude toward Babylon may have been, the actual restoration of the exiled Babylonians to their city and fields could not be accomplished until the Aramaean tribesmen, who moved in during the years of anarchy following the fall of the city, had been dispossessed. And this was no easy matter. Not until the accession of Shamash-shum-ukin did Bél (Marduk) and the gods of Akkad depart from Assyria and enter Babylon. So the Babylonian Chronicle. But Olmstead makes a slip when he asserts that Esarhaddon never took the title "King of Babylon."² The brick inscription published in *IR*, 48, No. 9, tells how "for Marduk, his lord, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, had made new bricks for Esagila and Babylon."³ And Schmidke's conclusion that this text must come from the end of Esarhaddon's reign, since, "so long as city and temple lay in ruins, there could be no king of Babylon," is a marvelous bit of reasoning. Were the inscriptions stamped on the bricks after they were in the walls of the restored temple and city?

II. ESARHADDON'S NAME AMONG THE STARS

The significance of the sculptured symbols on the top of the Black Stone has, I believe, not received any serious attention. In the upper register (Fig. 1) we have a shrine surmounted by the horned head-dress, symbol of deity. Next a man, probably a king, with hand up-raised in adoration. Back of him stands the conventionalized sacred tree. And at the end a bull, the *rimu* of the Assyrian inscriptions. In the lower register there comes, first of all, a symbol of doubtful significance; next a plow with seed drill attached; then a palm tree

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

² *History of Assyria*, p. 357.

³ See also Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 40, l. 19.

with two clusters of dates. And, finally, another enigmatic symbol consisting of four circles at the corners of a square. The same symbols, with variants, as will be noted, arranged, not in two registers, but in a circle, are stamped on the top and bottom of the Esarhaddon prism, No. 78223, mentioned above (Figs. 3, 4). Only, instead of the conventionalized sacred tree, we have a palm tree without clusters (probably a male tree), and instead of the bull, a lion. What do these symbols mean?

Assuming that the explanation would most probably be found in the texts accompanying the symbols, I made a search which almost immediately led me to what I regard as the solution of the problem.

In Bu. 88-5-12, 25-26, Col. IX (it should be VII), 26 f., we read: *mu-sar-e IM šar-pu-ut lu-ma-a-še tam-ši-il ši-tir šumi-ia e-siḫ ši-ru-uš-šu-un*, and in Prism 78223, Col. VII, 9 f.: *mu-sar-e ti-it-ti šar-pu-ti lu-ma-še tam-ši-il ši-tir šumi-ia e-siḫ ši-ru-uš-šu-un*. Meissner, who did not notice the variant reading for *IM* and who read *lu-ba-a-še*, had no translation for *IM šarputi lumāše*. And, to my knowledge, not much has been made of these words since. But their general meaning is, I believe, perfectly evident. "Pictures in colored clay (in the form of) constellations, the likeness of the writing of my name, I engraved (or impressed) thereon." The objects upon which these symbols were engraved were memorials of silver, gold, copper, and a half-dozen kinds of stone—mentioned in the preceding lines. One of these stones bears the name *šalamdu*, which, etymologically, should be basalt, "black" stone. The Black Stone we are discussing is of black basalt, and was one of these memorial stones. The "colored¹ clay" does not, of course, fit into a description of the symbols found on the stone or metal memorials. But it does for that impressed upon the clay prisms. And it is only in the inscriptions on the clay prisms that we have any description of these symbols, the inscription on the Black Stone being very much abbreviated for want of space. The symbols are pictures of constellations, and represent the name of Esarhaddon. But how? Did the names of the constellations give Esarhaddon's name? Or did the Babylonian scribe see some occult connection between their names and that of the king? I think neither of these explanations possible,

¹ The color has disappeared from the symbols impressed upon the ends of the prism, but we may be sure that they had been colored. The paint is fairly well preserved upon the famous dogs of the British Museum.

but believe that we are to take the passage quoted quite literally. The pictures of the constellations were "the likeness of the writing of the name" of the king, that is, they had, roughly, the shape of the cuneiform signs making up the name of Esarhaddon. In reality, they give the little sentence, "Esarhaddon am I," in Assyrian, *Aššur-aḥ-iddina(na) ana-ku*. I have written this in the cuneiform for purposes of comparison (Fig. 2).

The first picture is the well-known symbol of Anu, god of the sky—a shrine with the horned crown upon it. It takes the place of the determinative for deity before the name Aššur. The figure of the king with uplifted hand suggests the sign *a*, while the sacred tree may have looked the *USAR*-sign to the scribe. The variant palm tree on the clay prism might correspond to *šur*. In both cases we arrive at the name Aššur. The figure of the bull, or the variant lion, has the general outline of the *ŠEŠ*-sign, whose ideographic value *aḥ* is needed as the next element of Esarhaddon's name. The next symbol, I am inclined to think, represents an ear of grain. If so, the scribe deliberately chose the picture from which the *SE*-sign is derived. The plow which follows again suggests in the rough the sign *na*. We thus have *iddina* with the phonetic complement *na*, the usual way of writing this element of the royal name. The palm tree might easily suggest the vertical wedge, with the value *ana*. The square at the end makes an excellent *ku*.

But these symbols are *lumāše*, constellations. Here our real trouble begins. My knowledge of astronomy is very much of the second-hand variety. And, changing the figure, when I note the many changes made in the proposed identifications of planets and constellations when I reach the "Verbesserungen" at the end of books on Babylonian astronomy, I feel certain that I have tapped the stream of astronomical knowledge at a point far below its fountainhead. However, the problem is before us.

First, a word as to the meaning of *lumāše*. One thinks at once of the opening lines of the fifth tablet of the "Creation Story," for which I would suggest a translation differing somewhat from the usual one. *ubaššim manzaza an ilâni rabûti: kakkabâni tamšilšunu lumāše ušziz*, "He (Marduk) fashioned stations for the great gods: the stars



FIG. 1

(From the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*³, p. 228.)



FIG. 2

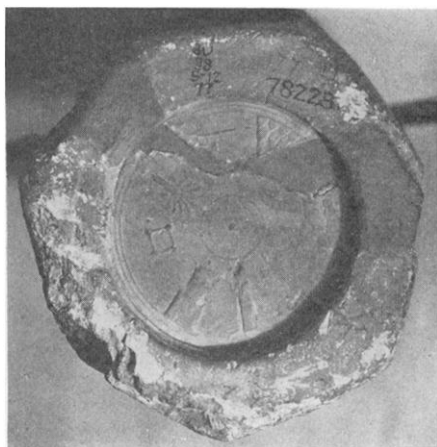


FIG. 3

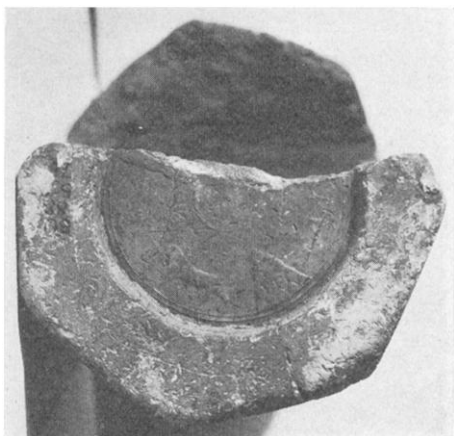


FIG. 4

as their (the gods') likeness(es) he arranged in constellations." In K 250 and K 2067 (*CT*, XXVI, 40-41, 45), certain stars are arranged in groups of seven *tikpi*, seven *lumāše*, seven *māšu*, etc. From the latter texts I think it is clear that the *lumāše* are not necessarily the signs of the Zodiac, as has been suggested. They are star groups, constellations. Can one find names of stars or star groups in the astronomical lists with which our symbols might be identical?

The shrine with the horned headdress, the symbol of Anu, is clearly one of the "houses" (*bītu*) mentioned in the astronomical texts, and is generally regarded as synonymous with *manzazu*, station (see the first line quoted from the "Creation Story"). The figure of the king with uplifted hand may, perhaps, be the ^{kakkab}*LUGAL*, which, according to Weidner, following Kugler, = α Centauri. I have no suggestions concerning the trees in the picture.¹ The bull and the lion have probably always been seen in the heavens: ^{kakkab}*GÛ-UD*, ^{kakkab}*GÛ-AN-NA*, etc.; and ^{kakkab}*UR-GU-LA*, ^{kakkab}*UR-A*. These may well have been the ancestors of Taurus and Leo.

The first symbol of the lower register is difficult. One's first impression is that it represents a mountain. We know of the god ^d*KUR-GAL* and K 250, Col. II, 2, may have the name of a star ^{kakkab}[*KUR-GAL*]. But, as indicated above, I am inclined to believe that the symbol represents an ear of corn. If so, the identification is close at hand. The ^{kakkab}*EŠ-ŠIN* is well known. In *BM*, 86378 (*CT*, XXXIII, 1 f.), Col. II, 10, we have it equated with the Semitic word *šubultum*, "ear of grain." It is also one of the so-called *TE*-stars. It is Virgo, the woman holding an ear of grain. The plow is evidently the ^{kakkab}*APIN*, which occurs in many of the lists. Weidner identified this constellation with Ursa Minor on page 69 of his work on Babylonian astronomy, but on page 144 he changes to Cassiopeia. Following a suggestion of Mr. Sidney Smith,² I would identify the last symbol with the ^{kakkab}*MAR-GĪD-DA* (*šumbu*), or "wagon-star." This, Weidner thinks, was the Great Bear.

So much for the identification of the symbols. Why should Esarhaddon's name appear in such guise?

¹ To my knowledge there are no tree constellations, either in the ancient or modern astronomy.

² A verbal suggestion. His note on the symbols on the Black Stone, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1925, p. 57, reached me after this article was in type.

The last line of the Black Stone inscription shows the nature of the document:

The sons of Babylon, who had been brought to servitude, who had been apportioned to the yoke and the fetter, I gathered together and accounted them Babylonians. Their freedom anew I established.

The Black Stone contains the city's charter. Beginning with the Kassite period, we have records of royal grants of land with certain privileges and exemptions, to individuals, temples, or municipalities. One thinks of the Kudurrus, the "Sun-god Tablet" from Sippar, and Sargon's agreement with the people of the land upon which he built his new city of Dur-Sharru-kin. Such charters were written on stone or clay, often on both. On the stone Kudurrus of the Kassite period we find the top or one side covered with symbols of various kinds. These are usually, and no doubt correctly, interpreted as the representations of the gods whose names are called upon in the blessings and curses with which the charter inscriptions close. Now it seems to me that in the Black Stone we may see a revival of the Kudurru type of monument, but adapted to changed conditions. Although the blessing and curse are omitted on the stone, they are found in the longer versions on the prisms. But it was Marduk, god of Babylon, alone, whose name was called upon to bless or to curse. He might have been represented upon his throne with the king approaching him with uplifted hand, as Nabu-apal-iddina is represented before Shamash on the "Sun-god Tablet." Instead of this, the name of Esarhaddon himself, in the form of constellation pictures, was employed by way of charter symbols. We know how increasingly important astrology was becoming during the years of the Assyrian Empire. Esarhaddon's name, discovered among the stars, would be a fitting seal for his charter granted the new Babylon rising out of the ruins of the old.



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NOTES ON THE ASSYRIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS

BY D. D. LUCKENBILL

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The following notes are published pursuant to a promise made in § 13 of Volume I of my *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, and in justification of some of the readings of my translations of the Assyrian historical texts. I am sure no one will be surprised to find me calling attention to oversights, on the one hand, and correcting plain blunders, on the other. In so large an undertaking the best of intentions and the most careful proofreading will not prevent the dropping out of a word, a phrase, or even a sentence in the progress from handwritten manuscript to dictionary card, from dictionary card to typewritten manuscript, and finally, from typewritten manuscript to the printed page. Brackets and broken brackets suffer even more than words in this progress to the printed page. Some of these omissions I discovered only after the two volumes had come from the press. The reviewers will, no doubt, be glad to call attention to others that have escaped me altogether.

It is regrettable that *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*,¹ by Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner, did not reach me until too late to use in the correction of any translations of the texts from Assur. The many unpublished duplicates and new texts these scholars had access to cleared up many a difficulty that was insoluble without such help. Besides, they had access as well to most of the originals of the published Assur texts. The most conscientiously produced autographed text is apt to fail us at exactly the point where help is most needed. Which gives me an opportunity to say, parenthetically, that the outstanding *desideratum* in the field of Assyriology today is a series of volumes of reproductions of large-scale photographs of all of the important cuneiform texts. My work in the British Museum with the originals of many of the most important of the published historical texts has convinced me that a large percentage of the textual notes which clutter the pages of our books would never have been written

¹ The first volume of an *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, hereafter abbreviated *AB*.

had the author had access to the originals or even to good photographs of his texts. To take a single example:

In *HWB*, Muss-Arnolt's *Dictionary*, and Bezold's *Glossar*, we find a word *rukušu*, "property." This was discussed in Delitzsch's *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuches zum A.T.* (1886), by Haupt in *Hebraica*, Volume III, who compared it with רֻכֻּשׁ, and in many another footnote. Bezold suggests that it may be a West-Semitic loan-word. One glance at the original of Assurbanipal's text showed me that my guess made years before was correct. The original has *gammalê ru-ku-pi-šu-nu*, "their riding camels."

But one must go back to the original or a good photograph more than once. Let me give another example:

Delitzsch, not satisfied with Craig's text of Shalmaneser III's Throne Inscription (*Hebraica*, Vol. III), made his own collation and published it in *BA*, IV, 151 f. In Column I, line 12, end, Delitzsch discovered the sign after *a* to be *mir*. But he evidently failed to scratch out the *ma* of his older transliteration. The result was a reading *a-mir*(?)-*ma*, which was hard to justify grammatically. The original reads *a-mir*, "discoverer of."

These notes are arranged in the order in which the historical texts appear in my translation. And for *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I am using, and suggest the use of, the abbreviation *LAR*, which is in line with *BAR*, used most commonly as the abbreviation of Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*.

1. ITITI

KAH, II, No. 1 (*LAR*, I, §§ 17 f.; *AB*, I, 2). In view of the fact that the photograph of Ititi's inscription is not good and the copy given by Andrae, *Archaischen Ishtar-Tempel*, differs somewhat from that in *KAH*, I had thought of the possibility of reading *salâti šukḫî* (*salâti*, plur. of **salûtu*, a synonym of *teslûtu*, and *šukḫî* from *IL-ḫi*). But, with the text assured as *ga-riš-ki*, my guess is to be put aside. An infinitive *salâtu*, synonym of *litû* and *ḥuppû* (ideogram *dar*; see *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 137, and *CT*, Vol. XVIII, Plate 32, ll. 19 f.), meaning "to fall," or "be thrown down," can hardly be used here. Meissner's tentative rendering, in *sa-la-ti ga-riš^{ki}*, "from the booty of the city of Garish," is, perhaps, the best that can be done. Of course,

the possibility of reading *ga-šak^{ki}*, or *ga-sak^{ki}*, is to be kept in mind. My first thought was that it might be *Tuk-riš^{ki}*. It is too bad that the signs cannot be read *ga-niš* and the place identified with the city so often mentioned in the Cappadocian texts. My translation of *a-mu-ru*, *išruk*, is also too free.

2. SHALIM-AHUM

LAR, I, §§ 23 f. Meissner, *AB*, I, 4 f., has now given us in transliteration all of the preserved lines of the Shalim-ahum text. I have given my translation of these lines on p. 501 of Vol. II of my *Ancient Records*. There the suggestion was ventured that the name in l. 13 is to be read *I-din-^dDa-gan*. This suggestion is made in view of the form of the characters rendering this name in Langdon's *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. II, WB 1923, 444, VIII, 27. Idin-Dagan, of the Isin dynasty, lived about a century before Shalim-ahum's day. Zariku built a temple of Bêlat-ekallim, in Assur, for the life of Bur-Sin of the third Ur dynasty. If my suggestion should prove to be correct, it would be proof of continued domination of Assyria by the southern dynasties.

3. ILU-SHUMA

In addition to the text published in *KAH*, II, No. 4 (*LAR*, I, §§ 25 f.), Meissner gives us an unpublished inscription from this ruler which is of considerable help in getting at the meaning of several of the published early Assyrian inscriptions. It makes possible the restoration of the badly rubbed lines in *KAH*, II, No. 4, as *a-du-ra-ar a-ga-ti-i iš-ku-un*, "The freedom of the Akkadians he established." And, as Meissner points out, these lines are of the greatest historical importance, for they show that, so far from being subject to the southern dynasties, as in the days of Zariku, the rulers of Assur were now interfering in the politics of the south. From whom Ilushuma freed the Akkadians we do not know. One becomes more anxious than ever for the recovery of the tablet in the chronicle which began with the words "Ilu-shuma, king of Assyria, against (? *ana tarši*) Su-abu."

4. IRISHUM

LAR, I, §§ 27 f.; *AB*, I, 10 f. *KAH*, II, No. 7, is to be restored, at the end, *ù ħu-bu-ri-l'en¹ ú-li-id*, "Two *ħuburu* I made (*lit.*, begot)." What the *ħuburu* were is not clear. They seem to have come in pairs

(note the dual form).¹ The use of *(w)alâdu*, "to beget," in the sense of "to make" is not as unusual as Meissner supposes. In the gold tablet of the foundation deposit of Sargon of Assyria, we have the passage (ll. 17 f.), *bunnânê ilâtîšunu rabîte Ninigikug bân mimma û-lid-ma*, "images of their exalted divinities, Ninigikug, maker of all, fashioned." The slightly different text on the silver tablet reads *nakliš ušepišma*. In the Sennacherib text, *CT*, Vol. XXVI, Plates 1-37, Col. VI, ll. 76 f., we read: *šêdê û^{lit} zazâte pîli pišê ina liptat Ninkurra ina iršit Balatai û-ša'-lid-ma*, "The bull and cow colossi I caused them to fashion (*lit.*, caused to beget)," etc.

KAH, II, No. 11 (*LAR*, I, § 33). This inscription presents many difficulties, but the new texts to which Meissner had access clear up a number of them. In the main my collation of the text agrees with Meissner's transliteration. The *i* of *i-nu-ma* (l. 15) stands to the left of the column-line. Meissner regards *e-ip-si* of l. 16 as certain, comparing a new Ikunum text (*AB*, p. 20, No. 1, l. 10). But this *e*, if it is that, is certainly not the same as the *e* in *e-ta* of l. 23 and in *ba-e* of l. 24. Nor is the substitution of the noun *epšu* for the infinitive *epêšu* what one should expect. The *e-ip-si* of the Ikunum text is a noun. *û-si-ib* of l. 19 Meissner conjectures stands for *ušib*, or, possibly, is a II₁ preterite from *ešêpu*. I should prefer to make it a contracted form of *uštib*, III^{III} of *tâbu*, just as I prefer to regard *u-si-il* of l. 29 a II₂ instead of a II₁ of *šêlu*.² In view of the new texts, my translation of ll. 20 f. (the question mark which was back of it dropped out by mistake) should, perhaps, simply be abandoned. On the other hand, it is somewhat difficult to see why all taxes should have been abolished in ancient Assur. That *andurar* means *zakûtu*, "freedom," is certain, but, in view of the fact that no satisfactory derivation of the word can be given, I wondered, and still wonder, whether the word did not originally signify the stone or tablet upon which the *zakûtu* was written. Meissner's reading *šipâtîm*, at the end of l. 23, is, no doubt, correct. The sign is not well preserved, and I had thought of *lu*, with *a-ti*, for *ad-di*, of the next line. I have already indicated that the supposed *e* of the last word of l. 16 is not made like *e* in *e-ta* and *ba-e* of ll. 23 f. But it is by no means certain that we should read *e-ta* and *ba-e*. The

¹ Cf. Br. 8192 and *HWB*, 268 b.

² However, the causative element *ša* seems to be a development from *sa* (cf. the Egyptian). Cf. *usirib*, for *ušterib* (?), in the new Ikunum text, *AB*, Vol. I, p. 20, No. 2.

common sign looks much more like a *SE*-sign. It seems to me that the whole passage has to do with the ceremonies connected with the laying of the foundation and walls of the temple. In Shalmaneser's text, *KAH*, I, No. 13, Col. IV, ll. 20 f., we read: "Over against (*or*, on) its foundations, (tablets) of stone, silver, gold, iron, bronze, lead, (together with) herbs, in herbs, I placed (*lu ad-di*). With oil, choice oil, etc., I sprinkled its walls (*šelaršu lu ašel*)."

L. 32 is, I believe, to be read *aš-tap-bu-uk*. The vertical wedge of the *aš* was placed a little too low by Schroeder. Whether the second sign is an elaborated form of the ordinary *tab*, or a cursive form of Barton, No. 10 (whose value as *tab* is, however, not certain), remains to be determined. (For an early Assyrian form of *tab*, see below, p. 218.)

Meissner's translation of ll. 33 f. is, in the main, to be preferred. I had thought of precative forms without *lu*, which would require justification. But Meissner's rendering of *abul zininim* by "Kleinvieh-Tor" is questionable. It is true that we have an Enlil-nirari text in which an *abul LU* is mentioned, but it is not certain, even in that text, that *LU* = *šēnim*. My suggestion that it was a postern gate is based on the Great Monolith Inscription of Assur-nâsir-pal (*LAR*, I, § 493), Col. V, ll. 32 f., where we read: "Its beams he shall not break, its doorposts he shall not tear out, the passage of its *zini*-gate he shall not block (*mu-ši bâb zi-ni-ša la i-ka-si-ir*), its door he shall not close." Certainly in this inscription a sheep-gate would be out of the question. One does not need to be a specialist in military architecture to realize the importance of the postern.

Meissner's collation of the text makes my reading of the name of the second gate impossible (I had no idea why the gate should have such a name). *bâtâtîm ušâtî*, "I apportioned houses (*i.e.*, estates, plots of ground)," is, of course, to be compared with the new text of Ilushuma, *AB*, Vol. I, p. 6, No. 2, ll. 25 f., *ana alia bîtâtîm azûz*. But just what Meissner's translation of the next section of the inscription is to mean is not clear to me. L. 47, I read *la he-du-ma*, which, I believe, makes good sense.

In l. 48 occurs the word *ušazaku*, known in the building inscriptions from the earliest to the latest times. Meissner thinks that the paralleling of *mašku* and *limnu* in a Hittite syllabary fixes the mean-

ing of *mašáku* or *masáku*. It seems to me, however, that the bilingual texts of Sargon of Akkad should be of some help in getting at the significance of this word, whether it is *mašáku* or not. In Poebel, *Historical Texts* (Vol. IV, No. 1), p. 176, l. 40, we have the Sumerian *lù im-sar-ra-e ab-[ha-lam]-e-a*, given in Akkadian as *ša duppam su-a ú-sa-za-ku-ni*. The restoration of the Sumerian line is based on the passage (p. 178, ll. 20 f.) where we read, *lù mu-sar-ra-e [ab-ḥ¹a-lam-e-a an-ni mu-ni ḥe-ḥa-lam-e*, which is not, however, translated into the Akkadian. Its meaning is clear. "Whoever destroys this inscription, may Anu destroy his name." The word *ḥalam*, now usually written *ḡalam*, is apparently related to *ḡilim*, which, according to Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, seems to mean, first of all, "vertere," that is, "turn," from which "overturn, overthrow" easily develop. Another passage that is of help is l. 62 of the Rev. of the Annals of Tukulti Urta II (Scheil, *Annals de Tukulti Ninip II*); *narûa ištu ašrišunu [la ú]-šam-sak*, "My memorial steles let him not tear from their places." (Cf. *KAH*, II, No. 90, Rev. 14.)

5. SHAMSHI-ADAD

KAH, I, No. 2 (*LAR*, I, §§ 43 f.; *AB*, I, 22 f.). By an oversight, the variants published in *KAH*, II, No. 146, were incorporated in my transliterated text but did not get into my published translation. The much-discussed *muštemḫi* of l. 5 of Col. I, I had thought of deriving from *emêku*, participle of the III^{II} stem, realizing, of course, the difficulty presented by the final vowel.¹ A participle, of the same stem, from 𐎶𐎶𐎵 might be considered.

L. 11 of Col. II and l. 15 of Col. III have *šutešbû* and *uštišbi*, III₂ permansive and preterite of *šibû*. Meissner cites the Hammurabi Code, XIX, l. 96, in support of a translation "fest fügen." However, the grouping of *lamû*, *saḥâru*, and *šibû* under the ideogram *DUB* shows that this is a derived meaning. We speak of "rounding off" things, in the sense of finishing them to the last detail. The Assyrian uses the II and III^{II} stems of *tâbu*, "to be good," in the same way.

Col. V, l. 14, Meissner reads *ú ku-ma na-ri-ia unakkarûma*, "whoever changes the place of my stele." This calls for the rare use of *ú*

¹ Cf. *mu-šaḥ-me-ṭi šadāni^{pl} šá mâtât^{pl} ana-ku*, *KAH*, II, No. 84, l. 17, and *AKA*, p. 266, l. 35 (*mu-uš-ḥar-me-ḫi*).

for *ù* as conjunction, as well as for the accusative case ending on the noun in the construct state. Neither of these is impossible, but it is to be noted that in the passage cited by Meissner, in which "the defective writing" *kumu* for *kummu* occurs, the form is *ku-um bi-li*.

6. ADAD-NIRARI I

LAR, I, §§ 72 f.; *AB*, I, 56 f. Ebeling thinks the earlier transcription *mi-lim*, "flood," in the curse of the Adad-nirari inscriptions has been rendered impossible by the variant *mi-še* in *KAH*, I, No. 65 (Rev., l. 11). He would derive the word *mêšû* from *ešû* and translate "Abfall," with a question mark. But may we not think of a scribal error in the text cited? Evidently the copyist thought the *še* the first part of the *li*-sign. My translation assumes *mîlu*, "flood, high-water." In King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, Plate LXXVIII, Col. V, ll. 1 f., we read: *ša narâ annâ lû ana nâri i-nam-du lû ana bâri inassuku lu ina abni 'ubbatu' lû ina išâti iḳallû*, "whoever casts this memorial stone into the river, or puts it in a well, or destroys it with a stone, or burns it in the fire."

KAH, II, No. 35, ll. 24 f. (*LAR*, I, § 85; *AB*, I, 70), has the words: *kisirta . . . ša iṣtu si-pi âli elê ša bâb Ea-šarri adi si-pi âli šaplê ša bâb Idiklat* "the quay-wall . . . which (extends) from the upper 'city-threshold' of the gate of Ea-sharri to the lower 'city-threshold' of the Tigris-gate." Ebeling, following Thureau-Dangin, translates *sipi* as "door-socket," instead of the usual "threshold." He has some difficulty in translating the word in *KAH*, II, No. 83 (Rev., l. 10), which, as he seems to have failed to observe, refers to this same quay-wall. In the inscription of the second Adad-nirari(?) it is called the "quay-wall of the city-threshold (*si-pi âli*) which is below the temple of Assur." To the passages cited by Ebeling should also be added the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, ll. 131 f., where *sipi* is also used figuratively for "sides, walls." This usage is common in the Neo-Babylonian texts.

KAH, II, No. 34 (Rev., ll. 2 f.), *bîta ša-a-tu an-ša ak-sir ti-ra-te-šû ú-ni-ik*, "Its weak places I repaired, its breaches I stopped up(?)." My translation is, of course, conjectural. Weidner, *AB*, I, 92, renders the second part of the sentence "seine Verschlüsse . . . ich." He thinks *tirâte*¹ is to be connected with *dalâte mutirrêti*. I had another

¹ The variant reading of l. 20 of *KAH*, II, No. 42, shows that the singular was *tirtu*.

word in mind. In Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 106 (Rev., Col. IV, l. 29), we have [ê]-šub-ba = e-^{du-ru}-a = ti-i-ru. Now the ê-šubba as bîtu nadû is well known. Cf. *Sum. Gl.*, pp. 267 f. The word tîru probably occurs in the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III (Rev., l. 101): "with their corpses I blocked up (*aksir*) the Orontes like a tîru, i.e., as one blocks up a crack or break(?)." ¹ I also had passages in the Tiglath-pileser I inscriptions in view. *KAH*, II, No. 66, l. 33, reads: ša-bu-ti-šû ú-lab-bi-in (cf. No. 67, ll. 2 f., and No. 63, Col. V, ll. 6 f.). Here šabûti, from the root šabû (ideogram also renders dakû and labânu; see *HWB*, p. 637a), may, perhaps, be translated by "breaks" or "breaches." My translation assumes that we have to do with general, rather than specific, terms. So I had thought of šipšâte and napdê of the following lines as meaning "twisted" or "dislodged (parts)" and "breaks." However, the broken text, *KAH*, II, No. 57, ll. 3 f., is against my rendering, and in favor of Weidner's.

Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 92, No. 2, suggests nâku or nâku as the root of unik. A root (w)andû is also possible. If my interpretation of the Shalmaneser Monolith passage is correct, then this root might be a synonym of kasâru.

KAH, I, No. 6, ll. 8 f. (*LAR*, I, § 104), read, with Weidner: "dalate a-šû-ši mu-te-ir-ri-ti ši-ra-ti eššâti^{pl} e-pu-uš, "large, new door-leaves of fir,—muterrêti, I made." The word mutirtu (the singular is found in Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne*, l. 373), plur. muterrêti, is usually translated "Flügeltüren." It seems to have been used interchangeably with appâte (see bît muterrîte and bît appâte, in my *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 119, l. 22). I wonder whether its derivation from târu will hold? Might not this mutirtu, as well as the mutirtu which Delitzsch renders by "Vogelnetz," be derived from the root arâru, from which come arru, irru, etc.? muterrêti, as applied to doors, would then signify "interlocking" rather than "turning." Similarly, appâte might be derived from apâpu, which has a general meaning of "binding," like arâru.

KAH, I, No. 10, ll. 4 f. (*LAR*, I, § 107, 2), read, with Weidner: ša pân kirâti^{pl} ša šâri e-lî-e ik-si-ir, "The . . . which is in front of the northern gardens, he strengthened."

¹ I failed to make use of this in my translation, § 611, end. This tîru can hardly be that of the Neo-Babylonian texts; see *HWB*, p. 704.

7. SHALMANESER I

KAH, I, No. 13 (*LAR*, I, §§ 113 f.; *AB*, I, 110 f.), Col. II, ll. 20 f. Weidner's rendering is to be preferred: "Shattuara, king of Hanigalbat, brought to his side the army of the Hittites and the Ahlamê." Likewise, Col. III, ll. 13 f., "To Assur and the great gods, my lords, I raised my hands (in prayer) and they (the gods) graciously granted me a favorable reply." This is in line with many other passages in the historical texts.

Col. III, l. 19: *šiddi naskûti*. *nasku*, with variant *našku*, occurs in a number of these early inscriptions. Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 120, No. 4, derives the adjective from *nasâku*, "fallen, stürzen," and renders it "abschüssigen Landstrichen." A meaning something like "precipitous" fits most of the passages—in most cases mountainous regions are being described—and, at first sight, the passage *KAH*, II, No. 58, ll. 70 f. (*LAR*, I, § 146), seems to demand such a meaning. "At that time, in the temple area of my city Assur, on the north side, I cleared away great (quantities) of earth (from) *šiddi naskûti*." But the parallel texts, Andrae, *Fest.*, pp. 164 f. (*LAR*, I, § 156), has *šiddi rûkûti*. I have therefore translated *nasku* by "remote(?)" and "wide." I am inclined to think that we are dealing with the root from which *ušazaku*, discussed above, is to be derived. Perhaps the development was from "detached, cut off" to "remote," and then, like *rûkû*, from "distant" to "wide."

Col. IV, l. 5. Read *sukki*, with Weidner. Cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gl.*, p. 248. It is to be noted, however, that the ideogram given by Delitzsch is *KI-SUG(?)*, with which we may, perhaps, compare *KI-KISAL* of these texts. What is the relationship of *sukku* and *usukku*? As for *šû-pa-ti* of this same line: It may well be the plural of *šubtu*. But we seem to be heaping up too many terms for "rooms" and "seats" to balance the *mimma makkûr bît Aššur*, "all the property of the temple of Assur." If the word is to be taken as the plural of *šubtu*, we may compare the construct *šû-pa-at* of *KAH*, I, No. 16 (Rev., l. 11).

KAH, I, No. 14 (*LAR*, I, § 124; *AB*, I, 130 f.). L. 21 of the Obv. mentions the gate of ^d*KAL-KAL*. I am aware of the occurrence of the name of a god *KAL-KAL* in *KAV* and elsewhere, but am not quite convinced that we may not have a plural like *KUR-KUR*. (Cf. the Nerglissar text, *IR*, 67, Col. I, l. 23.)

Rev., l. 3. The word *a-TAR(?)*-*ti* occurs. I wish I could be as opti-

mistic as Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 128, No. 3, as to the reading of this much-discussed word. How *CT*, Vol. XXVI, Plate 35, ll. 40–42, show the correctness of the reading *atartu* and of the meaning “Hinzukommendes,” from (*w*)*atâru*, is not at all clear to me. The reading of one of the syllabary lines (cf. Meissner, *SAI*, 7649) as *pi* (i.e., *wa*)-*tar-tu*, is not decisive, since the Assur syllabary (cf. *Sum. Gl.*, p. 283, *lagab*) has both *a-TAR-tu* and *pi-kut-tu* (as Delitzsch reads it). As far as the form of the word is concerned, *ahastu* and *atartu* are on exactly the same footing. Furthermore, if we may judge by the words with which it is listed in the syllabaries (add to the quotations in *Sum. Gl.*, under *ellag*: Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 102, Col. II, ll. 9 f.; *CT*, Vol. XXXV, Plate 1, l. 16; Yale Syllabary, l. 29), the meaning “addition” or “Neuerung” is hardly probable. My own feeling is that the word means “complement” rather than “supplement,” and that the most natural reading of the signs is *a-kut-tu*. In view of the fact that a variant reading is apt to turn up at any time it behooves us to restrain our dogmatism.

KAH, I, No. 15 (*LAR*, I, § 125; *AB*, I, 132 f.). There should have been a question mark after and broken brackets inclosing the first word of l. 4. Weidner restores [*ba*]-*l'î-it*, which I also thought the most likely restoration. The end of l. 3 of the Rev. is to be read *ak-^hkur*, “I tore down,” according to Weidner’s collation. In like manner we are to read the numerals in l. 6 as “10” and “5,” and in l. 13 to restore: “‘sacrifices I offered,¹ with (tablets) of stone, silver and gold, to their places I restored them.”

KAH, II, No. 43 (*LAR*, I, §§ 130 f.; *AB*, I, 142 f.). We must read *bît* in l. 6: “When the former *temple* of the Ninevite Ishtar, etc.” This variant of the *bîtu*-sign is not unusual in the early Assyrian texts (cf., for example, *KAH*, I, No. 16).

KAH, II, No. 41 (*LAR*, I, § 132; *AB*, I, 150). In l. 5 we have a sign read *SUḪUR* by Weidner. The same sign occurs elsewhere in the historical texts as well as in *KAV*, Nos. 125 f. It seems to me that the probability is that we have not a *SUḪUR*-, but a *ZAG*-sign, to be read *pât*.

LAR, I, §§ 133 f.; *AB*, I, 144 f. In this bowl inscription as well as in that of Assur-rêsh-ishi (*LAR*, I, § 210), we must read, with Weidner, “through an earthquake,” instead of “in the street (*or*, square).” That is, read *rîbe*, not *rîbit*.

8. TUKULTI-URTA I

KAH, II, No. 58 (*LAR*, I, §§ 142 f.), l. 11. *ina me-til kiš-šú-ti-šú*. My translation, "in the splendor of his might," which is somewhat free, assumes that the root of *metlu* is 𐤌𐤕𐤌, from which we derive *etellu* and *etellātu*.

L. 27. My reading *Te-bur-zi* assumes that we have to do with the city (and land) also mentioned in *KBo.*, I, No. 1, ll. 13 and 22, and there spelled *Te-bu-ur-zi-ia*. The second sign, which seems to be the double *KUR*, or *DIM*, is found in the old Babylonian contracts. Cf. *CT*, Vol. VI, Plate 23, Bu. 88-5-12, 642, ll. 1 and 10. The value *bur* is perhaps due to the confusion of *DIM* = *kippatu* (*SAI*, 659) and *buru* = *kippatu* (*VR*, Plate 36, Col. II, l. 31). On the name *Bu-ru-kuz(lum?)*-*zi* I have no suggestions to offer, except that it may be *Burušhanda* of the "Hittite" texts.¹

Ll. 43 f. *dâmê^{vl}-šu-nu ħur-ri ú muš-pa-li ša šadî lu ú-me-kir*. II, of *makâru*.

KAH, II, No. 60 (*LAR*, I, §§ 162 f.). L. 15. The exact meaning of *me-ħir* *ḥaṭṭi-šu* is not clear.

L. 18. *u-šam-di-šú-ú* for *uša'dišû*.

L. 98, end: *lu e-^ltap^l-áš*, cf. No. 61, l. 47. For an earlier writing of *tab* see above, p. 212. I wonder what the reading of the whole variant line of *KAH*, II, No. 50, l. 23, is?

L. 96. *ti-lu ù e-pi-ru la šap-ku-ma*, (where) "rubbish and earth had not been poured." In the parallel passage, No. 61, l. 45, we have the ideogram *DUL(?)*. It looks like *SAG*. Has the copyist erred in giving a final vertical wedge? If we are right in our interpretation of these lines, the meaning of the well-known word *til(l)u*, "tell," may perhaps be regarded as "rubbish."

L. 102. *ina abni pa-li-še*, "through tunneled rock." *pališu*, a passive (permansive stem) adjective from *palášu*.

L. 109. *ar-ku-uš* (No. 61, l. 53, *ar-ku-us*), from *rakâsu*, in the sense of "make fast, certain."

L. 131. *la ki-še-ri*, "not proper," from the same root as that of the well-known "Kosher."

L. 134. *e-im kabli u taħazi*, "in war and battle." Here *em* is in the halfway stage between *ina emi*, "in place of," and *ema*, the preposition "in."

¹ Hommel's suggestion that it is Phrygia (*Ethnologie und Geographie*, pp. 31 f.) has many things in its favor.

KAH, II, No. 61 (*LAR*, I, §§ 170 f.). Ll. 12 f. "King of Assyria, and king of Karduniash, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Sippar and Babylon, king of Dilmun and Meluhha." The last of these titles clearly shows the location of Meluhha to have been on or near the Persian Gulf.

L. 31. *hur-ša-ni be-ru-ti*. One hesitates to accept Thureau-Dangin's suggestion (*Huitième Campagne*, p. 8, No. 1) that *berûti* in passages such as ours simply means "mighty." Of course, Thureau-Dangin italicizes his rendering "puissants," which means that he regards it as doubtful. I believe that the passages he quotes make it almost certain that *bêrûti* and *nisûti* are synonyms, both meaning "distant, remote." I would suggest that *bêru*, the adjective under discussion, and *bêru* the noun (= *danna*, *KAS-BU*), meaning "league," the old "double-hour," are to be derived from the same root.

LAR, I, §§ 175 f. (text: King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*). Rev., ll. 12 f.: 2 *šû-ši ti-ik-pi a-na e-li-na lu-be-lit*. King suggested "the verb *balûtu*, 'to abound,' with the meaning 'to pile up, to heap up,' " In *KAH*, II, No. 50, l. 16, we have 72 *ti-bi-ki* (var., *ti-ik-pi*) *ul-li*.

Rev., l. 14. *ekalla me-ši-ra*. King's rendering, "a palace corresponding to the size thereof," is not without its difficulties, and, perhaps Peiser's and Hommel's notes in *OLZ*, X, 259 and 380, have the real solution of the problem. They read *e-gal me-šâr-ra*, and regard this as the Sumerian name of the palace, which is rendered into the Semitic by *bît kiš-ša-ti*, "the house of universal dominion(?)."

Rev., l. 29. *lu-uṭ-ṭi*, "May he make (his days) sad, *lit.*, darken (his days)."

KAH, II, No. 59 (*LAR*, I, §§ 184 f.). The matter of the Sumerian names of buildings has just been discussed. In ll. 28 f. of our text we have *e-me bît par-ši*, where *bît par-ši* undoubtedly renders *e-me*. Yet I am not certain that we must regard *e-me* as the name of the temple. Should we not render: "the *e-me*, the temple of divine law"?¹ Immediately following are the words, "the abode of her delight, E-anna, the shrine of her splendor." Here E-anna seems to have about the same significance as E-kur has when applied to the temple of Assur (or Enlil).

KAH, II, No. 49 (*LAR*, I, §§ 189 f.). L. 16. *uḫ-ta-bit*. This form occurs a number of times in these early texts. *KAH*, I, No. 3, l. 39,

¹ Cf. ll. 3 f. of Tablet VI of the *Creation Epic* (Langdon's ed.), pp. 164 f.

e-na-ah uḥ-ta-bi-it, "had become weak and had given way" (*LAR*, I, § 83). Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 77, No. 10, would derive this form from the root *abātu*, rather than from *ḥabātu*. The interchange of the *ah-ih-uḥ*-sign and the *a'-i'-u'*-sign is not infrequent in the early texts (they both came from the same original). My retention of "plundered" in the passage under discussion is due to failure to make the correction here which I made in the other passages. One difficulty remains, the variant *ik-ta-bit*. Weidner thinks of a "Misverständnis des Schreibers." If so, this would point to a reading *ih-ta-bit*, since the mistake would have been due to the ear rather than to the eye. One might also consider the possibility of this form, from *kabātu*, "to be heavy," coming to mean "become (top)-heavy." The temple succumbed under its own weight.

L. 19. *dan-na-su ak-sir* (var. *sir*), "Its foundation I strengthened." This phrase seems to have been used interchangeably with *dan-na-su ak-šud*, "Its foundation I reached." In *KAH*, II, No. 50, ll. 13 f. (*LAR*, I, §§ 197 f.), we have *da-na-su ik-šu-ud*, while the parallel passage on the silver tablet has *dan-na-su ik-sir*.

9. ASSUR-RÊSH-ISHI

The texts published by King, *AKA*, I, 17 f., are translated in *LAR*, I, §§ 207 f. Unfortunately a large number of brackets and broken brackets of my handwritten copy did not get into the typewritten manuscript. In No. 1, l. 2, read: [*išimû ina libbi*] *ummi-šû ki išuhu-šuma*. L. 5: *rab-bu dan-nu* is, of course, "mighty flame." Same line, end, restore: *mu-šab(?)*-[*ri-ku zamâni*]. L. 8, end: *e-nu-ma bît* [*namî*]-*ru*. L. 9, read: *i-nari-i-be e-nu-ḥu* (also correct translation of l. 5 of texts 2 and 3). L. 10: The subject of *enušuma enuḥu* is probably the preceding *namî*[*ru-šu*]-*nu*, "Their *nameru* had become weak and had fallen to decay."

10. TIGLATH-PILESER I

AKA, I, 27 f.; *LAR*, I, §§ 216 f.; Prism Inscription, Col. I, ll. 36, *šâ-tam-mu ši-ru šâ A-sur wakke^{pl}-šû ú-ša-ḥi-lu-ma*. On *šaḥâlu* we still have only the equation *sim* = *šaḥâlu*, alongside of *sim-sim* = *nabû* and *šû-sim* = *šûšû* (cf. *Sum.* Gl., p. 247). Has the intensive of *šaḥâlu* the meaning *šûšû*, "to cause to go forth, advance" (trans.) or *šûšû*, "to proclaim"? I have chosen the former and translated, perhaps somewhat freely, "caused (him) to brandish." Perhaps it was Assur who "put forth" the weapons. I wonder whether the *šû'ul kakkê* of

the Assyrian texts is the same as this *šuhḫul kakkê?* The weakening of *ḫ* to ' was noted above.

LAR, I, §§ 272 f. The text is made up of AKA, I, 109 f., and KAH, II, No. 73 (with restorations from KAH, II, No. 63). The following corrections are to be made in King's text: In Obv., l. 8, the footnote numeral should stand after the *šú*, and the note is to be changed accordingly.

L. 9, end: Instead of *nakirê^{pl}-šú* read *nâkirût^{pl}(ut)*. L. 10, beginning: [*a-šar tak-ru-ub*]-*te a-na ḫal-te*. What follows is on S. 1874. Continue: [*ú-kin-šú-nu*]-*ma zi-ḫi-ḫi-iš um-mi ú-šum-gal dan-nu ki*. . . .

L. 11, read: *ša nap-har mal-ki^{pl} kib-rat^{pl} ta-ḫa-su 'iz^l-[zi(?)]*. . . .

Ll. 12-13 *ki-ma [ša i-na(?)^l tu-bu-[ka-at ir-bi-it]-'ta^l 'it^l-tal-'la-ku^l]-[ma]*. All of the signs given by King after the break in l. 13 are doubtful. The first two signs seem to be the end of [*ú-šam*]-*'ḫi-tu^l*, and the other two may be part of *la-a ma[gi-ri-šu]*.

L. 17. After *sisê^{pl}* traces of *'si^l-'im^l-'da^l-'at^l 'ni^l-ri* are to be made out.

L. 18. The plural sign after *^lMuš-ki* is now gone.

L. 19, end, and l. 20. After *'muk(?)^l-tab-li* read *ina zi-[kit]* [*mul-mul^l-li pi-ri-ik [na-me-e^l lu-mi-[iṣ-ṣi]*.

L. 22. After *as-su-ḫa* read [*ana nišê^{pl} 'mat^l-'ti^l]-[*ia am-nu*].*

Ll. 23-24. [*^lSa*]-*lu-a ^lLu-lu-me a-na si-[ḫir-ti-ša ^lKu-me-ni]* [*^lKut-mu-ḫi*] *ù ^lAl-zi* *lu-u [ak-šud]*. There is considerable space after *^lAlzi*.

Rev., l. 13 *pur-ḫi-iš [bal-da ša iṣ^l-tu ^lLu-ma(?)]*.

KAH, II, No. 73, l. 8. *giš-gi-nu-u dan-nu*. The noun from which *gišginiš* is derived is here located for the first time. I have suggested "torch" as its probable meaning, which also fits the passage in Sargon, Cylinder Inscription, l. 22.

Ll. 9-11. *tu-bu-ka-at ir-bit-ta uš-ra-ab-bu-ma [da-ad-mu i-ḫi-il-lu^l]* *ù al-tu-ti na-ki-ru-ut [^dA-šur]* *a-šar tak-ru-ub-ti a-na ḫal-'te^l [*ú-kin-šú-nu*]-*ma zi-ḫi-ḫi-eš^l [um-mi]* *dap-pa-a-nu šam-ru šá nap-ḫar [mal-ki^{pl} kib-ra-a-ti^l taḫasu(su) 'iz^l-[zi(?)]* [*ša i-na^l tu-bu-[ka-at ir-bit-ta]* *'it^l-tal-la-ku-[ma]**

The exact significance of *ana ḫalte kunnu* is not clear. It does not seem possible to connect *ḫaltu* with *ḫaštu*, synonym of *naḫallu* and *šuttatum*.

KAH, II, No. 63 (LAR, I, §§ 283 f.), Col. I, l. 15a. There seems

room enough only for *taḥasu(su) iz-[zi]*. In the next line the traces of the signs point to *uš-ru-ma*

Col. II, l. 16b. This line may have contained the word *gušûrê^{pl}*, "logs."

Col. III, l. 1c, end. Read, perhaps, [*ka-bit-ta*].

Col. V, l. 5e, end: Read, perhaps, *bît 'la¹-[bu-ni]*, followed by *i-na wbu-[ut-ni(?)]* (l. 6e). In case this is the proper restoration of these lines the inscription belongs in the next section in *LAR*, the "Inscriptions from the Bît-Labuni."

KAH, II, No. 66 (*LAR*, I, §§ 292 f.). After Assur-nâdin-*'ahi¹*, of l. 29, a space should have been left in my translation (§ 297). The end of the line probably read: "my ancestor, priest of Assur," or the like.

LAR, I, §§ 317 f.; *AKA*, I, 116 f. In Obv., l. 14, King omitted *i-na muḥ-hi-šû* before *az-ru*. L. 15, end: *ru* doubtful, also *Ištar*.

KAH, II, No. 74 (*LAR*, I, § 333), l. 19. [*ina*] *ak-kul-⟨lat⟩ siparri lu-'pi¹-[ši-id]*.

11. ASSUR-BÊL-KALA

LAR, I, §§ 339 f.; *AKA*, I, 152 f. The last word of l. 5 of Assur-bêl-kala's inscription may have been *e-'ta¹-['pa¹-aš¹*. The word before should be *ši-e-ri*. My translation of *ar-ru-te^{pl}* as "curses" is, of course, tentative. We should expect *arrâte*, from *arratu*. However, in *lù áš-bal*, rendered by *ar-rum* (*Sum. Gl.*, p. 16) we evidently have the masculine form, adjective or participle. The first sign after *ilu* in l. 6 may be *'ḥa¹*.

12. ASSUR-DÂN II

LAR, I, §§ 351 f. In l. 14 the probable restoration, according to the photograph, at the beginning is *'ú¹-['ša¹-šib* rather than *ú-si(?) -me*.

13. ADAD-NIRARI II

KAH, II, No. 84 (*LAR*, I, §§ 355 f.), ll. 14-15. Unfortunately, a few of Adad-nirari's self-laudatory phrases dropped out in the copying of my translation. *šar-ra-ku be-la-ku giš-ra-ku kab-ta-ku na-da-ku šur-ru-ḥa-ku dan-na-ku dan-dan-na-ku aš-ṭa-ku na-mur-ra-ku ù šur-ba-ku [ur-ša]-na-ku [ḫar-ra-da-ku lab-ba]-ku ù zi-ka-ra-ku a-ša-rid-da-ku ši-ra-ku* (var. adds, *šit-mu-ra-ku*) *ana-ku*. "I am royal, I am lordly, I am mighty, I am honored, I am exalted, I am glorified, I am powerful, I am all-powerful, I am proud(?), I am brilliant and I am pre-eminent, 'I am valiant', [I am heroic, I am lion-brave¹, I am manly, I am supreme, I am noble, (I am violent)."

L. 17. *mu-šaḥ-me-ti šadāni^{pl} šá mâtâtî^{pl}*. It is possible to read *mâtâtî ša mâtâtî* and translate "lands of lands," meaning, "all lands." I think this improbable. *mu-la-iṭ SIB-te-šu*. The frequent occurrence of *mula'it igšûte* in the Assur-nâsir-pal texts makes the reading *SIB-te = igšûte(te)* probable.

L. 19. *ki-ma ku-bu-ri d(t)a-pi kakki kîma paṭri šal-ba-be ú-ra-ša-pa ši-en-ni kîma(ma) ti-ib(?) ša-a-ri 'la'-zi-ki*. The adjective *šal-ba-be* may be from *labâbu*, "grimmig sein." "Fierce dagger" does not sound well in English.

L. 20. *ki-ma an-ḥu-li*. I have taken *anḥuli* to be a loan-word from the Sumerian *an* = "rain" and *ḥul* = *ḡul* = "evil."

Ll. 21 f. *ki-ma šú-uš-kal-li a-sa-ḥap^l kîma ḥu-ha-ri a-kat-tam*. What follows is difficult. *a-na za-kar šú-me-ia dan-ni mal-ki kib-rat irbittim(tim) ki-ma gi me-ḥi-e i-šú-bu a-na ša-bat gir-ri-ia išda(?) šú-nu ki-ma ki-ti u me-te-e i-šu-ḏu(?)*].

Does *gi meḥê* stand for *ḳi meḥê*? I have translated "storm-cord." Perhaps a whirlwind is meant. One might read *ḳanê* for *GI* and have "storm-reed." The word *i-šú-bu* gives some trouble. My translation "trembled," which should perhaps have a question mark after it, is based on l. 76, where we have *mâtâte^{pl} šarrâni^{pl}(ni) i-šub(ru)-bu*. And this passage seems to receive its best interpretation when considered with the Šalmaneser Monolith Inscription passage, Obv., ll. 8 f.: *kibrâti ultanapsakâ iḫilû mâtâtî ina metil ḳardûtišu išdâšîna*, "The regions (of earth) feel themselves threatened, the lands . . . tremble (in) their foundations." The root of *išubu*, *išubbu* is *šâbu* (שׁוּב), used in the intensive stem in the syllabaries. Cf. *Sum. Gl.*, p. 240, top, where Delitzsch translates *šubbu*, "niederschlagen, wie ein Rohr," and *šubbu*, "niederschlagen, wie ein Sturm." I wonder whether the meaning of the *qal* may not be "bend, give way," or intransitively, "be shaken, tremble"?

L. 25. In *Ḳrad(t)-ri* we have the halfway stage between the older *U-ru-ad(t)-ri* and the later *Urarṭu*.

L. 30. *šá be-la-ni. bêṭânu*, "inner," opposite of *kîdânu*, "outer," is used, for example, of walls (cf. *KAH*, I, No. 15, Rev., l. 6). Here, and in numerous Assur-nâsir-pal passages, it evidently means the land "inside" the surrounding mountains, or "inside" the pass.

L. 35. I take it the meaning is that these cities which had been torn from Assyria were restored. *ki-si-tu* I have tentatively translated "confederacy," but if we give it a more literal meaning of "bond."

"fetter," our translation might run: "Arinu, Turhu (and) Zaduri, (which were a) Shuprean chain (restraining Assyria) were removed from Assyria."

L. 50. Read *ma-met ilāni^{pl} rabûte^{pl} e-tiḫ-ma*, "violated the oath by the great gods." My translation in *LAR*, I, § 366, is to be corrected.

L. 59. *a-na pa-ni-ia lu e-šur*. Cf., for *ešêru*, "to collect," Sennacherib; Taylor Prism, Col. V, l. 30. Same line: *a-na šû-a-šû a-di aḫê-šu ina bi-ri-te siparri lu-ra-pi-iḫ-šu-nu*. For *rapâku*, see *KAH*, II, No. 60, ll. 49 ff. *šarrâni mâtâti Na-i-ri ša-tu-nu i-na bi-ri-it siparri kišadê^{pl}-šû-nu ar-pi-iḫ*, which I translated (*LAR*, I, § 165), "The kings of those Nairi-lands, I galled their necks with copper fetters." The word is used in connection with *šakâku*, which seems to mean "to harrow" (*HWB*, p. 626).

Ll. 65 f. *a-na šû-pa-li dan-na-su mē^{pl} lu-ši-ik-ši-di*. This passage shows a general meaning of "bottom" for *dannatu*.

Ll. 75 f. *u-du-tu ta-na-ti šû-ta-ru-ḫu-u-ti-šu*. I have assumed an abstract noun from *uddu*, "light." *šutaruḫûti* is an abstract form from the II₂ infinitive of *šarâḫu*.

L. 77. *šû-ku-ni-iš*, perhaps equivalent to the common *kîniš*.

L. 79. *a-na pa-ni-ia ú-te-ra-šû* may also be translated, "he brought before me."

L. 80. Read *ú-še-⟨ši⟩-ba-šû*, and l. 82, *gir-⟨re⟩ pa-aš-ḫu-te*.

L. 83, end: *'iḫ^l-lu iṣṣur šamê(e) . . . ki-rib-šu*.

L. 88, end: *pa-ḫa-at*. One hesitates between *paḫât*, "prefecture," and *paḫaṭ*=*pât*, "border, territory." For the latter, see Assur-nâsir-pal's Imgur-Bel Inscription, *AKA*, I, 167 f. (*LAR*, I, §§ 537 f.), Obv., l. 20, *mâtâti Nairi ana pa-ḫa-at gimriša*. Cf. also the Broken Obelisk, Col. III, l. 1.

Ll. 105 f. Note *bat-tak*, "I spent the night." The full phrase is found in l. 111, *asakan(an) bat-tak*, "I encamped, spending the night."

L. 122. The writing *NIN-UR* brought forth an exclamation mark from Schroeder. But this writing of *NIN-IB* is very common. See, e.g., *AKA*, Vol. I, p. 190, l. 8; p. 198, l. 15 (*var.*). King failed to mention that No. 1 of the Standard Inscription of Assur-nâsir-pal (p. 212) also has *NIN-UR* in the name of Tukulti-Urta. (On Urta I have nothing to say at the present time.)

L. 122, middle. ¹*bul* ¹*šêri*; cf. *Annals of Tukulti-Urta II*, Rev., l. 52.

Ll. 123 f. *ina* ^w*narkabti-ia pa-at-tu* (text has *ka*)-*te ina ki-it-ru-ub* (text has *SAL-UM*) *me-it-lu-ti-ia ina šêpâ-ia la-as-ma-te ina* ¹*pa*¹*-TAR-_{hi} a-duk*. For the whole line cf. the reference just cited. The word *pa-rum-_{hi}* has caused trouble for some time. In Scheil's text we seem to have *pa-aš-_{hi}* instead of the usual *pa-áš(rum)-_{hi}*. And now this passage adds to the complication. However, with a text as corrupt as ours clearly is, not much is to be done toward the solution of any problem.

L. 125, beginning: ¹*ra*¹-¹*pi*¹-¹*da*¹-*ni*.

L. 126 f. Cf. the Broken Obelisk (*AKA*, I, 128 f.; Col. IV, ll. 19 f.). At the end of l. 127, one expects *su-gul-li-šu-nu ak-šur*. My translation is based on a reading *su-gul-li é-ri-nam akšur* (?*UL*). On *erinnu* see *Sum. Gl.*, pp. 15 and 63, under ^{vi}*az-bal*.

KAH, II, No. 83 (*LAR*, I, §§ 378 f.), § 380, l. 4, read: "my chariots (and) hosts. I marched against Kumané."

Obv., l. 13, end: *lu amtaḥaš(aš)*, and l. 14, *aduak(ak)*.

L. 16, end: *ki-i _{ki}-¹ša-te?*

Rev., l. 3. *3 alâni*^{pl}(*ni*)-¹*šu-nu*¹ *at-tas-ḥa*.

L. 18. In *LAR*, I, § 383, end, the words, "name and his seed in the," dropped out before the last word of the paragraph.

The Broken Obelisk, *AKA*, I, 128 f.; *LAR*, I, §§ 385 ff.; Col. III, l. 17: King's *gu(?)*-*la(?)*-*ta* may possibly, though by no means certainly, be read *bur-_{hi}-iš*, cf. l. 16 of Col. V.

Col. IV, ll. 26 f. The *amêl*-signs before *dam-ḫar* (l. 26) and *nâri* (l. 29) are not easily made out on the monument. I have suggested that in the latter line the sign is ¹*GUD*¹ and that we should read ¹*alap*¹-*nâri*.

L. 32, end, and ll. 33-34. *šumâte-šû-nu it-ti ú-ma-me* [*an-na*]-¹*te*¹ *la šat-ru mi-nu-su-nu it-ti mi-nu-te an-ni-te* [*la šat*]-*ru*.

Col. V, l. 2, middle. Read: *gâl-la* = *šaknu*(?).

L. 27, middle. Is the sign after the numeral the ideogram for *tibku*, *tikpu*?

L. 30. *ku-ma-a-ni*. One would like to connect this with *KU* = *ašlu*.

KAH, II, No. 88 (*LAR*, I, § 399), l. 3. Better, perhaps, *rit-ti-šu-nu*, "their hands."

(To be continued)